Race Problem - 1925.

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Royal Visit.

From various West African correspondents we are advised by recent mails that nothing in the history of our Colonies has so pleasurably excited the native mind as the impending visit of the Heir to the Throne of the British Empire.

From the Gambia to Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast and the Nigerias, a thrill of joyful anticipation is pervading the communities, and one may already safely predict that the visit and reception of the Prince will be record-breaking in various directions. Several leading personalities connected with West Africa, including Mr. Leslie Cowper, C.M.G., the distinguished general manager of the Bank of British W.A., are leaving for the coast within the next week or two. Her Excellency Lady Clifford, happily recovered from her recent serious illness, proposes to leave England for Lagos early next month. About the same time H.R.H. Princess Marie Louise will start on her visit to the Gold Coast with Lady Guggisberg. A little bird whispers that one of the most fascinating and imposing demonstrations of loyalty will be given to the Royal visitors at Commassie, the capital of Ashantiland, and in days of not very long ago a centre of savage barbarism—to-day a rising city, with a prosperous and peaceful population. Thus is history made in our Dominions, and the foundations of Empire are made permanent.

Mungo Park and Richard Lander.

No more appropriate site than the island of Jebba could be found for a monument to the first two Englishmen to follow the course of the Niger from the desert to the sea. Situated at the point where the railway from Lagos to Kano crosses the river, the monument will come under the notice of everyone travelling from the coast to the interior, first made accessible by the navigation of the Niger. Mungo Park was the first modern European to sail on the mysterious river whose course was as great an enigma to geographers as the sources of its sister river, the Nile. This was in 1796, when Park was conducting, under the auspices of the African Institute, the first British expedition into the interior of Africa for the purpose of opening up the continent and developing its trade. It was ten years later that Park started on his second journey, in the course of which he lost his life in the Bussa Rapids. His description of the Niger revives the controversy as to a connection between it and the Nile. Major Rennel, the leading British geographical authority of his day, was opposed to this theory, which was stoutly maintained by Mr. James Grey Jackson, "Professor of African languages, and formerly British Consul and Agent for Holland, Sweden, and Denmark at Santa Cruz, South Barbary," who had resided for sixteen years in Morocco, and was one of the few Englishmen of the time who were Arabic scholars. During his residence in "Barbary" he collected much information about the interior of the continent, especially with regard to Timbuctoo and the Niger, from the Moorish traders and travellers. He concludes a criticism of Major Rennel's opinion with the following words: "The theorists and speculators in African geography, who have heaped hypothesis upon hypothesis, error upon error, who have raised splendid fabrics upon pillars of ice, will ere long close their book and be compelled, by the force of truth and experience, to admit the fact stated about twelve years ago by me in my account of Morocco, etc.—viz., that the Nile of Sudan and the Nile of Egypt are identified by a continuity of waters, and that a water communication is provided by these two great rivers from Timbuctoo to Cairo: and, moreover, that the general African opinion, that the Neel-el-Abeed (Niger) discharges into the Salt Sea signifies neither more nor less than that it discharges itself at the Delta in Egypt into the Mediterranea Sea." Others maintained that the Zaire (Congo) was the ocean mouth of the Niger. It was not till 1830, when Richard Lander completed Park's work by navigating the Niger from Bussa to the sea, that the enigma of its course was solved. It is to be hoped that the £400 still required for the erection of the proposed obelisk will soon be collected.

African Women in Politics.

If sound progress is to be made by the West African peoples, their women must be trained and encouraged to take as large a part in social and public life as they do under the native systems. The Girls' Vocational School at Freetown is doing excellent work on the social side, and it has just set an example, which should be followed in the other Colonies, by interesting and instructing its pupils in local politics. The general interest aroused by the inauguration of the new Constitution was taken advantage of to instruct the senior girls in the meaning of the franchise, and the responsibility it puts upon the voters of electing representatives capable of placing the desires and hopes of the people before the Government. In order to impress the lesson on the minds of the pupils a mimic election was held, and was carried through with enthusiasm. Two candidates were nominated, who canvassed their "constituents," issued addresses and posters, held meetings and harangued the electors in orthodox style. The voting was by secret ballot, and at the end of the election the successful candidate shook hands with her opponent and made a speech of thanks. Such a demonstration is bound to have a lasting effect, and it is quite possible —so rapid is progress to-day—that some of the participants may yet take part in real elections, and even be elected as representatives on the Legislative Council by the suffrages of their countrymen and women.

"The Golden Bough."

Students of anthropology everywhere will be gratified at the conferring of the Order of Merit on their leader and teacher, Sir James Frazer. He is universally known as the author of "The Golden Bough," but that work, begun as a study of an obscure rite of the religion of ancient Rome, has been expanded into a series of researches covering the origins of magic, religion, and science. The sections on exogamy and folklore deal with the origins and meanings of marriage and social customs. The title of the first section has been popularly extended to the whole series, which forms a library of "origins," in which the author's own researches and collections are combined with the work of his predecessors to show the principles running through what had been a confused mass of fragmentary and disjointed observations. For students who have not the means to purchase the many volumes of the original work there is now available a compendium in one volume which the student of African anthropology can carry about with him for study and guidance. For the benefit of those who have been repelled from the perusal of "The Golden Bough" by fear of finding it "too dry," I may add that Sir James Frazer is as great as a literary artist as he is as an investigator, and that the reading of his works will afford pleasure to all who can rise above the perusal of novels about the amorous adventures of uninteresting people or "shockers" padded out with improbable incidents.

Notes.

The Industrial Movement:

The General Secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, Mr. Clements Kadalie, informs us that the venue of the forthcoming Fifth Annual Conference of the I. C. U.—Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, has been altered and postponed. Instead of sitting in Bloemfontein in January next, Conference will be opened in Johannesburg on April 13th, 1925.

It is expected that the forthcoming Conference will mark a historical era in the annals of the African Labour Movement, as a strong and intelligent delegation from all parts of the Union will concentrate upon the adjustment of the economic situation arising from the definition of the Government's "Civilised labour policy."

Government Native Policy:

The "Rand Daily Mail" understands that the Government is contemplating the introduction of a Bill at the next session of Parliament dealing with its native policy.

Some of the points under contemplation are: (1) The abolition of the Native High Court of Natal. (2) The abolition of the Court of Native Appeal in the Transkei. (3) The formation, if necessary, of separate tribunals in the shape of a Native Appeal Court for the Union, and the setting up of lower courts, presided over by experienced and fully qualified officials. This will be an integral part of the system of specialised native administration, and it is considered a big forward move designed to meet the needs of the native people. (4) The appointment of a Chief Native Commissioner in each Province with Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners, in the areas largely occupied by native people or tribes. (5) The setting up of machinery by which the estates of natives will be administered separately from those of Europeans. (6) The making of regulations for the Government control of native locations. (7) Provision for the removal of native tribes from one area to another, and provision for bringing different sections of native tribes together.

Sacred Alligator Stone Is Returned to Liberia

Copyright, 1925, by The New York Times Co.
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERLIN, Jan. 11.—The Sacred Stone of the Tailless Alligator, a fetish worshipped by the natives of the Republic of Liberia, Western Africa, is on its way back to the sacred grove, where it stood for centuries, after some months of enforced sojourn in Germany. The stone was brought to Germany last Summer by the explorer, Hans Schomburgk, who declared he had bought it from the chief of the tribe in whose territory it was located. But the Liberian Consul General in Germany, Massaquoi, was empowered by the Liberian Government to try to recover the stone, so he brought suit in a Hamburg court against Schomburgk, alleging the latter had no right to remove the stone from the Sacred Grove. Pending settlement of the dispute the stone was seized by the Hamburg police.

After long court proceedings and diplomatic representations the sacred fetish finally was restored to Consul Massaquoi for return to Liberia. He put it aboard the steamship Wadai, the same wherein Schomburgk brought it to Germany, which sailed for Liberia on Jan. 6.

A Flaw in the Law.

In the following important letter Mr. Richard W. Msimang, the well known Attorney of Johannesburg calls the attention of the whole public interested in Native Affairs to a fundamental and dangerous inroad into the judicial liberty of black men in the Union that has recently been given an unexpected interpretation by the judges arising out of the Urban Areas Act of 1923.

We trust that members of Parliament will take the matter up without delay in the forthcoming session.

He writes r—

Sir,—Will you permit me through the medium of your columns to draw the attention of our leaders to the glaring flaw that has been discovered in the course of the operation of the Natives Urban Areas Act (No. 21 of 1923) section 17 (2) which provides that a Police Constable or a Location Officer having reason to suspect or believe that a Native within an Urban Area is habitually unemployed or is leading an idle or disorderly life, or is not possessed of honest means of livelihood, may bring such Native before the Magistrate and be required to give a good and satisfactory account of himself, failing which he may be ordered to be removed from the Urban Area or be detained in a farm colony or some reformatory institution. The Act creates a special Court for these cases. Several prosecutions are already being made under this section throughout the country; several of our people have already been convicted and sent for detention with hard labour to penal farms. In other words, the convicted person is indentured by the State in a certain farm and there to do labour under circumstances scarcely distinguishable from servile conditions. Sentences average about two years, and the Magistrate has the discretion in the ordinary way to impose spare diet or solitary confinement in addition to a sentence of hard labour.

The point I desire to advertise is that Judges of the Supreme Court have decided that cases arising under this section tried by a court established under the Act are not appealable nor can they be brought under Review by a Superior Court. This decision is not only most alarming, it must disturb any calm mind as to the grave dangers involved on the liberty of the subject whose conviction and sentence cannot be reviewed or be appealed against. To allow a Magistrate to pass sentences to the extent of two years or more in a summary trial without a right of appeal is obviously in conflict with

the ordinary principles of our criminal law.

With your assistance, Mr. Editor, I would counsel our leaders to take immediate steps to persuade the Government to introduce in Parliament next session a Short Bill amending this Section of the Act so as to allow appeals or reviews. I have no reason to anticipate objection from the Government; but even if the Government programme of Bills for the Session was full, a member of Parliament or Senator can be found to introduce a private Bill to this effect. Delay should not be tolerated. That this is a most expedient and urgent matter of public importance, we have the comments of the Judges in our support.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR IMVO.

Sir,—The Appellate Court of South Africa in Bloemfontein has just upheld the decision of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court in the case of Mathibe versus the Minister for Native Affairs in the abolition of chieftainship by hereditary succession. It is held by both courts that by Law No. 4 of 1885 the native people have no say nor are they entitled to say anything in the choosing and appointing of their chiefs. The Government alone, it is said, has the right to choose and appoint the native chief, whether the person so chosen and appointed is not a member of the tribe it does not matter. The Government has the right to choose and appoint him the chief of that tribe, whether that person has in his veins the blood of a chief or not it does not matter. Despite the protestation of the whole tribe, the Government chooses and appoints him their chief.

I venture to say that in the whole history of the creation of mankind such a law never was hurled to the people in any country. It may be said that the Republicans in enacting laws of this kind were under the impression that they could not trust hereditary chiefs, but chiefs of their own creation and that impression emanated from the action of certain hereditary chiefs having fought wars with them (Republicans), such as the Sekwati war (1877), the Sekukuni war (1879), the Malepogo war (1894), the Mapogo war (1883) etc etc. If it is high time these laws are revoked, they being contrary to traditions and conscience of the whole civilized world. The ruler of the people, whether those people are black or white, is not a thing that could be pointed out by the finger of a person without evoking dissatisfaction and misery among the people concerned. Even if it is taken to be an easy thing for the authorities to deal with discontented natives by sjambok and hand cuffs, but to respect the feeling of a people is the best policy.

The case of Mathibe versus the Minister for Native Affairs is a case in which George Mathibe, son of the deposed chief Amos Mathibe of the Bahuaduba tribe, was assisted by his father in bringing this case before the courts against the Minister for making the appointment of his chosen person to be the chief of the tribe. The deposed Chief Amos Mathibe since his deposition, was taken to the Sebasa camp for confinement, and up to this day of the 16th or 17th year of his confinement is still there under restriction of any movement.

The point that the Minister for Native Affairs in appointing a chief of a native tribe may appoint even a person who is not a member of the tribe was raised in both courts by the Attorney General of the Transvaal in his argument, and, although the law itself did not go as far as that, that point is established to day by the decision of the high tribunal of the land the law governing the native people.

Yours etc etc.,

D. S. LETANKA.

African Club,
134 Anderson Street,
Johannesburg.

Civilised Labour

The "International" of the 8th ult. contains the following remarks on the above subject:—

"A circular from the Prime Minister's office to all Heads of Departments of State and Provincial Secretaries, just issued, reads as follows:—

"The Prime Minister desires it to be understood by all Departments of State that it has been decided as a matter of definite policy that, WHEREVER PRACTICABLE, civilised labour shall be substituted in all employment by the Government for that which may be classified as uncivilised.

"Civilised labour is to be considered as the labour rendered by persons whose standard of living conforms to the standard generally recognised as TOLERABLE from the usual European standpoint.

"Uncivilised labour is to be regarded as the labour rendered by persons whose AIM is restricted to bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood among barbarous and undeveloped people.

"The system of utilising the cheapest labour available has no doubt been found to possess certain easy present advantages, but it is considered that with the efficient organisation and control the employment of the higher grade capabilities in all classes of work will result in greater and more permanent economic and social advantage.

"JUVENILE white labour should be employed wherever possible, and the Department of Labour will welcome any suggestion as to the development of a reasonably permanent career to this class of employee, and the avoidance of ultimate and unmerited stagnation."

In conclusion the circular says:—

"The Prime Minister wishes it to be known that the present policy has been decided upon as a serious attempt on the part of the Government to set an example to employers throughout the country, and that he relies upon every official to do his utmost to promote satisfactory results."

"THREE INCOMPREHENSIBLES."

Here then is the definition we have been awaiting so long and so curiously.

Read with the reference to "higher grade capabilities" and the injunction to employ juvenile white labour wherever possible it appears to be based on three different and by no means consistent or parallel running criterions, namely, race ("the usual EUROPEAN standpoint," juvenile WHITE labour), capability ("the higher grade capabilities") and cheapest ("JUVENILE white labour" i.e., cheaper than adult and little dearer than native)—all limited, however, by what is "practicable," i.e., what "pays," and therefore all REVERTING TO KAFIR WORK AFTER ALL.

The sapient dennition-monger carefully avoids any open reference to the obvious and decisive criterion, viz., rate of PAY. A worker's standard of living is determined by the amount of his wages. If he gets "tolerable" wages, he lives tolerably; if he gets a fat cheque, he lives well; if he gets 2/- a day, as an average native worker does, his "standard" is very low. But give him (the 2/- man, for instance, and all his fellow-workers) £1 a day, and up will go his standard quick and lively. For there are few native workers to day whose "AIM" is restricted to mealie-pap. Except to the extent that they are so effectually "kept in their place" that they are sunk in despair, they are at least as ambitious as any other section of the working class, they all aim at something better—in short (if they are given the chance) at least a "tolerable" European standard.

Hence there is, broadly speaking, no such thing as uncivilised labour, as defined, except to the extent that the master class and its Government deliberately and by force, violence, denial of good wages, housing, education, liberty, etc. keeps its labour poor, enslaved and uncivilised. It comes ill from a Labour Ministry to join in this crusade by denying it a job.

A CHINESE PUZZLE.

Canting humbug, that is what this circular is. If it means pay all your labour £30 a month, let it say so (and include black labour). Everyone knows it means nothing of the sort. If it means, employ white men only, let it say so, and not beat about the bush with talks of "standards," for all-white-labour means lowering average white standards.

Some Useful Nev. Books.

The latest story book in the Xosa language is *U-Ntsizi* a novel of 84 pages written by Gilbert Ranana Makalima of Gillespie Mission, Mt. Ayliff and obtainable for 2/3 from the author. In the introduction the author rightly offers the book as his first attempt at authorship. The hero is an orphan who after a series of distressing vicissitudes, painted in lurid colours, being harshly treated by a heartless foster mother, ultimately attains happiness and prosperity. Between most of the chapters there are poems interspersed, bearing no relationship to the subject matter, but apparently introduced for mere display of poetic composition. This is a fault in structure which the author should in future attempts avoid, as the appropriate position for such poetry is either an appendix or a special and separate collection. The idiom is rather weak, needing strengthening by a perusal of classical Xosa books. The story as such is engrossing from the beginning to the end and is worthy of the book. We hope it will command a wide enough sale to justify its publication and to encourage the budding author to improve in his lofty ambition.

Race Problem – 1925.

Africa.

know who will be bold enough to disentangle the clans involved and segregate them, nor do we see the necessity for such a revolutionary unsettlement of the people. We shall therefore wait and see. Finally we revert to our initial suggestion that these contentions questions be referred to the Natives themselves for consultation under the approved and enacted machinery for the ascertainment of Native opinion so as to obviate the general unrest that will follow undigested legislation such as we have in the notorious Native Land Act of 1913.

Plea for Native Hospital.

Mr. R. W. Rose-Innes of this town presented to the Public Hospitals Inquiry Commission the following appeal on behalf of the Natives last week:—

In the course of this statement it was held that the Natives regarded Grey Hospital as a gift to them. Reference was made to the history and the object of the hospital, which Mr. Innes considered should remain as constituted and extended into a large central native hospital. Native nurses should be trained and in course of time should staff the hospital under European supervision. By that means the hospital would carry out its destiny and remain for all time a monument to the thought and vision of its founders. He had advocated such a scheme for years. There should be native members of the board of management with Europeans, the latter in a majority. Natives as a body would gladly co-operate, because it would be their hospital. Mr. Innes also advocated the establishment in connection with the hospital of a department for investigation of native herbal remedies, etc., which as yet was an unexplored field. He asked if it was too late to retrace their steps and make the change suggested? It had native sentiments behind it, and would be supported all along the line. It would necessitate a small European hospital for the town and district. If Grey Hospital was taken over by the Colonial Government with obligations those obligations should have been kept. The records would show the nature of obligations, and whether they were permanent or otherwise. Removal of the hospital to Fort Hill would be a mistake and a burden on the rates of the town. There was enough room in the present grounds if carefully divided for hospital and educational purposes.

NATIVE AFFAIRS

CISKEI CONVENTION.

Projected Legislation Opposed.

On Thursday the Ciskei Native Convention held a mass meeting of over 300 people from the East London, Stutterheim, Middledrift and King William's Town districts, assembled at the Tshoxa location, including "reds" and the civilised. The Chairman was Headman C. C. Madosi, Secretary, R. F. Haya.

The meeting was opened with an impressive and stirring introductory address by Professor Jabavu, who dwelt on matters of social uplift on the lines of healthy agriculture, stock farming and educational development.

The two delegates to the Pretoria Government Native Conference of last October, Headman Ntsonkota and Prof. Jabavu, gave their reports.

A lengthy agenda was discussed, the most important resolutions passed being the following:—

(1) This convention assembled at Tshoxa, King William's Town, declares itself opposed to the principle of the increased taxation of the Cape Province Natives as outlined in the recently outlined Government Bill. The convention respectfully submits that the Cape Province Natives are already excessively taxed in proportion to their economic straitened circumstances. It strongly urges that the Council system under the Native Affairs Act No. 23 of 1920 be applied forthwith and before any taxation changes whatsoever are introduced, especially in view of the distress due to the dismissal of Natives from labour centres without any compensating measures in their displacement.

(2) This convention asks the Minister for Native Affairs for an explanation as to when and how Native chiefs in the Cape proper have ceased to be recognised as chiefs, as stated by the Secretary for Native Affairs to the Government Native Conference at Pretoria.

(3) This convention approves of the principle of magistrates deciding Native cases in accordance with Native custom, provided this is codified by Parliamentary statute.

(4) Concerning the proposed Provincial Native Courts and Union Appeal Courts, this convention desires further information from the Minister for Native Affairs as to the exact nature of the men who will preside over lower courts as "experienced and fully qualified officials."

(5) This convention approves of [illegible] being administered according to Native law.

(6) The proposed Government Proclamation system for the Cape proper is opposed by this convention as being contrary to the interests of the Natives.

(7) With respect to the annual Government conference, the convention urges the Government to apply the representation clauses of the Native Affairs Act, 1920, as fully as possible in proportion to the huge Native population of the Union.

(8) This convention is uncompromisingly opposed to the projected legislation on the part of the Government aimed at establishing a system of Provincial Commissioners and sub-commissioners, on the ground that the system is a relic of an antiquated wartime measure which will be logically obviated by the establishment of Native Councils.

(9) With regard to the announcement of pending new regulations for the Government control of Native locations, this convention begs to inform the Government that the present administration of Native locations is unnecessarily harsh and intolerable; and a change for the better is urgently desirable; and the convention desires further knowledge on the type of control projected by the Government.

(10) This convention has learnt with apprehension and extreme regret of the sudden resuscitation of the pass law for Native females in the Transvaal and joins with other Native bodies in making a vehement protest against the contemplated draconian legislation.

Notes.

Passes For Native Women:

The temper of the native people, in consequence of the proposal to make their womenfolk submit to a pass law, is occasioning considerable concern to members of the joint council of Europeans and educated natives, who are apprehensive that the good work they have accomplished, not the least important of which was the conciliation of the extremists, is in danger of being rendered futile if the Ordinance, so far as it refers to females, is made operative.

Many prominent Europeans, who take a deep interest in native affairs, criticise the Government for their failure to consult native opinion, while the natives themselves, in the light of the encouraging addresses delivered by members of the Cabinet at the recent Native Congress in Pretoria, and the principle laid down by the S. A. P. Government that there would be consultation with the natives before any legislation affecting their interests was introduced, adversely comment upon the procedure, and characterise the measure as a legal instrument designed to oppress them further by depriving them of the little freedom they have enjoyed since the coming of the British.

The common opinion among many natives who were interviewed to-day is that if the pass law is made applicable to the women, there will be a recrudescence of the hostility that marked its introduction in the Free State some years ago.

"Civilised Labour":

The "Cape Mecury" of the 23rd ult. has the following interesting and noteworthy remarks regarding the Government's policy of civilised labour:—

"The formula, "civilised labour," adopted by the Government was obviously a camouflage to get rid of Native labour in the work of the State. It has deceived nobody, and it would have been a little more honest if the authorities had declared outright that their policy was to replace Natives by Europeans, for this in reality is what the phrase stands for. It is, of course, illogical. Even black labour can be "civilised labour"; by the same token, much "civilised labour,"; judged by its quality, does not warrant the title of white labour. The Native Press, every Native leader and every Native organisation, is up in arms against the formula under notice and in application. Fiery speeches are being delivered and feeling is being roused. The Government, in fact, has placed a most potent weapon in the hands of extremist agitators, who are utilising it to the full extent of their powers. It is not on these lines that Government is going to solve the "Native problem." There are certain classes of work which ought in this country to be performed by the Natives. This is their land. They are not responsible for present day conditions—these have been made by the Europeans. Natives under supervision have played a great part in the development of the country, and it is neither just nor fair to now turn them adrift. They are as much entitled to live as any one else, and if they are deprived of their present means of earning a livelihood some other channel of employment must be found for them. This is not only simple justice, but mere commonsense. If the Government policy is continued in, "rocks ahead" will very soon make their presence felt, with possibly disastrous consequences."

EAST AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS.

According to *Tanganyika Opinion*, a journal published partly in English and partly in Gujerati, Lala Rajpat Rajji—who is described as the most self-sacrificing and patriotic Indian excepting Gandhi, and a man of world-wide fame—has agreed to accept the Presidency of the East African Indian Congress, if the meetings are postponed until February of this year. It is recommended that that course should be taken.

GOLD COAST ABORIGINES RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY.

(Western Province Section.)

AXIM.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,—BRIG.-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK GORDON GUGGISBERG, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT GEORGE, GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN CHIEF OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY AND PROTECTORATE:—

[*Concluded from our issue 27/12/24.*]

Axim,
Gold Coast
16th September, 1924.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE AXIM SECTION OF THE GOLD COAST ABORIGINES' RIGHTS

LABOUR SCARCITY IN KENYA.

Sir R. Coryndon and Native Chiefs.

Nairobi, Jan. 18, 1925.

SIR ROBERT CORYNDON, the Governor, who is going to England shortly, is at present touring the Native areas. In speeches made at the various centres Sir Robert points out that both Native cultivation and European farming must carry on successfully, as otherwise the country will not prosper.

He laid stress on the duty of each man to perform a certain amount of work. He disliked to hear that railway construction was held up and that coffee berries were rotting owing to the scarcity of labour. Sir Robert urged the chiefs to send out the young men to work, instead of allowing them to idle and drink in the reserves.

The Kikuyu chiefs, replying, said that if the coffee farmers paid better wages, labour would be forthcoming and that the labour scarcity on the Nyeri Railway was due to a similar cause. The chiefs also favoured the reacquisition of their old powers to force out labour so as to assist in railway construction through their own country.

Importance is attached to Sir Robert Coryndon's tour, owing to the present labour difficulties, and it is hoped that it may result in a new labour policy.—*Times telegram.*

NYASALAND AGRICULTURE.

THE annual report of the Nyasaland Department of Agriculture for the calendar year 1923 is a very comprehensive and useful work of reference. The general position of the various agricultural industries of the Protectorate has been fully covered by us in our Special Nyasaland Number and other issues, and we therefore review the publication very briefly.

Nyasaland tobacco is described as the only Empire-grown tobacco which can challenge the supremacy of certain classes of leaf on the English market, and it is urged that no effort should be spared to strengthen the creditable position gained by the Protectorate in a few years. The appointment of a Tobacco Specialist by the Government is recommended. Wide extension of tobacco-growing by Natives is foreshadowed, but close supervision is meantime to be maintained, in order to ensure the production of tobacco of good quality.

We are reminded how rapidly Native cotton-growing has increased by the fact that the tonnage of seed cotton increased from 387 tons in 1922 to no less than 747 tons in 1923.

The statistical tables contained in the Report, regarding both European and Native agriculture are most useful, as are the particulars given by the Chief Veterinary Officer, the Chief Forest Officer, the Agricultural Chemist, and the Government Entomologist.

A considerable number of publications were issued during the twelve months by the different divisions, and real practical aid has been rendered to planters by various officials. For instance, Mr. Colin Smee, the Entomologist, records investigations into the reported occurrences of tsetse fly at Chiromo, into bollworm and pink bollworm in cotton, and into the activities of nyerere-ants in seed-beds, when the seed is on the point of germinating. The chemical division's analysis of tobacco soils is exceedingly valuable, and the work of afforestation by the competent Department is likewise of public service.

ROBINSON'S HAUSA DICTIONARY.

Dictionary of the Hausa Language": Vol. I, Hausa-English, 475+xvi pp., 30s.: Vol II, English-Hausa, 298+vii pp., 12s. 6d. Published by the Cambridge University Press.

It has sometimes been claimed on behalf of the Hausa language that it is the most widely-spoken language on the continent of Africa. Although recent estimates of the population of Nigeria and of other parts of West Africa make this claim untenable, it may still be maintained that it is one of the four most widely-spoken languages, the other three being English, Arabic and Swahili. A traveller who sets out to walk from Lagos to the Red Sea on his way to Mecca will find in every large market town which he passes some with whom he can converse in the Hausa language. The first vocabulary of the Hausa language was drawn up by Mr. Richardson, the leader of the expedition which reached the Hausa country by crossing the Sahara from Tripoli. Dr. Barth, who subsequently took charge of this expedition, published in 1862 a series of linguistic notes on Hausa and other languages. Dr. Schon, a C.M.S. missionary learnt Hausa from some freed slaves in Sierra Leone, and though he was never able to penetrate any part of the Hausa country and did not even discover that it was a written language, he did much useful work, and may be regarded as the pioneer of Hausa study. A further contribution to the study of the Hausa language was made by Mr. Adam Mischlich who published his Wörterbuch der Hausa sprache in Berlin in 1906.

The first edition of the present dictionary, which was published in 1899, was issued under the auspices of the "Hausa Association" which was formed in order to "provide for a scientific study of the Hausa language." The representative character of the Association may be inferred from the fact that its committee included the President of the Royal Geographical Society, the President of the London Chamber of Commerce, the Governor of the Royal Niger Company, Professor Max Müller, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. During the 25 years that have elapsed since the dictionary was first issued, it has been used by many thousands of Government officials, missionaries and traders who have contributed much additional information and helpful criticism. In his preface to the new edition Dr. Robinson expresses his special indebtedness to Dr. Walter Miller, of Zaria, Major Edgar, and Dr. J. M. Dalziel. He also acknowledges with gratitude the help afforded by the Government of Nigeria which has rendered it possible to supply the new edition at the comparatively low price at which it is issued. The system of trans-literation adopted in this edition is that authorised by the Government of Nigeria. Hausa has for more than a century been written by its own Mallams in Arabic (i.e. Ajami) script, but as the Roman script has been adopted for use in the Government schools throughout Nigeria and the new Testament has been issued in the same, the use of the double script, Roman and Arabic, which appeared in the first two editions of this dictionary, has not been continued. As in the case of many other languages, the exact pronunciation of many Hausa words cannot be learnt from a dictionary. In many cases two words are spelt with the same letters but are pronounced in different ways. The attempts that have been made to distinguish the tones of pronunciation by an elaborate system of signs or musical notation have not been sufficiently successful to encourage their further adoption. It is doubtful whether there is any language the exact pronunciation of which can be acquired outside the country in which the language is spoken. Hausa is certainly not an exception to this rule.

As more than 10 years have elapsed since the last edition of the dictionary was issued, this new and greatly enlarged edition will be generally welcomed.

Race Problem - 1925.

Africa.

WILL THE TRANSVAAL ACCEPT SEGREGATION?

General Hertzog is credited with the intention of introducing during the coming session of the Union Parliament legislation for the purpose of carrying his ideas of segregation into effect. It is to be regretted that up to the present those ideas, or ideals, have been kept shrouded in mystery, for it is doubtful whether any of his following have any clear conception how far the Union Premier is prepared to go towards the creation of a definite cleavage between whites and blacks in South Africa. Much can undoubtedly be said in favour of separation and the putting an end to the present intermingling of land ownership and the encroachment of the coloured races into rural areas. The restriction of native land ownership and the confinement of permanent habitation of blacks to certain defined areas would not prevent natives from working for white employers outside these areas, although it would prevent their acquiring interests or becoming permanent residents in what would virtually become European settlements. How an increasing and virile native population can be confined within limitations which in the natural course of events would become too small to yield a livelihood creates a problem the solution of which is likely to present constantly occurring difficulties. Segregation will carry with it the right, if it is to be acknowledged by the natives, of a considerable measure of self-government consistent with the safeguarding of the Europeans and the advancement of civilisation in the native territories. It will also carry with it the germs of recognition, which will sooner or later germinate into forceful demand, to a voice in the administration of the country. Is the Transvaal prepared to-day for the logical consequences of segregation?

CURRENT AFFAIRS IN NIGERIA

OUR LAGOS LETTER.

("*African World*" *Resident Correspondent.*)

LAGOS, December 1, 1924.

Programme of the Royal Visit.

It has been officially announced that His Royal Higness the Prince of Wales will visit Nigeria on his way to South Africa, and he is timed to arrive in Lagos on the morning of April 19, when acknowledging the honour so graciously conferred on the colony, His Excellency the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., has forwarded the following telegram to the Secretary of State:

"On behalf of all European and African inhabitants of Nigeria, both official and unofficial, of the Emirs of the Muhammadan Provinces, the Obas of the Yoruba nations, the Chiefs and Councillors of all Nigerian tribes, and of their people, I desire to express through you to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the unbounded gratification with which we have learnt of His Royal Highness's impending visit to this country."

The Governor has been asked to draw up a programme which will cover His Royal Highness's eight days' visit—he sails away on the morning of April 19. There is nothing officially announced yet, but I understand that the provisional programme, which has yet to obtain the approval of His Majesty and of the Prince, will roughly go on the following lines: On Saturday, April 11, at nine o'clock in the morning, His Royal Highness will land at the Government House Wharf, being escorted "home" by native war canoes. A levée by the Governor at the Government House, to which representative Africans and Europeans will be invited, follows. At four o'clock in the evening H.R.H. will honour the Easter Race Meeting, then held, with his presence. At night there will be a dance at Government House. The next day (Sunday) the Prince will worship quietly at Christ Church Pro-Cathedral, after which he will lay—as I foreshadowed in a previous letter—the foundation-stone of the cathedral of the diocese.

His Royal Highness then leaves for Kano, where a Durbar will be held in his honour, and where the Prince, in his usual admirable way of falling in with his environment, will live in a "bush house" now in course of preparation. At Kaduna the Prince will witness the trooping of the Royal Colours—being done for the first time in Nigeria—by the 1st Battalion of the Nigeria Regiment, with whom H.R.H. will play polo. At Oyo H.R.H. will visit the "Alafin," and there a Durbar will take place, at which all the principal Kings and Chiefs of the Yoruba nation will be present.

The Prince and the Governor will then motor straight to Lagos, where the next day and then "Au revoir!" to the great regret of all Nigeria.

The Governor's Tour.

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., accompanied by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces, Colonel Moorhouse, C.M.G., left headquarters on a tour of the provinces on November 16. Proceeding to Port Harcourt together, the Governor branched off at Makurdi, Colonel Moorhouse returning to Lagos. His Excellency installed the new Emir of Nassarawa, stopping at Zaria to witness the military sports of the Nigeria Regiment. At Sokoto the new Emir, Muhammadu, was installed. The Governor left Kaduna for Minna on the following day—a day which a correspondent from the latter place suggested "should be noted down as worthy of being written in large letters and 'in red ink'"! Next day Ilorin was reached, where a levée was held in the morning, a tour with the Emir round the town concluding the visit.

The Governor *motored* from Ilorin to Ibadan—and those who knew Nigeria five to ten years ago should mark the italics—which he reached on Saturday, November 22. There His Excellency was joined by Colonel Moorhouse, by the Hon. the Attorney-General, Mr. Donald Kingdon, and by Colonel Salier, Director of Prisons. There was luncheon and dinner at Governor's Lodge, the Residency, to which only Europeans—mainly officers of the 4th Battalion Nigeria Regiment—were invited. The battalion returned the hospitality the following day.

Unveiling of Ibadan War Memorial.

On Monday, November 24, a unique ceremony at Ibadan was performed by His Excellency. On that day the War Memorial to the 4th Battalion Nigeria Regiment was unveiled in the presence of the Bale and other Chiefs, a good number of Europeans, mercantile and official, and a large concourse of Africans. The memorial took the shape of a tower with a clock on one side. To the base was shown on a square enamelled plate two figures of Nigerian soldiers, the colouring and execution being particularly noteworthy and partaking of local taste. His Excellency in his speech referred to the memorial "as a perpetual reminder to the living, not only of the present generation, but of many generations to come, of the debt which we owe to the men who fought for us and died in order to win for the subjects of the King, all the Empire over, liberty, security, and peace." It was the last of the memorials to the battalions. That to the fallen heroes of the 1st Battalion stands at Zaria, to the 2nd Battalion at Lokoja, to the 3rd Battalion at Calabar, and to the 4th battalion at Ibadan, "the largest and most populous town in Yorubaland." All of them are worthy of the supreme sacrifice of those "who did not come back."

Lagos Politics and the White-Cap Chiefs.

Politics, it has been said, is a dirty game. Day by day, you have evidence of it in Lagos—the task of cleansing the Augean stable falling to the local White-Cap Chiefs, who have been duped into joining hands with a faction. The first duty of the new Resident, Major Birrel-Gray, whose accession to power has been hailed with delight from all sides, will be to make the Chiefs "know themselves." To make them realise, as the "Nigerian Pioneer" puts it, that they, with the British Government, form the ruling body, and to acquaint them with the absurdity of taking sides in bickerings and factions. Theirs should be a position of dignity, of honour, to whom even the educated natives must bow.

No Political Difference.

There is no difference in the political beliefs of the leading men of Lagos, and consequently there could be no party. The blatant Nigerian Democratic Party has no meaning in Yoruba, and none of its founders dare give the real translation it should have in the vernacular. The difficulty in Lagos is whether—and that is the nearest example I can give you—a Horatio Bottomley unchastened by his past punishment and planning sins anew, whether you Britishers would allow such a person to be put side by side with your Baldwins, your Asquith, your Bonar Laws? The very question would not arise: Well then, that such a person must take a back seat, or that he must be recognised as the foremost leader in the place is *origo et fons* of all questions in Lagos politics. The majority of the chiefs and of the masses, with instincts particularly primitive, take the latter view!

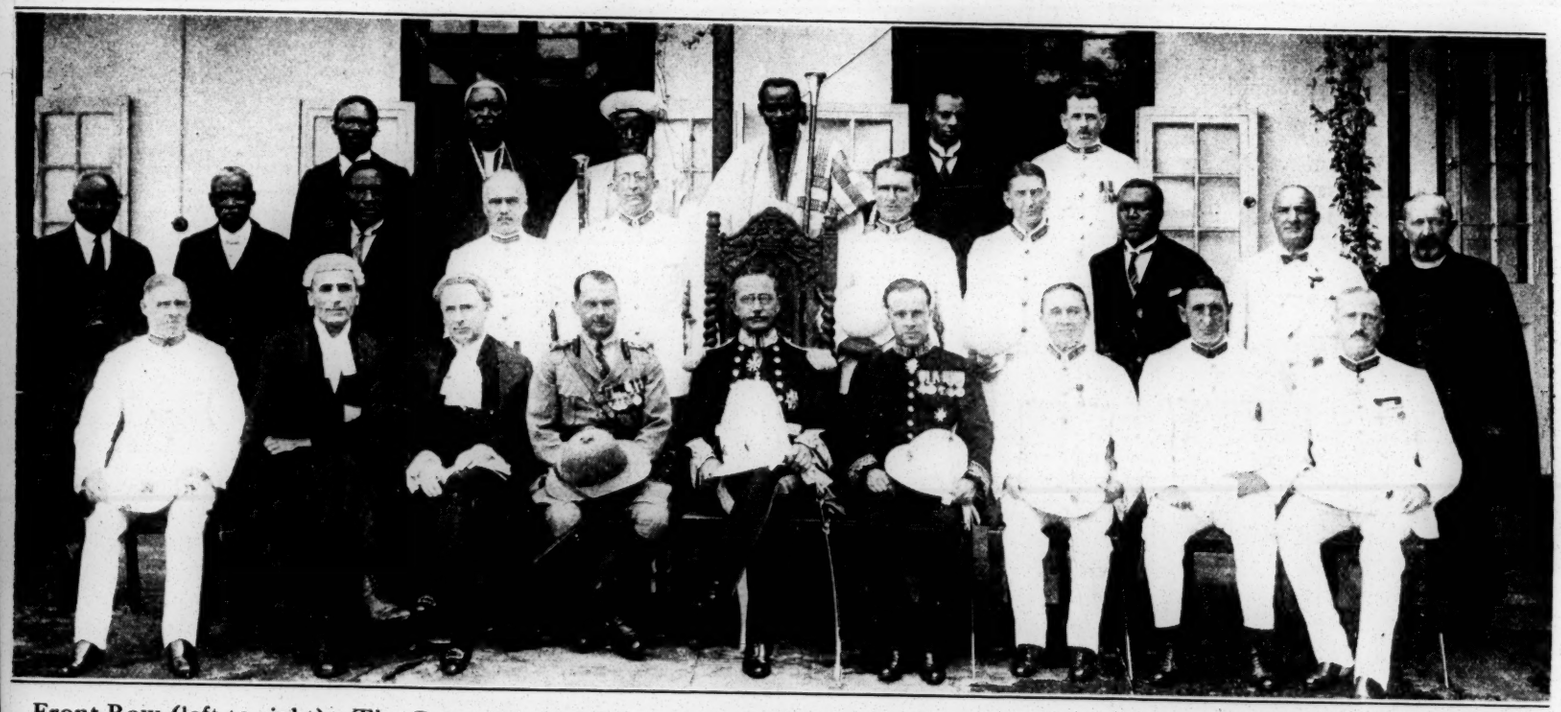
The Resident and the Chiefs.

The news, as I write, is that the Resident of the Colony has settled the difference between our Chiefs, which, I take it, means the difference between a strong and sensible Chief, Adamo Akeju Obanikoro, and the others. Here, again, the "difference" between them lies in taking proper views of things, and if the settlement of the difference means that the Resident has taught the other Chiefs how to look things squarely in the face, then he must be warmly congratulated. Chief Obanikoro has always stood loyally by the Government. His "troubles" started with the other Chiefs, when, during the water-rate agitation, he advised constitutional methods with the authorities. When, again, he sided with the Eleko in declining to "go and see the Governor" on behalf of a malefactor who had been convicted of embezzlement of a trust money, the masses rose against him, and the Eleko's house fell to the ground. Chief Obanikoro's palace, *Afin*, subsequently shared the same fate from the hands of the rabble. Of recent years, he had been much vilified because he refused to be associated with any political parties (so-called), while other Chiefs fell headlong into the snare of the noisy set. His ever-readiness to place all his great knowledge of native laws and customs when asked for, before the Government is the envy of his less skilful brothers, some of whom always find occasion to calumniate the Chief. Again, when the Government has made a pronouncement on the Eleko question, he thought that further steps to be taken should rest with them, the Chiefs, rather than that the matter should be left to agitators to be made sport of. The other Chiefs and the people have now come to see the sense of that advice, but they dare not express it!

FREEMASONRY IN LAGOS.

Mr. T. Acheson Webb, the popular Town Engineer of the Lagos Town Council, Deputy Grand Master, with his brethren, many of whom are men well- known in the official and commercial circles of the Colony.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF SIERRA LEONE.



Front Row (left to right): The Commissioner of Central Province (W. D. Bowden, Esq.), the Acting Attorney-General (A. C. V. Prior, Esq.), the Acting Chief Justice (M. J. F. McDonnell, Esq.), the Officer Commanding the Troops Colonel G. T. Mair, D.S.O.), His Excellency the Governor (Sir A. R. Slater, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.), the Colonial Secretary (H. C. Luke, Esq.), the Colonial Treasurer (Major P. F. Barton V.D.), the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services (Dr. W. J. D. Inness), the Commissioner of Northern Province (Captain W. B. Stanley, O.M.G., C.B.E.). Second Row: C. May, Esq. (Mayor of Freetown), A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, Esq., J.P., Dr. H. C. Bankole Bright, the Acting Commissioner of Lands and Forests (D. W. Scotland, Esq.), the Director of Public Works (W. S. Lake, Esq.), the Commissioner of Southern Province (A. H. Ross, Esq.), the Compt oller of Customs (J. I. Lauder, Esq.), E. S. Beoku Betts, Esq., J. H. Phillips, Esq., Rev. J. Denton. Third Row: Clerk of Legislative Council (J. L. John, Esq.), Paramount Chief (Baki John Tucker), Paramount Chief (Bai Kom a), Paramount Chief (Bai Comber), C. E. Wright, Esq., B.L., A.D.C., and Private Secre ary (H. Basevi, Esq.)

HOIST IN HIS OWN PETARD:—Now-a-days the tendency of youngmen and youths in their behaviour towards their elders is far from satisfactory and the subjoined true story, if carefully read, may not only interest but point out the culminating result of such behaviour. Gold Coast Leader

There was once an African Chief who had a slave, whom he trusted and therefore started him on a small trade. The slave did his work well and gained the confidence of his master. The trade increased and each time he secretly laid some of the profits by for himself. Gradually he accumulated sufficient wealth and bethought he could be master himself. He suited action to his thought, bought slaves and set up a household, he further ordered an ivory horn to be made and when blown, to convey to the people—"I have no oppressive master"—(Fanti) *"Mi nyi wura-a ohyem"*. The master heard the words of the horn when blown and ordered and additional horn to be made whicl when blown would convey the words "when trouble comes" (Fanti) *"Asem baba dabi."*

It happened this slave, who had now become absolutely independent, mis-conducted himself with one of the King's wives, and the law of that kingdom was, the master was to sacrifice his life as the penalty; and he was accordingly to pay with his life. He begged the king to assemble all the people and the chiefs. Each chief came with his horn including his slave. He asked the King for the horns to be blown one by one, and when it came to the slave's horn—it sounded distinctly *"Nde mi nyi wura "*—"I have no master now". The master was set free and the slave instantly beheaded". Now what say you, youngmen.?

Problem = 1925.
Africa.

NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA DENIED PROPER EDUCATION BY GOVERNMENT

Deplorable Condition of the People Who Are Neglected by the Government, Misled by White Missionaries and Robbed by White Planters and Other Employers of Labor

To the Editor of The Negro World:

As a reader of your paper I desire to give your readers a short sketch of the conditions under which the black man of South Africa has to con-tend and labor with from day to day.

I am the minister in charge of the United Church, Hankey, Cape Province, South Africa. The church has been founded for the unification of the black man of South Africa, today divided among the various sects and denominations under European control, and it is the aim and object of these denominations to keep the black man divided as much as possible, knowing that in division there lies weakness.

And these denominations keep the black man to a certain degree only and over that degree he must not advance for fear he will become capable of managing his own affairs and thereby jeopardize the white man's supremacy.

As the idea is to make South Africa a white man's country by hook or crook, hence these various missionary societies and denominations are kept and controlled by European influence and power, so as to keep the poor blacks in ignorance and division. But the great sin and pity is that the large number of black followers of these societies and denominations are ignorant of the fact that they are financially and otherwise strengthening the hands of their oppressors. Under the cloak of religion they are posing as their friends and benefactors.

The followers and supporters among the black race in South Africa are approximately 500,000. Just think to what extent the African race is the stumbling block of their own progress. And yet as followers and supporters of these societies and denominations they are not allowed to sit on their boards of control or management even a mere figurehead.

This is not an educational institute, but it is under control of Europeans and their curriculum, is obsolete. But what does it matter? It's good enough for the black. Technical institutes for black students there is none. The government of South Africa has lately opened in various places technical training institutes for Europeans only. And we have not even heard that any of these good men who are supposed to look after the interest and welfare of the black man have raised their voices against the unholy bar.

If sermons, anthems and hallelujah songs are only things needful to fit the African to compete with the world's economic system and to play his part in the great battle of life which is staring him in the face—well, then, God have mercy upon us.

Africa has been marked upon this map as the "Dark Continent," and that is true, for in spite of the so-called advancement of civilization, many dark deeds are still perpetrated in this land, under the very eyes of civilized men and women. Thousands of black men and women are in the midst of cities and towns living in filth and dirt, and why? Because they are oppressed, despised and rejected of men—men who believe and call themselves Christians.

Here in this very town of Hankey a mission station of 100 years old, under the London Missionary Society, there are many who can't even write their names, and they have been robbed of all their land by the London Missionary Society, and now these poor people have to live out among the farmers, their houses are huts made of branches daubed with mud and these houses often contain only one room, which serves as kitchen dining-room and bedroom to father mother, sons and daughters. The wages of the father under these farmers is no more than $4 a month, with which he has to keep and support himself and family, and he gets an allowance of three buckets of meaties per month. The children grow up untrained and uneducated, with no aim or outlook in life, and no one seems to care.

Even the educational department of the government has told me (as you will see from enclosed letter) that it has no money for these blacks, when I appealed to it. Just think, the government, the trustee of the people, saying it has no money to educate them. What is the future outlook to be? And yet the slogan in America is "Africa for the African." Is there any hope of such under such conditions?

What we want in South Africa today, if we desire to make "Africa for the African" a reality, is more black men and black women of the higher status who are actuated by the life blood of the spirit and by the feelings of the throbbing heart, who will offer up and sacrifice themselves, their time and money, and it is a paying investment, to emancipate their brothers from such, and such conditions as are prevailing in South Africa today.

I came to this district in 1922 and as I have already recorded I found the people laboring under those conditions, and today I have on the roll over 300 of our brethren who have emancipated themselves from the bonds of European lordship, and they have now their own church and school grounds at Hankey and Patentu, and they have opened in hired premises at another small town called Lovis a church and school. The school has a roll of 40 children. We intend, if finance allows, to build a school at Patentu. At Hankey we also intend to begin shortly, as we only have a temproary building for the present.

I can assure you and your readers that this has cost much labor and sacrifice, but the Lord has been with us. But there is yet much to do and we are in urgent need of £1,000 to build the necessary classrooms and other buildings. And if we desire to inspire hope into the African race that "Africa will yet be for the African," then it is essential that the work shall be speedily done.

Will, therefore now, the hearts of our brethren and friends in America respond to this urgent call and contribute of their charity to this noble work? No gift is too large nor too small and it will be duly acknowledged. Let the year 1925 be to us a year of "Acta non Verba." And with my best wish s to all and The Negro World, yours sincerely,

REV. G. MATTHEW DRAYE.

Secretary General to the Holy United Church, Hankey, C. P., South Africa.

IN THE INTEREST OF WEST AFRICA.

We have recently received in this Office a set of School "Readers" prepared by the Rev. W. T. Balmer, M.A., B.D., well-known in West Africa as a Wesleyan Missionary and an expert in the matter of education.

Before entering the Wesleyan Ministry Mr. Balmer had spent several years in school-teaching; and when he arrived in Sierra Leone in 1902 under the auspices of the Wesleyan Missionary Society it was to establish for the benefit of the West African Native Ministry an Institution, now defunct, but then known as the Richmond Theological Institution for the training of candidates for the local Wesleyan Ministry; and the usefulness of Mr. Balmer's work in that institution abides in the service—some of quite a first-rate character—which is being rendered by those "Balmer's Men" who are to be found not only in Sierra Leone, but at the Gambia, the Gold Coast, and at Lagos.

The removal, in 1902, by death, still widely lamented, of the Rev. J. Claudius May, F.R.G.S., first Principal of the Wesleyan Boys' High School, brought Mr. Balmer into connection with that School. His principalship of the Institution was at first between whiles, but subsequently it became constant and with the Rev. James T. Roberts as a most capable assistant, specially as House Master, Mr. Balmer not only preserved but increased the efficiencies of the school which bears even now, the impress of his Christian culture and ardent missionary zeal.

While ordering the business of the Richmond Institution and working at the High School, Mr. Balmer also organized the Mendi Mission at Kroo Bay; and this Mission grew under his fostering care. In a short time and due no doubt to strong desire on his part to render real service to his Kroo Bay flock, he acquired the Mendi language in which he preached to the people. And God blessed his work.

When the Richmond Institution in Freetown came to be closed, Mr. Balmer was transferred to the Gold Coast where he continued his service to West Africa, as Principal of the "Mfantsepim" School, setting himself in the meanwhile to acquire certain of the languages spoken on the Coast.

From the Gold Coast Mr. Balmer returned to Sierra Leone to give effect and form to the amalgamation scheme proposed by the Church Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies in England for the training of native missionaries. He woked on the staff as Vice-Principal at Fourah Bay College where the students all joined in honouring him as a capable leader and an intellectual force. From Fourah Bay College Mr. Balmer left finally for England about three or four years ago.

The linguistic acquirements of Mr. Balmer, on the Coast, appeared to have marked him out on his return to England as called of God to continuous service *for* West Africa; for after a rather brief appointments to circuit work in his country he was attached by the Missionary Committee to the West African Literature Committee where he now acts as secretary; and it is in connection with this Committee that the Readers referred to at the head of this article were prepared by Mr. Balmer.

Six of the set of nine books which have been sent to us are Readers; the remaining three which

Dec. 6, 1924

[illegible] Schools have been in the hands of Reading Books. One attempt in each is [illegible] Schools. One of these three is "Afollows another in quick succession and in each is [illegible] Schools. One of these three is "Afollows another in quick succession and in each is [illegible] Schools. One of these three is "Afollows another in quick succession and

Race Problem - 1925.

Africa.

NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA DENIED PROPER EDUCATION BY GOVERNMENT

Deplorable Condition of the People Who Are Neglected by the Government, Misled by White Missionaries and Robbed by White Planters and Other Employers of Labor

To the Editor of The Negro World:

As a reader of your paper I desire to give your readers a short sketch of the conditions under which the black man of South Africa has to contend and labor with from day to day.

I am the minister in charge of the United Church, Hankey, Cape Province, South Africa. The church has been founded for the unification of the black man of South Africa, divided among the various denominations under European control, and it is the aim and object of these denominations to keep the black man in ignorance and division. But the great sin and pity is that the large number of black followers of these societies and denominations are ignorant of the fact that they are financially and otherwise strengthening the hands of their oppressors. Under the cloak of religion they are posing as their friends and benefactors.

The followers and supporters among the black race in South Africa are approximately 500,000. Just think to what extent the African race is the stumbling block of their own progress. And yet as followers and supporters of these societies they are not allowed to sit on the boards of control or management of these societies and denominations where lies the weakness.

And these denominations, which only recorded I found in 1922 and even now, the impress of his Christian culture and ardent missionary zeal. Dec. 6, 1924

While ordering the business of the Institution and working at the High School, Mr. Balmer also organized the Mendi Mission at Kroo Bay; and this Mission grew under his fostering care. In a short time and due no doubt to strong desire on his part to render real service to his fellowmen, songs are only things needful to fit man for the African to compete with the world's economic system and to play his part in the great battle of life—they are superstitious people

We offer him gratitudes for what he has given us so far, and wish him equal success in his future endeavours.

Republic of Liberia.

OUR LIBERIAN NEWS-LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, January 5.

Spanish Governor-General's Visit.

His Excellency Don Angel Barera Governor-General of Fernando Po, and th Spanish Guinea, visited the capital on De cember 2 last. The Governor-General wa met at the landing-stage by the Secretar of State. A guard of honour which was sta tioned on the wharf was inspected by Hi Excellency: and a procession was formed which wended its way to the Executive Man sion, where he was received by the President.

Opening of the Legislature.

The Legislature convened on December 2 in its regular session. Two senators and one representative from the new County of Grand Cape Mount were seated. The session promises to be a very lively one, as several concessions have been applied for, and the Administration's attitude in regard to the U.N.I.A. will come up for discussion.

BON VOYAGE!

MR. FRANCIS O'MEARA,
His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires and Consul-General at the British Legation, Monrovia, who left for Liberia last Wednesday.

President King's Message.

His Excellency President King delivered his annual message to the Legislature on the 9th ultimo, in the presence of a large and representative gathering, which included the Diplomatic Corps. The message was lengthy, interesting, and informative. His Excellency reviewed the affairs of all the departments of the Government for the past year.

Annual Meeting of Farmers' Association.

The Farmers' Association of Liberia held its annual meeting in Monrovia on December 10 and 11, under the presidency of Mr. D. E. Howard, ex-President of Liberia. Very interesting papers were read at the meeting by prominent citizens. The Government promised its moral assistance, and eventually financial assistance after the association has assured the initiative of helping itself. The meeting was graced with the presence of His Excellency President King, Vice-President Wesley, Chief Justice Johnson, and other high officials of the Government.

Secretary of Education's Marriage.

A very attractive wedding took place on December 30, at Trinity Memorial Church, Monrovia, when Miss M. B. Merriam became the bride of Dr. W. B. Payne, Secretary of Education in President King's Cabinet. The bride was given in marriage by Vice-President Wesley, and the Secretary of State acted as best man. President King and his Cabinet, members of the Legislature, and other high officials of the Government attended the ceremony.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT KING

Liberia's Confidence in Her President—Repudiation of Garveyism.

("African World" Correspondent.)

The following two Acts, which were passed into law by the Liberian Legislature at the last session of that body, constitute a significant and unmistakable proof of the trend of public opinion in the Republic towards her progressive and enlightened President, and as regards Garveyism, as represented by the emissaries of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, who have been deported from the shores of Liberia. The first Act is a noteworthy one on the part of the Legislature, for it is the consensus of opinion that President King has been, and will continue to be, one of the most potent factors in the progress and uplift of his country.

AN ACT EXPRESSING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA IN HIS EXCELLENCY CHARLES DUNBAR BURGESS KING, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, AND TENDERING TO HIM THEIR HEARTIEST THANKS FOR HIS HONEST, PATRIOTIC, AND UNSELFISH SERVICES.

Whereas, the honest, patriotic, and unselfish services of His Excellency Charles Dunbar Burgess King are acknowledged as having placed the People of Liberia under weighty obligations, and eminently entitling him to their confidence and thanks.

Therefore, it is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled:—

Section 1.—That from and after the passage of this Act the National Legislature, on behalf of the People of Liberia, record with very great pleasure their confidence in His Excellency Charles Dunbar Burgess King, President of Liberia, and tender to him their heartiest thanks for the honest, patriotic, and unselfish services he is rendering the State.

Section 2.—This Act shall be published immediately.

Any Law to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

AN ACT APPROVING THE DEPORTATION OF THE EMISSARIES OF THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY CHARLES DUNBAR BURGESS KING, PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA.

Whereas, as a far-seeing and patriotic statesman, His Excellency Charles Dunbar Burgess King deported in July, 1924, the emissaries of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, thereby demonstrating the correctness and soundness of his policy and political principles, with which the National Legislature is in full accord.

Therefore, it is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature Assembled:—

Section 1.—That from the passage of this Act the deportation of the emissaries of the Universal Negro Improvement Association on the 31st day of July, 1924, be and the same is hereby approved.

Section 2.—This Act shall be published immediately.

Any Law to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

DR. GEORGE REFFELL, M.A.

A notable native gentleman of West Africa left for Sierra Leone by the "Adda" last week in the person of Dr. G. C. E. Reffell, who has probably obtained more distinctions in medical and surgical studies than any other of his countrymen. In view of the interest which is being taken in the attainments of West Africans, the following particulars regarding his career will be read with interest and advantage by many students on the Coast, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Reffell's success will serve as an incentive to ambitious young men who intend to take up medicine as their means of livelihood.

Dr. George Claudius Edowoo Reffell, M.A., B.Sc., M.B., B.S.(Durh.), D.P.H.(Lond.), F.R.I.P.H.(Lond.), is the son of the Hon. Thomas George and Sarah Ann Reffell, of Lower Buchanan, Grand Bassa, Liberia. He started schooling under a private tutor, Mr. Porter, of Upper Buchanan, Grand Bassa, and subsequently went to Buxton Day School, Freetown.

He went to the Sierra Leone Boys' High School in May, 1902, under the first principal the Rev. J. Claudius May, F.R.G.S., also under his able successor, the Rev. W. G. Nicol, M.A., until December, 1910. Matriculating at Fourah Bay College in March, 1911, Dr. Reffell spent a year there, and left in July, 1912, for England, where he entered University College, Durham, in January, 1913, under the mastership of the Rev. Henry Gee, M.A., D.D., now Dean of Gloucester, and was the first West African to be admitted to the premier college of the University.

He took the degree of B.A. in June, 1915, and entered the Armstrong College and the Medical College in October, 1915, and took the B.Sc. in pure Science in June, 1919.

It was subsequently ascertained that he was the first student to obtain the B.Sc. subsequent to a B.A. in the University of Durham, and consequently the Senate specially granted him the M.A. degree without examination, which was conferred in June, 1920, at which convocation his parents were present at Durham. He was also the first to obtain B.Sc. in pure science on the West Coast of Africa.

In June, 1923, he took the degrees of M.B. and B.S., and took a course at the School of Tropical Medicine, London, obtaining the Certificate of Licentiate in March, 1924. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine in April, 1924. He proceeded to the Royal Institute of Public Health and took the course, and graduated by taking the Diploma of Public Health of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians of London in December, 1924.

He has since been elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of Public Health (London), the first West African to be so elected (January, 1925).

There were many friends at the Liverpool landing stage to wish "bon voyage" to Dr. Reffell, including Mr. and Mrs. Suthers (Manchester), Mr. Hilton, of Messrs. W. E. Griffiths and Co., and Mr. W. G. Bates, of W. G. Bates and Co. This distinguished son of West Africa carries with him the warmest good wishes of both Europeans and Africans for his future success and prosperity.

DR. GEORGE REFFELL, M.A.

Race Problem—1925.

Africa.

SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND

COPYRIGHT RESERVED.

CHAPTER IV.

Borea, First and Second.

FARAMA BOREA. KING OF SIERRA LEONE, 1607-1630.—Farama Borea, the son of the chief who reigned under Philips, over that portion of the land now known as Maloki and Kwaia, became overlord by the acclamation of the people. He possessed all the qualifications necessary, a clear understanding, a sober mind, a grip of affairs, and a sufficient personal following to make him powerful enough to enforce the observance and execution of the laws he from time to time promulgated. Finch calls him "Captain Caran," and his two chief lieutenants, "Captain Pinto, who dwelleth at a town within the second cove," and "Captain Boloone, from the other side of the bay" (Bullam). He also states that the King's dominion stretched forty leagues inland, that he was paid tribute of cotton-cloth, tusks and gold, and that he had a prospering Slave Trade of his own.

Soon after his enthronement, Borea moved his headquarters from Tumbo Island to Robera, now Robene Point, where he built a large important town, guarded by mazes of mangrove bush, and difficult of access from both land and water. For he came to the crown at a critical time. His subjects were the prey of an increasing band of Slavers. Diminished in numbers, panic-stricken, half their food supply gone because of their fear of the river (where the slave-ships congregated), they presented a problem that only a man after the order of Borea the First could solve.

Jan. 10, 1925

The King was largely assisted in his labour of consolidating his kingdom by the local representatives of the Society of Jesus. Barreiro had had his wish, the Order of Christ had given place to the Jesuits, who, during this reign, commenced a work that, with varying results, was to last for nearly two hundred years. The church they built in the king's town, says Finch, was decorated with "Tables" upon which was written "such days as they were to keep holy."

Amongst Borea's earliest visitors were William Keeling [1] (with William Hawkins and David Middleton), and William Finch, an English merchant of patient observation.

THE TEMNE PEOPLE.—From the "Journal" of the last-named can be gained a good picture of the Temne people. "They are big and well-set men, strong and courageous, and of a civil disposition." "They were very just and true, and theft is punished with present death." "The king, and some about him, are decently clothed." Some of the men had beards, and the women wore their hair in regulated tufts (a fashion existing to this day). Their houses were of mud and bamboo, and they had some furniture and utensils. They cultivated gardens of fruit-trees and vegetables. They hunted and fished. They could work iron for weapons, spears, arrows, swords, the points being fashioned with skill, and dipped in vegetable poisons. They drank palm-wine, and both men and women smoked, their pipes being their own workmanship. They had established a trade with both English and Portuguese for domestic pottery, weapons and knives and linen.

They circumcised their children. They buried their dead, scattering gris-gris (bits of metal, glass, and rags) about the graves. In 1598, when a Dutch fleet had anchored in the river, some of the Hollanders went ashore to cut wood, and felled timber that the natives "paid religious respect unto." Not ceasing at the entreaty of the Negroes, the matter passed from words to blows, "and the Dutchmen were forced to get them to their boats, one of their company being killed." Hence arose the idea that the Temnes worshipped trees. The incident could be better explained by believing that the trees were near to graves and consequently bearing gris-gris and therefore had a sentimental value to their owners. It is said that the man who had slain the Dutch seaman was offered, for punishment, to the fleet, and when refused was executed by his countrymen.

Strangely enough the long-drawn-out quest for "Prester John's" residence at Timbuctoo [2] never touched this river. The pilgrims, or crusaders, who gave their lives to it, never imagined, as they did of so many other West African streams, that the river Sierra Leone was the Niger. This may explain why the Company of Adventurers of London (1618), a chartered company formed during this reign, whose members were enthusiasts, full of the romance of the quest, made no sign of knowing this land existed.

BOREA THE GREAT KING OF SIERRA LEONE, 1630-1664.—The first English settlement was in the reign of Borea the Great, son of Borea the First, and one of the most powerful of the kings who occupied the throne of Sierra Leone. This monarch abandoned his father's town and rebuilt the one devastated by Hawkins. This headquarters was afterwards called Domingo Town, and is now known as Kissy Town. It is situated a few miles north of Freetown. There are many stories told of the second Borea's great stature, his strength and his bravery. By his adventurous career he has claim to be the "King Alfred" of his people, although unlike that white hero, he at last fell, fighting for his friends the English, in their local battle with the Dutch.

The history of that settlement is as follows:—Sir Richard Young and others gained a Charter from Charles the First, in 1631, for thirty-one years, and, after an unexampled series of disasters, surrendered it after a few months. Seven years later, a new Charter was granted, to The African Company, whose directors included the well-known merchants Nicholas Crisp and Humphrey Sladen of London. In 1651, the year of the Worcester victory of Oliver Cromwell, the Council of State decided that authority over "twenty leagues on each side of the river Cerberro (Sherbro), near Sierra Liona," should be renewed to this company on condition it fortified its settlements and secured them to the nation's interest. [3] The ships of both these companies frequented the river.

PEPYS "GUINNY COMPANY."—In 1663, three years after the Restoration, Charles the Second gave his patronage to the Company of Royal Adventurers in Africa, formed "to help trade, encourage the discovery of the golden mines, and superintend settlement in plantations. Amongst other duties was that of providing two elephants for the King's (Charles II) convenience when he visited them, and that of supplying 3,000 Negroes annually as slaves to the British West Indies. The founders of the company included the newly-wed queen, Catherine of Braganza, and the Lord High Admiral, James, Duke of York (afterwards James the Second). They were granted a seal, having on one side a portrait of the king, and on the reverse an elephant supported by "two blackamoors," and they issued their own minted money in golden coins of two values, £5 and 21s. [4] This company built forts on Bunce and Tasso islands and on Sherbro Peninsula.

BUNCE ISLAND.—Bunce Island lies up the river about eighteen miles from Freetown. Its written history commences in 1663. Then, and for many years after, the river had a channel to its shores, and sea-going ships could anchor within gunshot. Borea the Great, temporarily defeated once again by a neighbour, sought its well-wooded security, and he was found by the agents of the Royal Adventurers, who so liked his island that they built a fort on its southern shore. That first defence was the one blown to pieces by De Ruyter.

The Portuguese and the Dutch had ceased to be friends, and the latter were seizing Portuguese forts and settlements along the coast. As was the custom in those days, they included in their enmity all who were not of their own nationality, and the Royal Adventurers were soon complaining that their trade was being seriously damaged. Charles the Second sent out that firebrand, Robert Holmes, [5] in the *Jersey*, for their protection, who made a characteristic expedition, that led to what is known as the Second Dutch War, in which their Admiral, De Ruyter, retaliated by smashing every English fort he could find.

Descending upon this river in the midst of his fury, he swept away the Portuguese fort on the mainland, and the island forts of the English on Bunce and Tasso, afterwards explaining he had done so because some of his countrymen, who had settled in the land had been captured and badly treated. Amongst those killed on Bunce Island was Borea the Great, who bravely stood by the nation whose representatives had leased ground for factory sites. A Governor Burton, in his *English Acquisitions in Guinea*, mentions that the Governor of Bunce by name Abraham, was brought as a prisoner on board the Dutch Man-of-war, on which Burton himself was in like plight, and, that through the intercession of a son of the Bullom Chief, and by the payment of a ransom of one hundred tusks and "two live civet cats," Abraham was released before the fleet left the river. The Dutch took awaw with them five hundred tusks and a great store of barter-goods, leaving fifty to sixty lasts of salt" as being ware of no commercial value.

GAMBIA ISLAND.—The visit of Claude Jannequinn, Sieur de Rochfort, to Gambia Island, in 1639, brings under this reign a reference to the debated question of the date of the French occupation of that island, and also of their early, or late, association with the West Coast. The claim of the French to be the pioneer trading nation to this part of Africa has been dismissed by many scholars and accepted by others. The story is that the gallant but voluble Jean de Rouen, in his "richly carved and guilt" *Notre Dame de Bon Voyage*, arrived here in 1366, and called his anchorage the Baie de France. On his return a company was formed, called the Norman Merchants of Dieppe and Rouen, which sent out four vessels on a voyage of colonisation. This fleet planted settlements on Gambia Island in this river (calling it Petit-Dieppe), on the coast to the south-east of Sierra Leone (now Sesters, Liberia—calling it Petit-Paris, and on the Gold Coast (now Elmina—calling it La Mine d'Or). Until the wars of the Sixth and Seventh Charles impoverished the nation, the trade

The building of the fort on the Sherbro river, about one hundred miles south-east of the Sierra Leone river, helped to considerably enlarge the kingdom over which the successors of Borea the Great reigned.

4—The larger value is mentioned by Samuel Pepys 1633 to 1703 in his diary. "21 September, 1668. This day also came out first the new five pieces in gold, coined by the Guinny Company, and I did get two pieces from Mr. Holar." The smaller coin, known as a "guinea" was afterwards, until 1813, incorporated in the English coinage.

5—Afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight, frequently mentioned by Pepys, and of whom Dryden, in his "Annus Mirabilis, wrote;

"And Holmes, whose name shall live in epic song
While music numbers, or while verse has feet;
Holmes, the Achates of the general's fight,
Who first bewitch'd our eyes with Guinea Gold."

a. See Historical Geography of West Africa, by C. P. Lucas 1893; and a History of Dieppe, by Charles Merk M.A. Ph.D, 1909.

b. Afterwards known as Frenchman's Bay, St. George's Bay and Kroo Bay.

"NIGGER."

Some months ago, noticing in the *Spectator* the word *nigger*, the writer hereof wrote to the editor of that paper, pointing out that the use of this word, as applied to Africans, was quite needless, wounding to the susceptibilities of our African fellow-subjects, and harmful to British interests. His letter was not printed by the *Spectator*, but he is glad to see from the latest issue of that excellent newspaper, that another writer, Mr. Scoresby Routledge, has fared better with a protest to like effect. Here it is, as appearing in the *Spectator* for November 29th:—

["To the Editor of the "Spectator."]

Sir,—On behalf of many African friends, both in Jamaica and in Africa, I desire to point out that, in the first of a series of articles on "America Revisited," which Mr. Huxley has written for the "Spectator," occur these words: "A hot, lazy life with niggers," and you promise us an article by him on the Negro Problem. Is your contributor ignorant of the fact that to-day the word "nigger" is considered by Africans to be the most offensive of all epithets? Is he not aware that it is a word that deeply wounds their feelings and prompts in many the bitterest resentment? A word unutterable.

In courteous speech and script a man is white: a White man, a European; or he his black, a Black man, an African. If he be born in Jamaica, he is a "Jamiacan," irrespective of racial blood, and, by special Act of Parliament, is possessed of all the rights of a British subject. Long and intimate association with Africans, both in Africa, in the West Indies, and at sea, enables me to assure you that I do not overstate the case. Only those behind the scenes have the opportunity of appreciating the harm done by even the thoughtless or innocent use of this insolent and cruel word, "nigger."

I therefore ask you, Sir, to print this letter that your readers may not offend from lack of warning.—I am, Sir, etc.,

SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE.

4, Hyde Park Gardens, W. 2.

Mr. Scoresby Routledge is, of course, quite right. It is astonishing how many British publications, which would not knowingly wound inoffensive people, fall into error as the *Spectator* did—though it will not do so again, we hope. The writer for some months kept a list of contemporaries which allowed publication of the word *nigger*, and he noted with surprise that it included even newspapers of the character of the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Nation*. Of such, certainly, and of most other probably, it can be said with confidence that they are innocent of thought of offence, but simply repeat a common expression. It is a repetition which works great racial mischief.

The African Society is about to hold its annual meeting. The Society would perform a useful service if it would, by resolution, appeal to the London Newspaper Proprietors' Association, the Periodical Trade Press and Weekly Newspaper Proprietors' Association, and the Newspaper Society, to issue an instruction to their printers' readers to the effect that, except where quoted in a law report, the word *nigger* must never appear in any of their publications. If this were done, in a year or two people who heard the word would not know what it meant. We should root it out of the language; and a good thing, too.—*West Africa*, December 6, 1924.

ABYSSINIA AND SLAVERY.

COMMENTING on the edict forbidding the sale or purchase of slaves in Abyssinia, and the Regent's orders dealing with persons already in slavery when his edict was delivered, *Stead's Review* says that this action seems to dispose of the hope that slavery in that country was to be entirely abolished. Judges are to be appointed who may investigate the condition of the slaves and enforce their proper feeding and treatment. Thus something like the principle of factory inspection is to be applied for the first time in our era to the condition of slaves, and the position of the children is to be similarly protected. The children of all slaves are to be set free, but will remain with their parents until they are fifteen. Slaves baptised under the control of their masters and those who have had children by a master or his son will be liberated. Similar provisions are made for captured slaves, and some others. While these reforms are not fully satisfactory, they constitute a great step forward for a country like Abyssinia, says the journal.

INFORMATION has reached us that the visit of the Congress Delegation to Nigeria has for the present, been deferred and it is gratifying to learn that our Nigerian brethren have already taken active steps to set their house in order, which is just the right thing. No one can understand Nigerian affairs better than the Nigerians themselves, and it must be understood that the task of the Delegates would, in any case, have been a delicate one, requiring considerable tact and circumspection. Still the last session of Congress entertained not the smallest doubt as to the ability of its Delegates to compose whatever local differences there were; and it would be gratifying to think that, if the visit come to be made later, it would be more to help to consolidate the Section than to settle local differences. In the name of our common race and our common patriotism we ask all sections of the Nigerian community to come to the support and aid of the Congress in healing old wounds and promoting friendly co-operation in the general political life of the community.

Owing to the importance of the matter, we print verbatim the report of a meeting of the Lagos Section of Congress held on Monday, December 15, 1924, under the chairmanship of Mr. E. M. E. Agbeb[illegible] here it is:—

"THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

"A meeting of the Lagos Branch of the Congress was held at Idupesi Hall on Monday afternoon, December 15, 1924, under the Chairmanship of Mr. E. M. E Agbeni.

"An account was given of the very happy and friendly co-operation between the Lagos and Ebute Metta Committees at the joint sessions held for drawing up a programme for the reception of the Congress delegates from abroad. In view of the reorganization of the Lagos Branch the joint Committee recommended that the visit of the Congress delegates be postponed. The Meeting accepted the recommendation.

"The work of reorganizing the Branch and of consolidating the position gained is to be vigorously pursued. It is also in contemplation to visit the existing branches in Nigeria and to establish others.

"It was resolved that every member new or old pay an annual contribution of 2/- in advance and that from 1st January, 1925, only those who have paid the annual contribution shall be recognized as members. It is expected that many old members will seize this opportunity to renew their membership. Payments should be made to the Treasurer, Mr. S. H. A. Baptist.

"High encomiums and well-merited praise were showered upon the Rev. Mojola Agbebi and Rev. A. O. Ighoroje for their untiring zeal and energy in the cause of the Congress and for their faith, which is now being rewarded by the growing interest in the Congress Movement. Both gentlemen were made members of the Committee.

"To fill the post of Secretary two meeting unanimously elected Mr. A. Latunde Jodnson and Mr. E. A. Franklin to be joint Secretaries upon the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Rev. Patriarch Campbell. High hopes are entertained of the success of the Congress in Lagos and in Nigeria generally in the hands of the joint Secretaries.

"The list of Officers to date is as follows:—

"Chairman	Mr. E. M. E. Agbeni.
Treasurer:	" S. H. A. Baptist.
Secretaries:	" A. Latunde Johnson and
	" E. A. Franklin."

This we have done for general information, and, as we have said, we trust it will be possible for all, who have the good of our race at heart, to sink all personal considerations and remember that in co-operation upon broad lines of racial emancipation lies the safety of the African. If ever the African's greatest enemy has been himself. In America to-day we see two great camps, namely, the following of Marcus Garvey and the following of DuBois, who, at rock bottom, are following the same object, namely, the regeneration of the African as a man along the line of general progress and opportunity. The African's economic salvation in the present world struggle is in his hands, and if our brethren in America could have sunk their personal ambitions and petty animosities, the first quarter of the century would have veritably proved the golden age of our race. But, with personal quarrels which are wholly unnecessary, there has been a set-back in normal development, and, thus, as a people, we take scores of years to accomplish what other races are able to bring to pass within a comparatively short time. Therefore, once more, we will beseech all our brethren in British West Africa to profit by the American lesson, and let us all at last make one long strenuous pull together which will bring us right to the goal.

Our brethren of the Sierra Leone section of Congress are organizing in such a practical way, which deserves to be studied by our other organisations. They have adopted the simple method of making every member of Congress pay an annual subscription of [illegible] and for members of the executive Committee to pay 10/- besides an [illegible] ship of a couple thousand members even, a splendid annual income would be assured, and, if propaganda work were as active as it should be, the number of active members that could be enrolled in British West Africa, for this is not the day which we trust the differences of Sections of Congress will take up. A well-initiated to previous issue, the Western Province Gold Coast section has adopted this method of work, and the active co-operation of Church and State in this Province ought [illegible] to become an object-lesson of great value. We learn that at the last missionary meeting of the Sekondee Circuit of the Wesleyan Mission this important feature of co-operation was emphasised. We say in Fanti "*Onan si ho, ne posban sie.*" In other words, where would the

4—The larger value is mentioned by Samuel Pepys 1633 to 1703 in his diary. "21 September, 1668. This day also came out first the new five pieces in gold, coined by the Guinny Company, and I did get two pieces from Mr. Holar." The smaller coin, known as a "guinea" was afterwards, until 1813, incorporated in the English coinage.

5—Afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight, frequently mentioned by Pepys, and of whom Dryden, in his "Annus Mirabilis, wrote;

"And Holmes, whose name shall live in epic song
While music numbers, or while verse has feet;
Holmes, the Achates of the general's fight,
Who first bewitch'd our eyes with Guinea Gold."

a. See Historical Geography of West Africa, by C. P. Lucas 1893; and a History of Dieppe. by Charles Merk M.A. Ph.D, 1909.

b. Afterwards known as Frenchman's Bay, St. George's Bay and Kroo Bay.

"NIGGER."

Some months ago, noticing in the *Spectator* the word *nigger*, the writer hereof wrote to the editor of that paper, pointing out that the use of this word, as applied to Africans, was quite needless, wounding to the susceptibilities of our African fellow-subjects, and harmful to British interests. His letter was not printed by the *Spectator*, but he is glad to see from the latest issue of that excellent newspaper, that another writer, Mr. Scoresby Routledge, has fared better with a protest to like effect. Here it is, as appearing in the *Spectator* for November 29th:—

[To the Editor of the "Spectator."]

Sir,—On behalf of many African friends, both in Jamaica and in Africa, I desire to point out that, in the first of a series of articles on "America Revisited," which Mr. Huxley has written for the "Spectator," occur these words: "A hot, lazy life with niggers," and you promise us an article by him on the Negro Problem. Is your contributor ignorant of the fact that to-day the word "nigger" is considered by Africans to be the most offensive of all epithets? Is he not aware that it is a word that deeply wounds their feelings and prompts in many the bitterest resentment? A word unutterable.

In courteous speech and script a man is white: a White man, a European; or he his black, a Black man, an African. If he be born in Jamaica, he is a "Jamaican," irrespective of racial blood, and, by special Act of Parliament, is possessed of all the rights of a British subject. Long and intimate association with Africans, both in Africa, in the West Indies, and at sea, enables me to assure you that I do not overstate the case. Only those behind the scenes have the opportunity of appreciating the harm done by even the thoughtless or innocent use of this insolent and cruel word, "nigger."

I therefore ask you, Sir, to print this letter that your readers may not offend from lack of warning.—I am, Sir, etc.,

SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE.

4, Hyde Park Gardens, W. 2.

Mr. Scoresby Routledge is, of course, quite right. It is astonishing how many British publications, which would not knowingly wound inoffensive people, fall into error as the *Spectator* did—though it will not do so again, we hope. The writer for some months kept a list of contemporaries which allowed publication of the word *nigger*, and he noted with surprise that it included even newspapers of the character of the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Nation*. Of such, certainly, and of most other probably, it can be said with confidence that they are innocent of thought of offence, but simply repeat a common expression. It is a repetition which works great racial mischief.

The African Society is about to hold its annual meeting. The Society would perform a useful service if it would, by resolution, appeal to the London Newspaper Proprietors' Association, the Periodical Trade Press and Weekly Newspaper Proprietors' Association, and the Newspaper Society, to issue an instruction to their printers' readers to the effect that, except where quoted in a law report, the word *nigger* must never appear in any of their publications. If this were done, in a year or two people who heard the word would not know what it meant. We should root it out of the language; and a good thing, too.—*West Africa*, December 6, 1924.

ABYSSINIA AND SLAVERY.

COMMENTING on the edict forbidding the sale or purchase of slaves in Abyssinia, and the Regent's orders dealing with persons already in slavery when his edict was delivered, *Stead's Review* says that this action seems to dispose of the hope that slavery in that country was to be entirely abolished. Judges are to be appointed who may investigate the condition of the slaves and enforce their proper feeding and treatment. Thus something like the principle of factory inspection is to be applied for the first time in our era to the condition of slaves, and the position of the children is to be similarly protected. The children of all slaves are to be set free, but will remain with their parents until they are fifteen. Slaves baptised under the control of their masters and those who have had children by a master or his son will be liberated. Similar provisions are made for captured slaves, and some others. While these reforms are not fully satisfactory, they constitute a great step forward for a country like Abyssinia, says the journal.

INFORMATION has reached us that the visit of the Congress Delegation to Nigeria has for the present, been deferred and it is gratifying to note that our Nigerian brethren have already taken active steps to set their house in order, which is just the right thing. No one can understand Nigerian affairs better than the Nigerians themselves, and it must be apparent that the task of the delegates would, in any case, have been a delicate one, requiring considerable tact and circumspection. Still the last session of Congress entertained not the smallest doubt as to the ability of its Delegates to compose whatever local differences there were; and it would be gratifying to think that, if the visit come to be made later, it would be more to help to consolidate the Section than to settle local differences. In the name of our common race and our common patriotism we ask all sections of the Nigerian community to come to the support and aid of the Congress in healing old wounds and promoting friendly co-operation in the general political life of the community.

Owing to the importance of the matter, we print verbatim the report of a meeting of the Lagos Section of Congress held on Monday, December 15, 1924, under the chairmanship of Mr. E. M. E. Agbebi. Here it is:—

"THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

"A meeting of the Lagos Branch of the Congress was held at Hupsel Hall on Monday afternoon, December 15, 1924, under the Chairmanship of Mr. E. M. E Agbebi.

"An account was given of the very happy and friendly co-operation between the Lagos and Sierra Leone Committees at the joint sessions held for drawing up a programme for the reception of the Congress delegates from abroad. In view of the reorganization of the Lagos Branch the joint committee recommended that the visit of the Congress delegates be postponed. The Meeting adopted the recommendation.

"The work of reorganizing the Branch and of consolidating the position gained is to be vigorously pursued. It is also in contemplation to visit the existing branches in Nigeria and to establish others.

"It was decided that every member new or old pay an annual contribution of 2/- in advance and that from 1st January, 1925, only those who have paid the annual contribution shall be recognized as members. It is expected that many old members will seize the opportunity to renew their membership. Payments should be made to the Treasurer, Mr. S. H. A. Baptist.

"High encomiums and well-merited praises were showered upon the Rev. Patterson Campbell and Rev. A. O. Ignatius for their untiring zeal and energy in the cause of the Congress and for their faith, which is now being rewarded by the growing interest in the Congress Movement. Both gentlemen were made members of the Committee.

"To fill the post of Secretary the meeting unanimously elected Mr. A. Latunde Johnson and Mr. E. A. Franklin to be joint Secretaries upon the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Rev. Patterson Campbell. High hopes are entertained of the success of the Congress in Lagos and in Nigeria generally in the hands of the joint Secretaries.

"The list of Officers to date is as follows:—

"Chairman	Mr. E. M. E. Agbebi.
Treasurer:	" S. H. A. Baptist.
Secretaries:	" A. Latunde Johnson and
	" E. A. Franklin."

This we have done for general information, and, as we have said, we trust it will be possible for all, who have the good of our race at heart, to sink all personal considerations and remember that in co-operation upon broad lines of racial emancipation lies the safety of the African. Disunity is the African's greatest enemy and has been himself. In America to-day we see two rival camps, namely, the following of Marcus Garvey and the following of DuBois, who, at rock bottom, are following the same object, namely, the regeneration of the African as a man along the line of moral progress and opportunity. The African's economic salvation in the present world struggle is in his hands, and if our brethren in America could have sunk their personal ambitions and petty animosities, the first quarter of the century would have veritably proved the golden age of our race. But, with personal quarrels which are wholly unnecessary, there has been a set-back in normal development, and, thus, as a people, we take scores of years to accomplish what other races are able to bring to pass within a comparatively short time. Therefore, once more, we will beseech all our brethren in British West Africa to profit by the American lesson, and let us all at last make one long strenuous pull together which will bring us right to the goal.

Our brethren of the Sierra Leone section of Congress are organizing in such a practical way which deserves to be studied by our other organisations. They have adopted the simple method of making every member of Congress pay an annual subscription of 2/- and for [illegible] Committee to pay 10/- besides an entrance fee [illegible] This would mean that, in active members even, a selected [illegible] ship of a couple thousand members would be assured, and, if properly [illegible] annual income would be as [illegible] work were as active as it should be, [illegible] member of active members that could be enrolled Africa, for this is not the day [illegible] in British West Africa. This is a calling [illegible] which we must the different Sections of Congress [illegible] will take up. A word in season is [illegible] the Western Province Gold Coast section has [illegible] adopted this method of work, and the active co-[illegible] operation of Church and State in that Province [illegible] We learn that at the last missionary meeting of the Secondee Circuit of the Wesleyan Mission this important feature of co-operation was emphasised. We say in Fanti "*Oman si ho, ne nsoiban sen.*" In other words, where would the

Gold Coast Leader 1-24-25

East Side 1-24-25

Sierra Leone Weekly News 1-24-25

Race Problem—1925.

Africa.

SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND

COPYRIGHT RESERVED.

CHAPTER IV.

Borea, First and Second.

FARAMA BOREA. KING OF SIERRA LEONE, 1607-1630.—Farama Borea, the son of the chief who reigned under Philips, over that portion of the land now known as Maloki and Kwaia, became overlord by the acclamation of the people. He possessed all the qualifications necessary, a clear understanding, a sober mind, a grip of affairs, and a sufficient personal following to make him powerful enough to enforce the observance and execution of the laws he from time to time promulgated. Finch calls him "Captain Caran," and his two chief lieutenants, "Captain Pinto, who dwelleth at a town within the second cove," and "Captain Boloone, from the other side of the bay" (Bullam). He also states that the King's dominion stretched forty leagues inland, that he was paid tribute of cotton-cloth, tusks and gold, and that he had a prospering Slave Trade of his own.

Soon after his enthronement, Borea moved his headquarters from Tumbo Island to Robera, now Robene Point, where he built a large important town, guarded by mazes of mangrove bush, and difficult of access from both land and water. For he came to the crown at a critical time. His subjects were the prey of an increasing band of Slavers. Diminished in numbers, panic-stricken, half their food supply gone because of their fear of the river (where the slave-ships congregated), they presented a problem that only a man after the order of Borea the First could solve.

Jan. 10, 1925

The King was largely assisted in his labour of consolidating his kingdom by the local representatives of the Society of Jesus. Barreiro had had his wish, the Order of Christ had given place to the Jesuits, who, during this reign, commenced a work that, with varying results, was to last for nearly two hundred years. The church they built in the king's town, says Finch, was decorated with "Tables" upon which was written "such days as they were to keep holy."

Amongst Borea's earliest visitors were William Keeling [1] (with William Hawkins and David Middleton), and William Finch, an English merchant of patient observation.

THE TEMNE PEOPLE.—From the "Journal" of the last-named can be gained a good picture of the Temne people. "They are big and well-set men, strong and courageous, and of a civil disposition." "They were very just and true, and theft is punished with present death." "The king, and some about him, are decently clothed." Some of the men had beards, and the women wore their hair in regulated tufts (a fashion existing to this day). Their houses were of mud and bamboo, and they had some furniture and utensils. They cultivated gardens of fruit-trees and vegetables. They hunted and fished. They could work iron for weapons, spears, arrows, swords, the points being fashioned with skill, and dipped in vegetable poisons. They drank palm-wine, and both men and women smoked, their pipes being their own workmanship. They had established a trade with both English and Portuguese for domestic pottery, weapons and knives and linen.

They circumcised their children. They buried their dead, scattering gris-gris (bits of metal, glass, and rags) about the graves. In 1598, when a Dutch fleet had anchored in the river, some of the Hollanders went ashore to cut wood, and felled timber that the natives "paid religious respect unto." Not ceasing at the entreaty of the Negroes, the matter passed from words to blows, "and the Dutchmen were forced to get them to their boats, one of their company being killed." Hence arose the idea that the Temnes worshipped trees. The incident could be better explained by believing that the trees were near to graves and consequently bearing gris-gris and therefore had a sentimental value to their owners. It is said that the man who had slain the Dutch seaman was offered, for punishment, to the fleet, and when refused was executed by his countrymen.

Strangely enough the long-drawn-out quest for "Prester John's" residence at Timbuctoo [2] never touched this river. The pilgrims, or crusaders, who gave their lives to it, never imagined, as they did of so many other West African streams, that the river Sierra Leone was the Niger. This may explain why the Company of Adventurers of London (1618), a chartered company formed during this reign, whose members were enthusiasts, full of the romance of the quest, made no sign of knowing this land existed.

BOREA THE GREAT KING OF SIERRA LEONE, 1630-1664.—The first English settlement was in the reign of Borea the Great, son of Borea the First, and one of the most powerful of the kings who occupied the throne of Sierra Leone. This monarch abandoned his father's town and rebuilt the one devastated by Hawkins. This headquarters was afterwards called Domingo Town, and is now known as Kissy Town. It is situated a few miles north of Freetown. There are many stories told of the second Borea's great stature, his strength and his bravery. By his adventurous career he has claim to be the "King Alfred" of his people, although unlike that white hero, he at last fell, fighting for his friends the English, in their local battle with the Dutch.

The history of that settlement is as follows :—Sir Richard Young and others gained a Charter from Charles the First, in 1631, for thirty-one years, and, after an unexampled series of disasters, surrendered it after a few months. Seven years later, a new Charter was granted, to The African Company, whose directors included the well-known merchants Nicholas Crisp and Humphrey Sladen of London. In 1651, the year of the Worcester victory of Oliver Cromwell, the Council of State decided that authority over "twenty leagues on each side of the river Cerberro (Sherbro), near Sierra Liona," should be renewed to this company on condition it fortified its settlements and secured them to the nation's interest. [3] The ships of both these companies frequented the river.

PEPYS "GUINNY COMPANY."—In 1663, three years after the Restoration, Charles the Second gave his patronage to the Company of Royal Adventurers in Africa, formed "to help trade, encourage the discovery of the golden mines, and superintend settlement in plantations. Amongst other duties was that of providing two elephants for the King's (Charles II) convenience when he visited them, and that of supplying 3,000 Negroes annually as slaves to the British West Indies. The founders of the company included the newly-wed queen, Catherine of Braganza, and the Lord High Admiral, James, Duke of York (afterwards James the Second). They were granted a seal, having on one side a portrait of the king, and on the reverse an elephant supported by "two blackamoors," and they issued their own minted money in golden coins of two values, £5 and 21s. [4] This company built forts on Bunce and Tasso islands and on Sherbro Peninsula.

BUNCE ISLAND.—Bunce Island lies up the river about eighteen miles from Freetown. Its written history commences in 1663. Then, and for many years after, the river had a channel to its shores, and sea-going ships could anchor within gunshot. Borea the Great, temporarily defeated once again by a neighbour, sought its well-wooded security, and he was found by the agents of the Royal Adventurers, who so liked his island that they built a fort on its southern shore. That first defence was the one blown to pieces by De Ruyter.

The Portuguese and the Dutch had ceased to be friends, and the latter were seizing Portuguese forts and settlements along the coast. As was the custom in those days, they included in their enmity all who were not of their own nationality, and the Royal Adventurers were soon complaining that their trade was being seriously damaged. Charles the Second sent out that firebrand, Robert Holmes, [5] in the *Jersey*, for their protection, who made a characteristic expedition, that led to what is known as the Second Dutch War, in which their Admiral, De Ruyter, retaliated by smashing every English fort he could find.

Descending upon this river in the midst of his fury, he swept away the Portuguese fort on the mainland, and the island forts of the English on Bunce and Tasso, afterwards explaining he had done so because some of his countrymen, who had settled in the land had been captured and badly treated. Amongst those killed on Bunce Island was Borea the Great, who bravely stood by the nation whose representatives had leased ground for factory sites. A Governor Burton, in his *English Acquisitions in Guinea*, mentions that the Governor of Bunce by name Abraham, was brought as a prisoner on board the Dutch Man-of-war, on which Burton himself was in like plight, and, that through the intercession of a son of the Bullom Chief, and by the payment of a ransom of one hundred tusks and "two live civet cats," Abraham was released before the fleet left the river. The Dutch took awaw with them five hundred tusks and a great store of barter-goods, leaving fifty to sixty lasts of salt" as being ware of no commercial value.

GAMBIA ISLAND.—The visit of Claude Jannequinn, Sieur de Rochfort, to Gambia Island, in 1639, brings under this reign a reference to the debated question of the date of the French occupation of that island, and also of their early, or late, association with the West Coast. The claim of the French to be the pioneer trading nation to this part of Africa has been dismissed by many scholars and accepted by others. The story is that the gallant but voluble Jean de Rouen, in his "richly carved and guilt" *Notre Dame de Bon Voyage*, arrived here in 1366, and called his anchorage the Baie de France. On his return a company was formed, called the Norman Merchants of Dieppe and Rouen, which sent out four vessels on a voyage of colonisation. This fleet planted settlements on Gambia Island in this river (calling it Petit-Dieppe), on the coast to the south-east of Sierra Leone (now Sesters, Liberia—calling it Petit-Paris, and on the Gold Coast (now Elmina—calling it La Mine d'Or). Until the wars of the Sixth and Seventh Charles impoverished the nation, the trade

The building of the fort on the Sherbro river, about one hundred miles south-east of the Sierra Leone river, helped to considerably enlarge the kingdom over which the successors of Borea the Great reigned.

Race Problem - 1925. I.

Africa.

AFRICA IN HER PROGRESS.

BY PHILANTER.

The vices of the civilisation of some primitive peoples, according to historical research, seemed to have sprung from some sources, which were unknown, and which it was difficult to conquer, but how most countries seem to enjoy peculiar forms of civilisation.

Africa had always been designated "The dark Continent", owing to the inaccessibility of her interior regions and the unprogressive state of her sons and, though this proof suffices to a certain extent, yet the average African of the modern time feels sad to endure the evil effect of such a disgraceful epithet. If the various countries of Africa had been able to utilise and develop their natural resources, no other country or nation (outside Africa), however civilised and presperous it was, could be able to cope adequately with Africa in all problems relating to racial and social betterment. The cry for progress has always proved a long felt want in the mind of the true African.

If we take a view of the commercial and scientific progress of England and America, we are apt to conclude that our progress is not yet realised. When can we achieve this? This is a question submitted to the race to answer.

Gold Coast Leader

Now the answer to this question is not because we Africans were not gifted with the power to adapt things for our purpose and limbs to second the intentions of our will as some inventors and discoverers of some foreign nations were and still doing, but we have been retarded by the whites in making any progress and advancement, and in consequence of this retardation, our intellectual and moral endowments seem to lie in a very dormant state.

1-24-25

The future of Africa depends upon the foundations which we are building at present. Whether it will prove prosperous or not determines the factor. It behoves us heretofore to stir up our spirits in reviving the lost chances, which were offered us by nature, and which meant so much to us. Nations rise and Nations fall. Who ever thought that Assyria or Rome would fall? Was there no wonder when the Empire of Rome began to decline and fall? Is this not so encouraging as to impress on the mind of the average African, the fact, that Africa also will, in the near future rise to reclaim the precedented rights of her long missing civilisation, Religion, and Philosophy?

The time has come for us to uplift our moral standard, to stand in defence of our honour, and to utilise our resources in order that our concerted actions may prove a success.

"Like attracts like." This is an inexorable law of Nature. It is an African that can satisfy the desires of an African and sympathise with his sorrows. It is therefore of the highest degree essential that each and every one of us should cultivate habits that may have direct bearing on our future progress, but to abandon habits of Europeanising ourselves. The initiave ideas of the race are essential elements in furthering our progress.

May God therefore imbue us with a true feeling to appreciate the aims and objects of the Congress of British West Africa in its energetic efforts to secure political liberty.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

BY "CANCER."

THE year 1924 has just closed and we think the new Legislative Council should commence its work as early as possible in the new year. Hence we are eagerly awaiting the introduction of said Council at its next sitting. We are not aware of how many members are to be nominated and elected; but if it were possible that two Municipal Council members and one Executive member from each of the three Provinces could be sent to the new Council, we would recommend the following gentlemen to same. Eastern Province: Messrs. T. Hutton-Mills, Jr and J. H. Coussey, (Municipal); P. A. Renner, (Executive); Central Province: W. E. G. Sekyi and K. A. Korsah, (Municipal); the Hon. H. Van Hien (who has acted in the room of the Hon. E. J. P. Brown) (Executive); Western Province: Archie Casely Hayford and James Mercer, (Municipal); W. Awoonor Williams, (Executive.) We omit G. J. Christian as he is Consul-General to Liberia. With these men representing the three Provinces with the old members of the Council, we think the Legislative machinery will run along smoothily. The old members should retain their seats and not be changed and we hope these men will be considered and when the time comes they will be called to the front for their country's cause.

With the opening of the new Council there is much to be done and we look forward for marked improvement and while doing so, we draw Government's serious attention to the health of the people. The death rate is very high, epidemic or no epidemic. We suggest:

1. That serious attention be given to the cleaning of places of convenience, dust-bins, drains and gutters as these give very offensive smell which is against health.
2. That those conveniences that are near people's dwelling and business houses, and in the streets be removed and erected further back.
3. Next clear the Bubonic areas, reduce the overcrowding in these places to prevent re-currence. It is the mixture of foul air with the pure air we inhale which causes the numerous diseases.
4. Improve our educational, industrial, agricultural and economic facilities; secure funds to carry them out.
5. That Cape Coast being the centre of the Central Province, its Railway terminus should be there with branch lines running to Saltpond and Winneoah (of course Elmina will be connected with the main line.)
6. Improve our Roads and Bridges, thereby ensuring safety to life, limb and property.

If these six suggestions are carried out, we think there would be marked improvements and progress in the country, instead of wasting millions on Takoradi Deep Sea Harbour. The country can ill-afford another £2,000,000 when all these things which are first needed and taken into consideration; and we trust some attention will be given to same.

When the new Council begin to grind out the numerous problems, we hope it will bring Ashanti into line with the Gold Coast, her next door neighbour, in the Judiciary as well as admitting her into the Legislative Council, thereby affording Ashanti opportunity to move side by side with the sister Colonies. It would be a great blessing if we could have an even number of Unofficials with the Officials, and the President of the Council for the casting vote. But we fear this will not meet the approval of Government, as was the case with the Sierra Leone Council. As large as the Gold Coast is, she ought to have at least 21 Unofficial members with the same number of Officials, the Governor or President of the Council giving the casting vote, for we notice whenever a scheme or measure is rushed through Council, there is never a split on the Official side—all vote solid for, (of course this method is to prevent the Unofficial majority) while sometimes there is a split on the Unofficial side. Thus it is easy to see how the majority is carried, for it seems to be the matter of "So says one, so say all" on the Official side. And as long as such a system exists, any scheme or measure is bound to be carried in the teeths of wholesale opposition. Hence the Official side is always the master of the situation whether the people consent or not. If on the other hand there was an equal number—Officials for, and Unofficials against, the President casting his vote, it would be the same but for the casting vote, which is hardly a majority, though passed. Then the question of having a President of the Unofficial members (like the Speaker of a House of Representatives) who would cast his vote. Then we'll have business not. The Colonial Secretary should always be considered as President of the Official members, hence it would not be necessary to create one. And if this be the case then the scheme or measure must end in a draw and be cast out.

If the Legislative machinery could be placed on these lines, things would run smoothly and there will be satisfaction. We put forth these views to the forthcoming Council for consideration, but we are dreaming, for we know such will not be the case, for red-tapeism will not allow such a smooth run.

REPORT ON ODA SHOW 1924.

AGRICULTURAL SHOW HELD AT ODA ON THE 27TH AND 28TH NOVEMBER, 1924, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GOLD COAST AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL SOCIETY.

The Show was opened at 10 a.m. on Thursday, the 27th November, 1924 by the Honourable J. L. ATTERBURY, Chairman of the Central Province Branch of the Society. The Chairman of the Local Committee [Captain J. H. WEST] in asking the Honourable the Commissioner of the Central Province to open the Show spoke as follows:—

Gold Coast Leader 1-24-25

"Amanhinfu, Chiefs and People,

"As Chairman of the Local Committee of the ODA SHOW, I will ask the Honourable the Commissioner of the Central Province if he will be good enough to open our Show this morning. I feel, in asking him to open it, that the Show is no mean effort on our part. We have over 3,000 exhibits which is, as far as I can ascertain, a record for the Colony. I am, however, open to contradiction on this point. I know that we have over 3 times as many exhibits as either of the two Shows previously held in the Central Province. We have over 500 exhibits of cocoa.

Gold Coast Leader

"As regards the quality of these exhibits we will leave that to our visitors, whom, we welcome here to-day, to judge for themselves.

"We have been anxious to show that we have a good country up here and we can produce good stuff. I think we have done that. I wish to take this opportunity to thank all those who helped to make the Show what it is.—The Chiefs and people of Akim Kotoku, Akim Busumi, Akim Abuakwa and the members of the educated community. It is impossible for me to mention individual helpers, when all have helped. I thank you all. I will now ask the Hon. C.C.P. to open the Show."

The Honourable J. L. ATTERBURY then spoke as follows:—

"Captain West, Ladies and Gentlemen, Amanhinfu, Abinfu and People,

"I must first of all tell you how sorry His Excellency this morning. When the Governor was here last month, His Excellency promised that if possible he would be here to open the Show for you, but

1-24-25

"We have been anxious as you are to see the exhibits. I am not going to keep you here any longer as perform. His Excellency the Governor has directed me to present to Nana ATTA FUA, K.M.A.C. Omanhene of AKIM KOTOKU, a Ford Touring Car, in recognition of the services rendered by himself and his people in connection with Road-making.

"In this connection, it is very interesting to notice that the Omanhene has entirely altered his ideas about the usefulness of roads.

"In 1906, 15 years ago, I remember visiting ODA with Captain STICKINGS who is here this morning, and I had to fine the Omanhene very heavily for

d you that this Show is
mittee of the Gold Coast
ial Society. The Chair-
. KNOWLES, the Acting
ho is with us to-day and
ment Committee, are of
y is doing good work in
is to continue that good
o-operation. We invite
embers and to read the
uarterly by the Society.
ractice to hold Shows of
res like ACCRA, CAPE
ST. These Shows may
journal which is published quarterly by the Society.

"In the past, it was the practice to hold Shows of this nature at the big centres like ACCRA, CAPE COAST, SEKONDI and KUMASI. These Shows have been successful but I am firmly convinced that you to join the Society as members. The Society is doing good work in this country. If the Society is to continue that good work, we must ask for your co-operation. We invite the opinion that the Society is to be the members of the Management of that Society is MR. KNOWLES, who is the Director of Agriculture, who is a member of the Agricultural and Commercial Society. We invite Agricultural Committee, who is in connection with Road-making. being run by the local Committee of the Akim Kotoku, Akim Busumi, Akim Abuakwa and decision of the judges. "I would wish to remind you that this Show is quality of the exhibits, we will wait to hear the effort in arranging this fine Show like the one we have "I congratulate the local Committee on their from coming to-day and His Excellency has asked me to tell you how sorry he is.

Race Problem - 1925. I.

Africa.

AFRICA IN HER PROGRESS.

BY PHILANTER.

The vices of the civilisation of some primitive peoples, according to historical research, seemed to have sprung from some sources, which were unknown, and which it was difficult to conquer, but now most countries seem to enjoy peculiar forms of civilisation.

Africa had always been designated "The dark Continent", owing to the unprogressive state of her sons and through this proof rushes to a certain extent, yet the average African of the modern time feels sad to the evil effect of such a disgraceful epithet. If the various countries of Africa had been able to utilise their natural resources, no other country or nation (outside Africa), however civilised and prosperous it was, could be able to cope adequately with Africa in all problems relating to racial and social betterment. The cry for progress has always proved a long felt want in the mind of the true African.

If we take a view of the commercial and scientific progress of England and America, we are apt to conclude that our progress is not yet realised. We can we account this? This is a question submitted to the race to answer to this question is not because Africans were not gifted with the power to adapt things for our purpose and time to second the intentions of our will as some inventors and discoverers of foreign nations were and still doing, but we have been retarded by the whites in making any progress and advancement, and in consequence of this retardation, our intellectual and moral endowments seem to lie in a very dormant state.

The future of Africa depends upon the foundations which we are building at present. Whether it will prove prosperous or not depends the factor. It behoves us therefore to stir up our spirits in reviving the lost chances, which were offered us by nature, and which meant so much to us. Nations rise and Nations fall. Who ever thought that Assyria or Rome would fall? Was there no wonder when the Empire of Rome began to decline and fall? Is this not so encouraging as to impress on the mind of the average African, the fact, that Africa also will, in the near future rise to reclaim the preponderated rights of her long missing civilisation, Religion, and Philosophy?

The time has come for us to uplift our moral standard, to stand in defence of our honour, and to utilise our resources in order that our concerted actions may prove a success.

"Like attracts like." This is an inexorable law of Nature. It is an African that can satisfy the desires of an African and sympathise with his sorrows. It is therefore of the highest degree essential that each and every one of us should cultivate habits that may have direct bearing on our future progress, but to abandon habits of European ourselves. The initiative ideas of the race are essential elements in furthering our progress.

May God therefore imbue us with a true feeling to appreciate the aims and objects of the Congress of British West Africa in its energetic efforts to secure political liberty.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

BY "CANCER."

THE year 1924 has just passed and we think the new Legislative Council should commence its work as early as possible in the new year. Hence we are eagerly awaiting the introduction of said Council at its next sitting. We are not aware of how many members are to be nominated and elected; but if it were possible that two Municipal Council members and one Executive member from each of the three Provinces could be sent to the new Council, we would recommend the following gentlemen to same. Eastern Province: Messrs. T. Hutton-Mills, Jr and J. H. Coussey, (Municipal); P. A. Renner, (Executive); Central Province: W. E. G. Sekyi and K. A. Korsah, (Municipal); the Hon. H. Van Hien (who has acted in the room of the Hon: E. J. P. Brown) (Executive); Western Province: Archie Casely Hayford and James Mercer, (Municipal); W. Awoonor Williams, (Executive.) We omit G. J. Christian as he is on the Official side. With these men how the majority is carried, for it seems to Official side is always the master of the situation whether the people consent or not. If on the other hand there was an equal number—Officials for, and Unofficials against, the President casting his vote, it would be the same but for the casting vote, which is hardly a majority, though passed Then the question of having a President of the Unofficial members (like the Speaker of a House of Representatives) who would cast his vote. Then well have business not. The Colonial Secretary should always be considered as President of the Official members, hence it would not be necessary to create one. And if this be the case then the scheme or measure must end in a draw and be

Race Problem - 1925. I.

Ashanti opportunity to move side by side with the Sister Colonies. It would be a great blessing if we could have an even number of Unofficials with the Officials, and the President of the Council for the casting vote. But we fear this will not meet the approval of Government, as was the case with the Sierra Leone Council. As large as the scheme or measure is rushed through Council, there never a split on the Official side—all vote solid and for (of course this means is to prevent the Unofficial majority) while sometimes there is a split on the Unofficial side. Thus it is easy to see how the majority is carried, for it seems to be the matter of "So says one, so say all" on the Official side. And as long as such a system exists, any scheme or measure is bound to be carried in the teeth of wholesale opposition. Hence the Official side is always the master of the situation

Race Problem - 1925. I.

Africa.

AFRICA IN HER PROGRESS.

BY PHILANTER.

The vices of the civilisation of some primitive peoples, according to historical research, seemed to have sprung from some sources, which were unknown, and which it was difficult to conquer, but now most countries seem to enjoy peculiar forms of civilisation.

Africa had always been designated "The dark Continent", owing to the unprogressive state of her sons and through this proof rushes to a certain extent, yet the average African of the modern time feels sad to the evil effect of such a disgraceful epithet. If the various countries of Africa had been able to utilise their natural resources, no other country or nation (outside Africa), however civilised and prosperous it was, could be able to cope adequately with Africa in all problems relating to racial and social betterment. The cry for progress has always proved a long felt want in the mind of the true African.

If we take a view of the commercial and scientific progress of England and America, we are apt to conclude that our progress is not yet realised. We can we account this? This is a question submitted to the race to answer to this question is not because Africans were not gifted with the power to adapt things for our purpose and time to second the intentions of our will as some inventors and discoverers of foreign nations were and still doing, but we have been retarded by the whites in making any progress and advancement, and in consequence of this retardation, our intellectual and moral endowments seem to lie in a very dormant state.

The future of Africa depends upon the foundations which we are building at present. Whether it will prove prosperous or not depends the factor. It behoves us therefore to stir up our spirits in reviving the lost chances, which were offered us by nature, and which meant so much to us. Nations rise and Nations fall. Who ever thought that Assyria or Rome would fall? Was there no wonder when the Empire of Rome began to decline and fall? Is this not so encouraging as to impress on the mind of the average African, the fact, that Africa also will, in the near future rise to reclaim the preponderated rights of her long missing civilisation, Religion, and Philosophy?

The time has come for us to uplift our moral standard, to stand in defence of our honour, and to utilise our resources in order that our concerted actions may prove a success.

"Like attracts like." This is an inexorable law of Nature. It is an African that can satisfy the desires of an African and sympathise with his sorrows. It is therefore of the highest degree essential that each and every one of us should cultivate habits that may have direct bearing on our future progress, but to abandon habits of European ourselves. The initiative ideas of the race are essential elements in furthering our progress.

May God therefore imbue us with a true feeling to appreciate the aims and objects of the Congress of British West Africa in its energetic efforts to secure political liberty.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

BY "CANCER."

THE year 1924 has just passed and we think the new Legislative Council should commence its work as early as possible in the new year. Hence we are eagerly awaiting the introduction of said Council at its next sitting. We are not aware of how many members are to be nominated and elected; but if it were possible that two Municipal Council members and one Executive member from each of the three Provinces could be sent to the new Council, we would recommend the following gentlemen to same. Eastern Province: Messrs. T. Hutton-Mills, Jr and J. H. Coussey, (Municipal); P. A. Renner, (Executive); Central Province: W. E. G. Sekyi and K. A. Korsah, (Municipal); the Hon. H. Van Hien (who has acted in the room of the Hon: E. J. P. Brown) (Executive); Western Province: Archie Casely Hayford and James Mercer, (Municipal); W. Awoonor Williams, (Executive.) We omit G. J. Christian as he is on the Official side. With these men how the majority is carried, for it seems to be the matter of "So says one, so say all" on the Official side. And as long as such a system exists, any scheme or measure is bound to be carried in the teeth of wholesale opposition. Hence the Official side is always the master of the situation whether the people consent or not. If on the other hand there was an equal number—Officials for, and Unofficials against, the President casting his vote, it would be the same but for the casting vote, which is hardly a majority, though passed Then the question of having a President of the Unofficial members (like the Speaker of a House of Representatives) who would cast his vote. Then well have business not. The Colonial Secretary should always be considered as President of the Official members, hence it would not be necessary to create one. And if this be the case then the scheme or measure must end in a draw and be

not cleaning his roads. To-day the Omanhene and his people realize the great importance of roads and I hope that the presentation of this Car by His Excellency will encourage the Omanhene and his people to greater efforts in the construction of the roads in the northern part of Western Akim District

"I now declare the Show open."

The following were noticed as present at the opening ceremony.

Mr. Bleasdell, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Hayward, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Gent, Mr. Miles, Mr. Rowney, Mr. Culham, Mr. Steele, Mr. Vigne, Mr. Van Hien, Capt. Barlow, Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Bessa Simons, Captain Sickings, Colonel Rose, Mr. Norman, Mr. Buckman. The Amanhin of the District were present. In all approximately about 10,000 people witnessed the opening of the ceremony.

By the kind permission of the Inspector-General of Police, the Gold Coast Police Band was in attendance.

After the opening of the ceremony, the Honourable the Commissioner of the Central Province, accompanied by Mr. Bleasdell, Deputy C. C. P., Mr. Thomas, District Commissioner, Saltpond, and Captain West, District Commissioner, Oda, made a tour of the Show.

The judges began their work at the various sections very early and owing to the quantity, evenness, and excellency of the various exhibits, their task was a lengthy and arduous one, and was not completed, in most cases, until late in the afternoon.

The following, in brief, are the comments made on the various sections by the judges:—

SECTION 1.

There was a great variety of exhibits in this section, the largest number of entries being for fowls and ducks

Fowls. The general standard of cross breeds was good and it was difficult to select any particular pair for a prize, and the task of judging was a difficult one.

SIERRA LEONE—COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

THE salvation of British West Africa is at hand. There is more significance in the new Sierra Leone Constitution than appears on the surface. It is a far-reaching advance which brings British West Africa into line in the building of the British West African Empire within the British Commonwealth of Nations. We have for a long time past endeavoured to focus attention upon the essential unity of British West Africa; and we must confess that there has been ever present in our mind one likely impediment which has now happily been removed. We refer to the former policy on the part of the Sierra Leone Government of attempting to keep the Colonists and the inhabitants of the Protectorate apart. It seemed to have been feared by Government that the free intercourse of the Colonists and the indigenous people of the Protectorate might open the eyes of the latter to their political disabilities and grievances. Indeed, the restrictions were such as to have made it necessary for a Colonist, travelling in the Protectorate on business or otherwise, to be constantly on his guard lest he embroiled himself with political officers.

This situation was so accentuated that as far back as the year 1913 we read at pages 10 and 11 of "The Truth About The West African Land Question" by Mr. Casely Hayford as follows:—"Sierra Leone, we know, was founded about the year 1787. It was a philanthropic enterprise. It was due to the zeal of such great men as Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, and others. The direct object was to bring civilisation into Africa. It was not a time for discrimination. No enquiry seems to have been necessary as to the type of civilisation that was desirable. Neither Science, forethought, nor expediency had room in the scheme of things. Right in the heart of Africa they proceeded to erect glass houses. They were hermetically sealed. Carefully were the plants laid out. They were labelled as in a museum. They were encouraged to grow. In vain did Nature suggest fresh air and sunshine and refreshing showers. In vain was the hint that here was opportunity to grow lilies of the valley; such lilies, too, as might favourably compare with the glory of a Solomon. Was it a mistake? Or was it of set purpose? Was it considered advisable that Africans in Africa should be kept apart from their brethren? Were they intended for a peculiar people among their own kith and kin? If so, the scheme has worked admirably, and Nature is revenged. Herein is an anomaly accounted for. For, to-day, there is a Sierra Leone Colony as distinct from the Sierra Leone Protectorate. There is no fear of the two ever coming together. Care has been taken that that shall not be. It is easy to see how it has been done. A gulf, as insuperable as that between lost souls and the blessed in Milton's dream, is fixed. An educated Colonist dare not openly advocate the cause of a Protectorate Chief in Sierra Leone. Alas for education! Alas, also, for the introduction of civilisation into Africa! Philanthropy looks on this thing with folded arms, or does not understand the treatment of this particular phenomenon. Thinking West Africans, however, do. We have taken a favourable view of the attitude of philanthropy. But is it fair to indulge philanthropy? For we find that, in its name, the principle of isolation is proceeding in other parts of West Africa. It seems to be part of British policy to sever the educated African from the uneducated, as the sheep are severed from the goats in the parable. It is preached by faddists, by Commissioners of Districts, Commissioners of Provinces, and even by Governors. Successful advocacy leads to preferment. The advanced one is supposed to have acquired proficiency in the art of managing the "Native." False security this. Subtle influence which must evaporate as mist before the noon-day sun. Is not this a building in the sand? What sensible people ever forsook their natural leaders at the bidding of an alien power? And there are sensible folk in West Africa. Greater the seduction, greater must the reaction be. And he is not a practical man who does not see that West Africa already resents this setting of class against class.

But we have digressed. We were dealing immediately with Sierra Leone and the good men who founded it. They were also great men. It was not their purpose to produce the anomaly discussed. But the policy to-day, which keeps African peoples apart; which divides that it may rule; which sows the seeds of disruption that it may reap easy dominion; that policy is not righteous, and is of set purpose."

The foregoing was written some eleven years ago, and since then criticism has been frequent in the West African Press; and Sir Ransford Slater, the present Governor of Sierra Leone, is particularly fortunate that in his day, in the case of Sierra Leone, this policy should be reversed. Said His Excellency in his inaugural address in opening the new Legislative Council of Sierra Leone:—"Let co-operation be our watchward; co-operation between Unofficials and Officials, between Colony Representatives and Protectorate Representatives, between European members and African members." This was a striking note, as we have before remarked, and it is no wonder that the Honourable Beoku-Betts, speaking as an experienced member of the Congress Committee, which had done so much in insisting upon the removal of all barriers between Colonists and the Protectorate people, should have assured the Governor that their watchward would really be co-operation, and that their efforts would be directed toward co-operating with the Government for the promotion of the great interests of the Colony and Protectorate.

We have used the words "in the case of Sierra Leone" purposely. And we had our eye upon the relations between the Gold Coast and Ashanti which at one time were as bad as those between the Colony of Sierra Leone and the Protectorate as regards freedom of association and inter-communication. We rejoice to think that there is every prospect of removing the anomaly and of amalgamating the services of the Gold Coast and Ashanti. We have said before that His Excellency the Governor is destined to inaugurate some of the most eventful episodes in Gold Coast history, and we look forward with eager anticipation to this particular desideratum.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WE understand that the Estimates meeting of the Legislative Council is provisionally fixed for February 3, and that there are likely to be important discussions. For one thing we should like to see a settled educational policy established by Law, if possible, whereby the foundations that are being laid now would not be disturbed in the near or distant future. It will require a good deal of thought: but it can be done, and we trust that the matter will receive due consideration at the proper quarter. Then there is the matter of the formal promulgation of the Franchise Bill and the necessary Letters Patent. It stands to reason that the European element will require effective representation in the new Constitution, and for the people of this country there is no question so vital to them as the free votes of the people. For that reason we place much store by the municipal elections in such enlightened centres as Accra, Cape Coast, and Secondee where the vote should be exercised by the electors of the community without waiting necessarily for the extension of the Municipal Ordinance. In other words, it ought to be possible for qualified voters in each of these centres to cast their free votes in the same principle should not be extended to such towns as Saltpond, Winnebah, Koforidua, Nsawam and other growing centres. In a word, we should like to see the principle or the principle of the Municipal Ordinance applied as nearly as possible to the Sierra Leone Constitutions. Then with the election of Almighty God doctor would prove to be one of the greatest Council, so that they preachers of our time. There is a life of great usefulness before our esteemed countryman who is qualified in every way to play a distinguished part in the history of the country; and we bespeak

not clearing his roads. To-day the Omanhene and his people realize the great importance of roads and I hope that the presentation of this Car by His Excellency will encourage the Omanhene and his people to greater efforts in the construction of the roads in the northern part of Western Akim District

"I now declare the Show open."

The following were noticed as present at the opening ceremony.

Mr. Bleasdell, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Hayward, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Gent, Mr. Miles, Mr. Rowney, Mr. Culham, Mr. Steele, Mr. Vigne, Mr. Van Hien, Capt. Barlow, Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Bessa Simons, Captain Sickinge, Colonel Rose, Mr. Norman, Mr. Buckman. The Amanahin of the District were present. In all approximately about 10,000 people witnessed the opening of the ceremony.

By the kind permission of the Inspector-General of Police, the Gold Coast Police Band was in attendance.

After the opening of the ceremony, the Honourable the Commissioner of the Central Province, accompanied by Mr. Bleasdell, Deputy C. C. P., Mr. Thomas, District Commissioner, Saltpond, and Captain West, District Commissioner, Oda, made a tour of the Show.

The judges began their work at the various sections very early and owing to the quantity, evenness, and excellency of the various exhibits, their task was a lengthy and arduous one, and was not completed, in most cases, until late in the afternoon.

The following, in brief, are the comments made on the various sections by the judges:—

SECTION 1.

There was a great variety of exhibits in this section, the largest number of entries being for fowls and ducks and it was difficult to select any particular pair for a prize, and the task of judging was a difficult one.

Fowls. The general standard of cross breeds was good

SIERRA LEONE—COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

THE salvation of British West Africa is at hand. There is more significance in the new Sierra Leone Constitution than appears on the surface. It is a far-reaching advance which brings British West Africa into line in the building of the British West African Empire within the British Commonwealth of Nations. We have for a long time past endeavoured to focus attention upon the essential unity of British West Africa; and we must confess that there has been ever present in our mind one likely impediment which has now happily been removed. We refer to the former policy on the part of the Sierra Leone Government of attempting to keep the Colonists and the inhabitants of the Protectorate apart. It seemed to have been feared by part. It seemed that the free intercourse of the Government that the indigenous people of the Colonists and the indigenous people of the Protectorate might open the eyes of the latter to their political disabilities and grievances. Indeed, the restrictions were such as to have made it necessary for a Colonist, travelling in the Protectorate on business or otherwise, to be constantly on his guard lest he embroiled himself with political officers.

This situation was so accentuated that as far back as the year 1913 we read at pages 10 and 11 of "The Truth About The West African Land Question" by Mr. Casely Hayford as follows:—"Sierra Leone, we know, resents this setting of class against class. It was founded about the year 1787. It was a philanthropic enterprise. It was due to immediately with Sierra Leone and the good Granvillemen who founded it. They were also great men as Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, and others. The directmen. It was not their purpose to produce Africa the anomaly discussed. But the policy to-tion. Noday, which keeps African peoples apart, essary aswhich divides that it may rule; which sows was desir-the seeds of disruption that it may reap, ht, nor ex-easy dominion; that policy is not righteous, of things and is of set purpose."

The foregoing was written some eleven years ago, and since then criticism has been frequent in the West African Press; and Sir Ransford Slater, the present Governor of Sierra Leone, is particularly fortunate in his inaugural address in open-council of Sierra Leone:—"Let co-operation between Unofficials and Officials, be our watchword; co-operation between Colony Representatives and Protectorate representatives, between European and African members." This was a peculiarly striking note, as we have before remarked, and it is no wonder that the Honourable Mr. Beoku-Betts, speaking as an experienced member of the Congress Committee, which had done so much in insisting upon the removal of all barriers between Colonists and Africans, should have been the Protectorate people, should have been the Governor that their watchward was co-operation, and that their efforts would be directed toward co-operation with the Government for the promotion of the great interests of the Colony and Protectorate.

We have used the words "in the case of Sierra Leone" purposely. And we had like to see the principle of the elections approximate as nearly as possible to the free open voting that obtains both in the Sierra Leone and Nigerian Constitutions. Then with the elections through the Oman care must also be taken, as we have repeatedly pointed out, that it does not degenerate into a kind of automatic selection by individual Alhanmi in private consultation. That is to say, here also we must have free open voting without any attempt at secrecy, and without leaving a doubt in the mind of the public that the influence of the political officer has been at play. For the rest we await with some interest the financial proposals of the Government in regard to our several commitments, and we pray for the guidance of Almighty God in the deliberations of the Council, so that they may conduce to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people.

On the evening of Sunday, January 4, the Rev. Dr. Aggrey occupied the pulpit at Wesley and gave a thrilling discourse on the words: "I will go in the strength of the Lord God." It was an edifying exhortation for the uncertain days of the current year. He told his hearers that those who went in the strength of the Lord God, as did David of old, would have mercy, peace, joy, protection, victory, and would know the secret of the Lord. The learned doctor has a remarkable delivery which holds his audience spell-bound, although he has a way sometimes of allowing his anecdotes to run away with the main theme. This may be an American method of oratory, but it strikes us that if due proportion were observed the learned doctor would prove to be one of the greatest preachers of our time. There is a life of great usefulness before our esteemed countryman who is qualified in every way to play a distinguished part in the history of the country; and we bespeak

EDITORIAL NOTES

WE understand that the Estimates meeting of the Legislative Council is provisionally fixed for February 3, and that there are likely to be important discussions. For one thing, we should like to see a settled educational policy established by Law, if possible, whereby the foundation-stone which must be laid now would not be disturbed in the near or distant future. It will require a great deal of thought; but it can be done, and we trust that the matter will receive due consideration at the proper quarter. Then there is the matter of the formal promulgation of the Franchise Bill and the necessary Letters Patent. It stands to reason that the European element will require effective representation in the new Constitution, and for the people of this country there is no question so vital to them as the free votes of the people. For that reason we place much store by the municipal elections in such enlightened centres as Accra, Cape Coast, and Seccondee where the vote should be exercised by the electors of the community without waiting necessarily for the extension of the Municipal Ordinance. In other words, it ought to be possible for qualified voters at each of these centres to cast their free votes in favour of candidates, and there is no reason why the same principle should not be extended to such towns as Saltpond, Winnebah, Koforidua, Nsawam and other growing centres. In a word, we should

who does not see that West Africa already

Race Problem—1925. Africa.

for him every encouragement and support in his delicate task as the Vice-Principal of Achimota University College. The rendering of the Song *Aya Kyirem nantsiw*, by the Fanti Singing Band, led by the well-known Egya Abokyi, was superb.

Gold Coast Leader 1/7/25

From the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* we learn that His Excellency the President of Liberia will be visiting Sierra Leone on or about the 22nd of January current on his way to the Liberian Frontier, and will be the guest of His Excellency the Governor of the Colony for a few days. The President will arrive in Sierra Leone waters accompanied by Mrs. King, his charming consort, Mrs. Grimes and an Aid-de-Camp on H.M.S. *Dublin* by the courtesy of the British Admiralty. We feel great pride in the ability with which President King has been administering the affairs of the Republic. But we should like to see as time goes on the adoption of a liberal policy by which peaceful and law-abiding Africans from other parts of the world may gain a footing on Liberian soil and help in the development of that Negro Republic in which all of African blood naturally take great interest.

In the same Journal Mr. W. Mends-Cole contributes a thoughtful article on the projected conference of the West African Bishops, and deplores the fact that there is no independent African State-Bishop for the Republic of Liberia. He advocates the participation of the Archdeacons and other senior clergy joining in the conference so as to enrich its deliberations with their experience. We trust the hint will not be lost upon those in authority. The writer concludes thus: "It is beyond doubt that the matters to be discussed will be all that tend to the spiritual, moral, and financial growth of the Anglican Churches in West Africa, which must be in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the established English Church. It will be well if their Lordships in all they do will seriously think of their flock as they should be, and arrive at ways and means whereby they would be true African Christians and not Constitutional Christian Hypocrites." This is rather a strong remark. But every thinking African knows that if the search-light of truth were to be turned on the life of the Churches, the writer's admonition would be found in every way justified. It has got to be recognised that, as Africans, we have our own national characteristics which not all the "Constitutional Christianity" in the world can ever change, or hope to change; and we believe the Founder of Christianity Himself would not have it otherwise. It is when those in authority elect to govern the Churches without regard to African national characteristics that the trouble comes and "Constitutional Christian Hypocrites" are manufactured, which is an evil thing for the true development and progress of the African.

BOOM IN SOUTH AFRICAN COTTON

COTTON NOTES.

Candover and Other Progressive Estates.

A report was circulated a few days ago to the effect that a certain cotton-growing company was seeking permission to import 2,500 Indians into Zululand for the picking. Apparently, the Candover Estates was indicated. The secretary of this company has now written to the press giving the report the lie direct so far as his company is concerned. He adds that not only do Candover Estates not want Indians, but that they have more native labour than they really require.

Candover, and certain other progressive estates, notably the Enkwaleni Valley Co., the chairman of which, by the way, is Mr. Graham Mackeurtan, K.C., the former Durban M.L.A., are well fixed up from a labour point of view. They are being run as business concerns, and part of their business is to see that nothing is left to chance. Many planters, nevertheless, may experience trouble over their picking. In this respect disturbing reports are to hand from Rhodesia, where the acreage under cotton has jumped up in a single year by hundreds per cent. Natives are more or less new to cotton picking; they must needs be introduced to it gradually.

Northern Rhodesia.

By the same token, a lot of ground has been placed under cotton that does not enjoy all the necessary climatic and other essentials. This would seem to be the case especially in Northern Rhodesia, where from the latest reports show that many plantations are not likely to recover from the very heavy and persistent rains which have been latterly experienced.

On the other hand, reports from all well-recognised belts tell of very fine growths, which have experienced just the requisite amount of moisture and sun intermittently. Planters in some parts of Southern Rhodesia in the Rustenburg area, in the Barberton area, and in Zululand—especially Zululand—are full of enthusiasm, convinced that their original crop estimates will prove good to the very bale. One of the Government experts has just returned from the Ngotsche fields and has expressed himself as extremely pleased with what he saw. There should be general picking by the end of March.

The Natal Land Board has lately allotted ten farms on the cotton belt running through Zululand and Swaziland, and the allottees seem to have managed to get in eleventh-hour sowings. Rather than lose a moment, they lived in the open and only now are bothering about putting up their residences.

General Kemp's Visit.

As I write, General Kemp, the Minister of Agriculture, is in the lower Zululand cotton belt on a flying visit. His business is of a general nature, but cotton planters have managed to get no little of his attention.

A Liverpool firm has written out to its agents requesting them to place before planters the fact that the few bales of Pima cotton which were exported from South Africa last year attracted considerable attention and a substantial price. The inference is that if good selected Pima seed were obtained a very profitable crop would assuredly be reaped.

New offices for the Government cotton grader at Durban are being erected, and should be ready for occupation by the end of March. The plans provide for a ginning room and a sample grading room. The design is according to a very up-to-date building at Washington.

Another cotton journal is being started at Johannesburg. The present intention is to publish fortnightly. There are already three journals—all published at Durban. One is a weekly one—unusually well turned out—a monthly, and one is published in connection with another industry.

AFRICAN WORLD CABLES

RHODESIAN GINNERIES.

JOHANNESBURG, February 11.

Rhodesia will have eight cotton ginneries the Government and the British Cotton Growing Association are providing three.

WONDERFUL COTTON YIELD.

JOHANNESBURG, February 11.

A competitor for the British Cotton Growing Association's trophy at the last Maritzburg Show recorded an average yield of 1,298 pounds per acre.

A COMING COTTON CENTRE.

JOHANNESBURG, February 11.

Sir Henry Dundas Simpson, local chairman of the Premier Cotton Estates, expresses the opinion that Portuguese East Africa "is the centre of the coming cotton industry of the Sub-Continent."

PREMIER COTTON ESTATES.

JOHANNESBURG, February 7.

The Premier Cotton Estates has been registered with a capital of £200,000. The company has acquired 75,000 acres in Portuguese territory, with a twelve miles' frontage on the Delagoa Bay Railway, and is under the auspices of Messrs. Chalmers and Guthrie, the bankers, and Mr. Dundas Simson, a prominent financier and Rand pioneer.

BIG COTTON VENTURE.

JOHANNESBURG, February 6.

A definite advance of the cotton industry in South Africa is marked by the formation of the biggest cotton venture yet launched in this country. which, according to the commercial editor of the "Star," has been registered in the Transvaal.

The company has acquired 75,000 acres of Portuguese territory with a frontage of twelve miles on the Delagoa Bay line. The company's programme for the next three years includes the cultivation of 15,000 acres of cotton.—Reuter.

MR. ROUILLARD IN PUBLIC EYE.

DURBAN, February 11.

Lengthy interviews with Mr. R. A. Rouillard have appeared in all the papers. Referring to Lancashire's non-support of the recent debenture issue, he said the subject seemed to need more South African publicity in England. Mr. Rouillard declared that very few people realised the enormous value the cotton industry was going to be to South Africa.

KENYA AND UGANDA.

THE ROYAL TOURISTS.

NAIROBI, February 8.

The Duke and Duchess of York returned from Siolo to Nairobi on Wednesday, and spent Thursday in shopping and buying ammunition. The Duke played polo in the afternoon. On Friday, before breakfast, the Duke privately visited the cemetery and laid a wreath on the Cross of Sacrifice. In the afternoon the Royal visitors attended some special races which had been arranged, and also received a delegation of native chiefs at Government House.

Cheam Record 2-14-25.

They bade farewell to Nairobi at noon yesterday, and took the train for Uganda, being seen off at the station by a large and enthusiastic crowd. The Duchess, in response to the cheering, waved her hand in friendly fashion instead of formally bowing.

The weather is glorious. The Duke and Duchess are going to Eldoret, and afterwards to Kisumu and to Uganda, where they will spend the remainder of the month hunting. —Reuter.

A WONDERFUL MOTOR RECORD.

Algiers—French Sudan—Belgian Congo —Nairobi.

(Special Cable to "The African World.")

NAIROBI, Friday, February 13.

Captain Delinquette, accompanied by Madame Delinquette and Mechanic Bonnaure, wire me to-day from Irumu of their successful arrival from Algiers by motor. They have crossed the Sahara Desert and Belgian Congo. They expect to arrive at Nairobi within a few days' time, and then proceed by the new Southern Equatorial road to Lake Nyassa and Cape Town. Their cars are fitted with caterpillar wheels.

GALTON FENZI
(Hon. Secretary, Royal East African Automobile Association).

PASSING OF MR. JAMES MARTIN.

Widespread regret was occasioned by the news of the death in Portugal of Mr. James Martin, affectionately known as "Martini." Mr. Martin was stationed at Zanzibar fifty years ago, being second in command of the Sultan's army under Sir Lloyd Matthews. Subsequently he became caravan leader for the I.B.E.A., and accompanied Thompson, the famous explorer, through Masailand, he being one of the first Europeans to penetrate that country. He also accompanied Sir Frederick Jackson on his first journey to the country when the first commercial treaty was arranged. He participated in nearly all the East African campaigns, rendering outstanding services, which earned him a large number of decorations. He served during the mutiny in Uganda, and was for a number of years Collector in the Ravine. During the Great War he was intelligence officer on special duty both in East Africa and Uganda. East Africa has known no more striking or lovable personality. Mr. Martin was in his eightieth year.

CONTROL OF TRANSPORT SERVICES.

Important Amendments.

The draft of the Order in Council dealing with the new policy of control of the trans-port services in Kenya and Uganda, differs in several important respects from the original scheme, though, of course, not fundamentally. For instance, the person holding the office of High Commissioner might be the officer administering the Government of Kenya. Previously the power was given to the Colonial Office to decree otherwise. Appointments of unofficial members to the Railway Council are to be made, under the new draft, by the Governor in Council, as opposed to the Commissioner. Control of Finance. The matters on which the Commissioner shall consult the Council have now been made more definite. He must ask their advice on estimates, including loan services, and submit to them all Bills relating to the services, not merely Government Bills, as hitherto. The amount of unsanctioned expenditure which must now be submitted to the

Council for consideration is raised from £1,000 to £2,500.

The sanction of the Secretary of State is still sufficient authority for the adoption of the general manager's estimates of expenditure and revenue, these being considered in the first place by the Railway Council and the Legislative Councils. Their comments and resolutions will be forwarded when the sanction is asked.

Loans and Losses.

The clauses dealing with loans have also been altered. The Railway and Harbour Fund is definitely responsible for all loans raised for the services and the interest and sinking funds will be paid on behalf of the Colony or of Uganda to the Treasurer of the Colony or Protectorate by the High Commissioner. Damages awarded by the Court have to be paid out of the fund, and a clause has been inserted to provide that the total earnings of the services shall also provide for such costs and compensation in addition to ordinary expenditure, renewal funds, interest, etc.

Instead of the hard and fast provision that each Government be responsible for any loss entailed in providing gratuitous transport or unprofitable rates of freight, the new Order merely provides that these services can be granted provided the Government concerned undertakes to meet the loss if called upon to do so within twelve months of the end of the financial year in which cheap service is granted. Any loans raised must be by Ordinance and by the Governments concerned singly or jointly.

The clause in the original Order whereby the loss on any working year would have to be borne by the two countries in the proportion decided upon by the Secretary of State has been deleted entirely, but the clause has been retained which provides against the construction of unprofitable lines contrary to the advice of the High Commissioner.

LATE SIR ROBT. CORYNDON.

Impressive Funeral Ceremonies.

Duke of York Returns for Service.

NAIROBI, February 11.

The whole colony is in mourning for the death of Sir Robert Coryndon, the Governor General, and particular sympathy is felt for Lady Coryndon, who is at present at sea on her way home. All offices and shops were closed yesterday and to-day.

The local Press eulogises Sir Robert Coryndon both for his ability as Governor and for his charming personality and wonderful sympathy with all races, especially the knowledge and understanding he possessed of the native races.

A very impressive funeral service took place this morning at All Saints, Nairobi, the church being packed with representatives of all races and every section of the community. There was an enormous number of wreaths. The late Governor was buried in Muthaiga Cemetery with full military honours, and such a gathering as that at the graveside has never before been seen in Nairobi. The Duke of York, who left Nairobi for Uganda on Saturday, on being informed by wire en route of the death, immediately returned, arriving at Nairobi a few minutes before the service. His Royal Highness accompanied the cortege to the cemetery.—Reuter.

Mr. Amery's Message.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has sent the following telegram to the Officer Administering the Government of Kenya:—

"I deplore most sincerely the death of Sir Robert Coryndon. I am confident that the Colony, like myself, will mourn the loss of a Governor who has worked with a single eye to its interests and a man whose personality commanded the affection of all."

B.S.A. Co.'s Condolences.

The President and Directors of the British South Africa Company have also telegraphed to the Acting Governor offering "their sincere condolences to the Government of Kenya on the death of Sir Robert Coryndon, who laid the foundations of his distinguished career in the service of the company in Rhodesia."

Sir Robert Coryndon recently went to Mombasa to welcome the Duke and Duchess of York on their arrival in East Africa. He was then in good health. He also entertained the Duke and Duchess at Nairobi, and remained on duty until their return from their sporting trip. Having seen them off for Uganda, Sir Robert went into hospital.

MR. SAMSON CLARK'S DEATH AT MOMBASA.

The death occurred also at Kenya of Mr. Samson Clark, chairman and founder of Samson Clark and Co., Ltd., the famous advertising contractors. He was staying at Mombasa when the end came, and the news came as a shock to friends in England, as only last week Mr. Clark cabled that he was in perfect health and anticipated leaving Mombasa on Saturday. Mr. Clark left London for Kenya on Christmas Eve in company with Colonel East King. Death was due to an attack of malaria, with heart complications. Mr. Clark's career was a romance of the advertising world.

"WEST AFRICA."

Editorial, Subscription, and Advertisement Offices

TEMPLE BAR HOUSE, 28, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C

Telephone: City 1671.

Inland Telegrams: "Akamallam, Fleet, London."

Cables: "Akamallam, London."

Subscriptions:—One Year £1 8 6
Six Months 14 3
Three Months 7 2

WEST AFRICA, being the only British weekly newspaper devoted exclusively to the Allies' countries in West Africa, offers unique advantages to business enterprises addressing themselves to one of the great new markets of the world, comprising about thirty millions of people, mainly industrious and prosperous, and advancing rapidly in the practices of modern civilisation.

EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA.

AN encouraging fact about Northern Nigerian education is that the popular apathy to the subject, commented upon last year by the Director of Education, is beginning to show signs of weakening. Progress will of necessity be slow, although an increase of only two elementary schools since 1922, the change of the Kaduna elementary school to a primary institution, and the absence of provision for feminine education suggests that the subject is not receiving sufficient attention from the Government. The fault cannot be laid at the door of the hard-working staff, which is still two superintendents below establishment, while the Rev. G. P. Bargery remains seconded to his task of compiling a Hausa dictionary. The Government schools at the end of 1923 numbered 13 primary, 20 elementary, and 5 arts and crafts, apart from the Training College at Katsena, and the school kept up by the Emir of Wase. All of these schools are for Muslims, except two in the Munshi Province, for Pagans, and those at Idah and Kaduna for Christians.

With regard to the Training College, Mr. F. M. Urling Smith, the Director of Education, reports fair progress by the 49 pupils, although he has found by experience that instructional subjects *must* in the present state of affairs crowd educational considerations into the background, and he courageously adds that although the College can undoubtedly turn out *teachers*, and possibly prigs, it has yet to prove that it can turn out men. This cautious approach to the delicate subject of character-training augurs well for the ultimate success of the College, and a similar wise consideration is being given to the question of introducing the Scout Movement into the schools.

Shortage of European staff has again hampered the work of the arts and crafts schools, but they are making steady progress, especially in training carpenters, motor mechanics, and bricklayers and masons. The total number of pupils at the Government Schools was 1,635, or 181 more than in 1922, the average attendance being 1,496, while there was a slight falling-off in the numbers in Standards V and VI. The African staff of the schools was 117 secular, and 54 religious teachers, increases of seven and five respectively.

The only schools on the assisted list were the freed slaves' home at Wukari, which earned a grant of £161, and the C.M.S. school at Offa, which reached "assisted" standard in July, 1923—too late to earn a grant. The missionary educational institutions, with two exceptions—Dr. Miller's school at Zaria, and the Dutch Reformed Church—made no reports on their activities, but the total number of non-assisted schools was 110, or 9 less than in 1922, the C.M.S. supporting 62, and the two Sudan Missions 32. The average attendance was about 1,900, slightly lower than in the previous year. The total of Muslim schools is given as 30,585, with enrolment 364,070, against 32,864 and 290,013 reported last year. These figures are often estimated, and perhaps not very reliable, for in Bornu, for instance, the figure for 1923 shows a decrease of 3,000 schools and an increase of 58,800 pupils on 1922.

The total expenditure on education in the Northern Provinces was £59,531, of which £25,505 was provided by the Native Administrations. This represents an average cost per Government pupil of £36, or 7½d. per head on the non-adult males of the country. The figures showing employment of students leaving during the year seem to indicate that the Department is not unduly disturbing local conditions by the creation of a clerical class, for while 37 per cent. have gone to Native Administration offices or workshops, 22 per cent. have returned to farming, 10 per cent. to teaching, 7 per cent. to the P.W.D., Railway, or Medical Departments of the Colonial Government, and 3 per cent. to trading. Considering the lack of financial support, the Department is working well. The difficulty of organising feminine education is one remaining to be faced, but it cannot well be considered until the educational work at present in progress has modified the general conservatism of the population.

SIR HUGH CLIFFORD'S VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO THE NIGERIA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Race Problem – 1925

Africa.

COMPULSORY LABOUR FOR UGANDA RAILWAY.

No Present Need.

Correspondence appears in a White Paper dealing with the question of compulsory labour for Government purposes in Kenya Colony.

The correspondence opens with a dispatch from the Governor of Kenya (December, 1924) to the Secretary for the Colonies, pointing out the serious shortage of labour for railway works in that colony.

The Governor stated that he was satisfied the work was of urgent public importance, and the only means of securing the labour required was by the adoption of a measure which would make it compulsory for the natives to work on railways in which they were directly interested.

Subsequently approval was given for a limited resort to compulsory labour (4,000 men), with a hope that it would be dispensed with at as early a date as possible.

Mr. Amery, on July 9 last, telegraphed that, in view of the fact that there was no present need for compulsion, and also that the returns seemed to indicate that the labour obtained by compulsion was not generally of a high physical standard, he preferred to wait until the existence of an emergency before sanctioning further compulsory recruitment.

In a note the Colonial Office gives the following information concerning the Uasin Gishu and Thika-Nyeri Railways, the two lines for which compulsory labour was authorised :—

"The completion of the Uasin Gishu Railway is essential for making a start at the Kenya end of the extension into Uganda, which was approved by Parliament in 1924, with a view to stimulating cotton cultivation, mainly in Uganda.

"The Thika Nyeri Railway is at present approaching completion as far as the Tana River, which is within the main part of the Kikuyu Reserve. The further extension to Nyeri, while it will open up the European settlement area of Western Kenya, will also make possible the development of the native reserves on the southern slopes of Mount Kenya. It is incorrect to regard this railwa as being purely in European interests."

Notes And Comments.

"It was incumbent on the govern ment to take steps to prevent the collapse of white civilisation in South Africa," said Mr Beyers, Minister of Mines and Industries, in moving the second reading of the Colour Bar Bill in the Assembly. We take it, that it is Mr Beyer's view that white men's civilisation in South Africa is such unstable thing that unless the black races are arrested in their progress towards this same goal by legal impediments it would collapse. Yea, white civilisation in South Africa may collapse, but civilisatian itself will not collapse. Civilisation is not a monopoly of white South Africa. And if the natives acquire civilisa tion, and want to compete with white people in all the departments of labour that make civilisation they do the right thing that Mr Beyer's forefathers wished when they left the shores of Europe to South Africa. They brought civilisation to the barbarous natives, and now when the natives show a tendency to accept the offer that they have been asked to accept for a period of over a century, a legal impediment is brought against them.

Look at the early history of the white men among the millions of natives in South Africa. The white man's point of argument against natives living close to them and the official reports on questions of land settlement between white and black, showed more often than it was necessary that the white settlers' objection against natives mixing up with them was acceptable because the latter were barbarous, and could not be made to accept civilisation! What is the fear to-day? The whites fear competiton with blacks. They recant, in a practical manner, their usually claimed superiority They have come to realise that they were not natives match, hence the Colour Bar Bill.

AFRICA

Africa's New Peril

SECRETARY LERRIGO of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society uses these words in an article in Missions to describe present commercial conditions. He says: "The world has discovered Africa and its riches. Foreign peoples of all nationalities are entering in great numbers to exploit the new continent. The British Colonial Under-Secretary, Major Ormsby-Gore, states that two years ago Uganda produced ninety bales of cotton, last year 137, and this year the production will be 200,000. Radium-bearing ore has been found by Belgium, the diamond and copper mines are being rapidly developed, while in certain colonies of West Africa exports are increasing at the rate of sixty per cent a year. The work of our missionaries has been made doubly, nay trebly, difficult by these new contracts with the outside world. But the importance of their work is emphasized by the urgency of the situation which is being created.

A race is taking place between the godless forces of commercialism and industrialism now exploiting the land with such startling rapidity, and the spiritual efforts of the representatives of the churches of Christ who are trying to capture the hearts, lives, villages, social systems and tribal organization of these primitive peoples for God ere they go down into the pit of destruction before the invading avarice-led hosts."

Cape Native Teachers' Association.

Presidential address given on 24th June, 1925, at Port Elizabeth by D. D. T. Jabavu. B.A. (Lond.).

THE MISSING LINK.

Early in February this year Prof. Raymond Dart of the Johannesburg University discovered at Taungs (Bechuanaland) a fossilised skull of a child that answers most closely to what is called the "Missing Link" between man and the ape. This is an anthropoid ape of pronounced human affinities but which had not yet become definitely human or acquired the power of speech. Prof. Elliott Smith, Prof. of Anatomy at London University, remarking on this says, "Fifty years ago Darwin suggested that Africa was most likely to be the home of the human family, and this discovery bridges a gap perhaps millions of years.

I do not propose to spend any time in calling your attention to the scientific merits of this particular discovery, because that would involve us in the intricacies of studies that properly belong to experts in anthropology, geology, anatomy and archaeology.

Our interest on this subject lies in two directions :—1. That the whole human race has evolved through a slow but sure development from simpler and lower stages; and finality has not yet been obtained.

2. That the bantu race has something to learn from this for its guidance in its upwarwd growth towards modern civilisation. In a Conference of this kind, a conference of teachers who presumably constitute the thinking class of our race, my object as your President will be to throw out suggestions of lines of thought which you should take away with you to ruminate over and work out in full in your leisure hours for the guidance of the people whose leaders you are in your districts. It is not desirable for me to solve for you a problem which needs solution by yourselves.

Experts in anthropology tell us that man orginally developed out of apes or animals that most resemble mankind in shape and form. These men were led by Darwin and Prof. Huxley. Then the ethnologists, led by Prof. Lewis Morgan, tell us that mankind has grown from savagery and barbarism through six definite stages to modern civilisa-

tion. This conclusion they reach after classifying the human races into those who at their lowest rank had discovered the power of speech, the use of fire and eating of nuts, fruits and fish; then the use of the bow and arrow; then the fabrication of pottery; then the domestication of animals, with the cultivation of maize and the construction of bricks and stone houses; then the smelting of iron; lastly the use of the alphabet and writing. Others give us a different classification; into the Hunting Stage (Australians and Bushmen) the Pastoral Stage (Hottentot), the Agricultural Stage (The Bantu) and the Industrial Stage (Europeans).

The study of the development of the human race, you will thus see, is a new science, as compared with other sciences like Medicine, Law, Philosophy, and Religion, and there is as yet but little agreement among its authorities. The latest and newest stage of this study is that of Social Anthropology, led in this country by Prof. Radliffe Brown of Cape Town University in the Department of the school of African Life and Languages; and the object here is, in the words of Prof. Brown himself: "The study of the beliefs and customs of the Native Peoples; with the aim, not of merely reconstructing their History, but of discovering their meaning, their function, that is, the place they occupy in the mental, moral and social life." This, he says, "can afford great help to the missionary or the public servant who is engaged in dealing with the practical problems of the adjustment of native civilisation to the new conditions that have resulted from our occupation of the country."

It is quite obvious that the Prof. was thinking only of those Europeans in charge of Native Affairs and Administration at various points of contact with the Natives. In my opinion it is the Native Leaders who are in need of this knowledge and study; and of all the leaders, the teachers! At the European-Bantu Conference at Johannesburg last October, one Native delegate made the surprising but sensible proposal that Native youths in training Institutions should be taught the customs and laws of their people as part of their ordinary education. You will all agree with me, I think, when I say that most of our young women and men nowadays grow up without knowing their people's history, customs and laws. It is about time we got jealous of Europeans who know these things better than we do. "Let us imagine, says Prof. Brown," the case of a missionary or magistrate who is wondering what are likely to be the results of an attempt to abolish or discourage the custom of "ukulobola." He may experiment, but he then risks the chance of producing results that he has not foreseen, so that his experiment may do far more harm than good. Social Anthropology, though it cannot yet provide a complete theory of "Lobola," can tell him much that will be of great help to him, and can set him on the path of enquiry by which he can discover more." The same may be said with regard to superstitions and other phenomena peculiar to our ancestors.

In our upward social growth, we do not yet know whither we are bound. The next stage above us is that of European civilisation as we see it in South Africa. Its effects impinge upon us every hour of our lives. The Europeans in our midst live in accordance with the customs, laws and social conventions of their own standard of civilisation; but nevertheless they keep enjoining us not to adopt their civilisation but to "develop along our own lines." Now what are those lines? Are we free to institute those lines? Where are we to practise those lines? Do we know those lines? Are we ready to outline them if we are given the chance? Those are the questions we must all be prepared to answer when the crisis comes. Let us remember too, ladies and gentlemen, that in this land where opportunity is denied the Bantu by legislation and by the conventions of negrophobism in many legitimate walks of life we Bantu must steadily row against the stream, qualifying ourselves for invisible positions; and compel such positions to be visible, create opportunities for ourselves by qualifying ourselves to rank with the highest in the world. No door can be closed against the qualified man, for the qualified man will surely break open the colour bars by his qualifications sooner or later, and sooner than later. The keys for our social advancement lie in our own hands, if we but raise the educational standard of the majority of our people. We form a portion of the human race, and we shall advance quickly if we only know ourselves and our capacities. While European professors are busy searching for the missing link of anthropological development, let us be busy finding out the missing link that will connect us with the highest stage of racial advancement.

This leads me to our second point of consideration: What have we to learn for our guidance from this search for the missing link? In other words, what constitutes the difference between us as we are, and the foremost civilised nations of the world? There are two possible answers, the one simple, the other complicated. The simple one is Education, the complicated one is the sort of Education we need. The foremost countries owe their position to the general high level of Education among their leaders and among the masses.

Africa Committee To Meet In Conn.

New York, Aug. 19. (A. N. P.)—The Africa committee of the Committee of Reference and Counsel has called an open conference on Africa to be held in Hartford, Connecticut, October 31 to November 1. The sessions of the conference will be held in the Kennedy School of Missions.

Some of the problems to be considered at this conference, which will be attended largely by representatives of mission boards having work on that continent will be "Present Conjectives in Africa,' "The Education of omen and Girls," "Cooperation for Africa and Africans" as well as a consideration of problems in hygiene and public health, languages and literature, and in the teaching of the people in large cities and mining centers of Africa. Plans will also be made looking toward the "World Conference on Africa," which is to be held during 1926.

Among the missionary and educational leaders who will address the conference are: Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Dr. Homer L. Shantz, of the United States Department of Agriculture, Dr. J. H. Dillard, president of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, Prof. Dr. Westerman of the University of Berlin, Rev. Thomas S. Donohugh, associate secretary of the Methodist Episcopal church and Mrs. J. H. Oldham, of London, secretary of the International Missionary Council and editor of the International Relations.

AMERICAN NEGRO TAKES CUE FROM RISING AFRICA

Fights Imperialism Here Also

The Chicago Tribune has an editorial on the uprising of the darker races. It says the Senussi tribesmen of Africa had opened fire on the Italians who have been ruling Tripoli and Cyrenaica. It claims that Italian troops which had been sent out to stop smuggling on trade routes to Egypt were set upon and a column cut up. The uprising was said to be led by a religious chief of the Mohammadens called Sheik Ahmed.

This is only the beginning. The subject races thruout the world are gradually rising up against capitalist imperialism and the circle will not be rounded out until the American Negro takes his stand with the other exploited peoples of the world. It is claimed that South Africa is the only place that further efforts can be made to throw off the yoke of imperialism, but this is only a blind to make the American workers think that they are under a great democratic government and have no kick. The workers of America will surely take their turn and pull the imperialists' chair from under him and throw him out.

Imperialism Is Sick.

Yes, the imperialist is truly a sick man. Great Britain is full of unrest. There are thousands of workers out of work and in no spirit to support a large army in the colonies. Continental Europe is on its last leg, suffering from the depression of a four years war. The knowledge that Asia and Africa got of modern warfare in the last war will stand them in good stead.

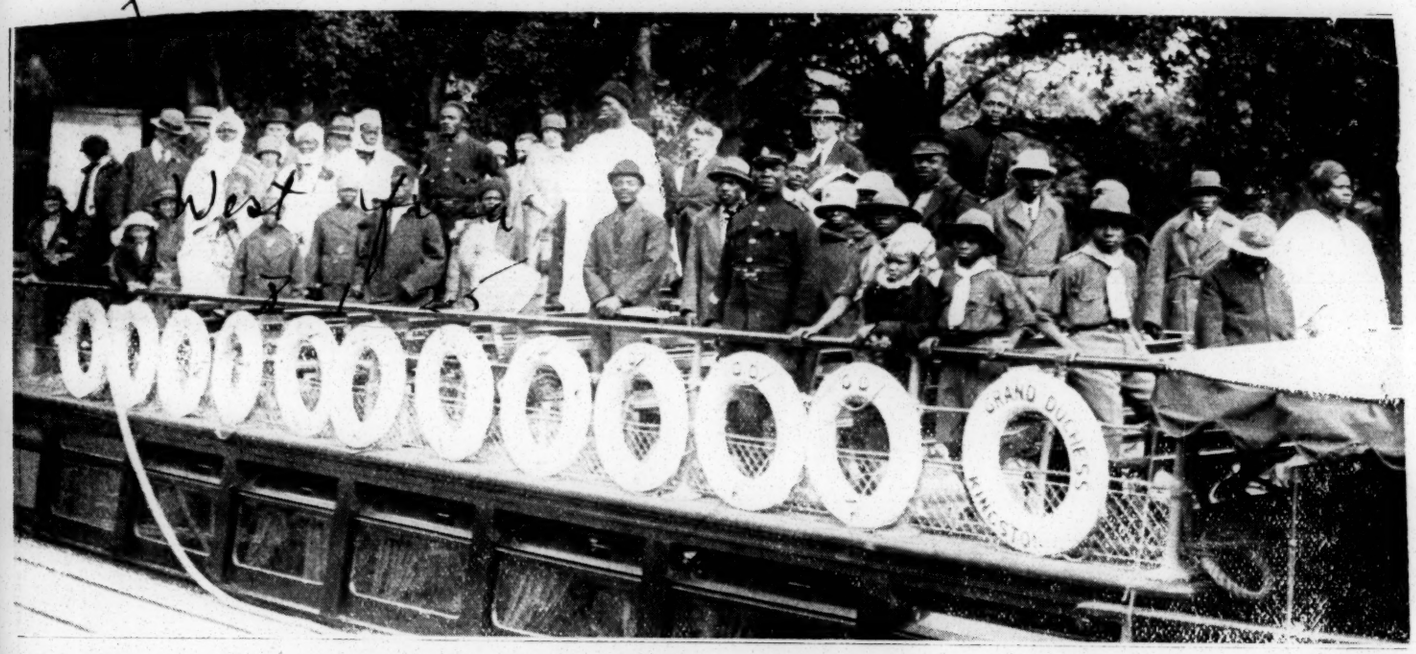
The European naitons which are depending upon their foreign colonies for cheap raw material, as well as man power for their armies, are constantly double-crossing each other and waiting to pounce upon each other at the slightest chance. You will remember it was the Tribune that was the first to cry "red" at the American Negro Labor Congress. Now it is crying "soviet" at these natives who for years have had to keep up an aristocr... a useless leisure class, when all they are asking for is a chance to gov... themselves.

Demand Unionization of Negro.

The United States today is just as much an imperialist nation as France or England. It is constantly seeking foreign markets for its goods and new fields to invest its every-growing capital. The American Negro Labor Congress will mark the beginning of the American Negro's demands for complete unionization of labor. It will demand that Negro plumbers, electricians, locomotive firemen, etc., be organized in the American Federation of Labor, as well as the hod carriers.

The union officials realize that playing at organizing the Negro will not satisfy him this time; so, in order to help the big employers of labor keep the Negro sttrikebreaker as a whip over the white worker and keep the easy jobs with big pay, they find it necessary to cry out "RED" when the Negro demands to be organized on all fields. But with all the help union officials can give him, truly the capitalist is a sick man.

Race Problem - 1925
Africa.



A general view at Cookham on the return journey.

Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., Ltd., as described elsewhere, entertained the West Africans at Wembley on Sunday to a day on the river Thames on board the "Grand Duchess." The party came on chars-a-bancs, embarked at Windsor and went as far as Cliveden. Some of the guests are shown above with European officials from Wembley, Mr. Robert Paul, representing Messrs. Elder Dempster, being third from the right in the back row. For other names see the group below.

ALL OF SOMALILAND OCCUPIED BY ITALY

Northern Portion, Under Protectorate Since 1889, Had Been Ruled by Natives.

PEOPLE WELCOME CHANGE

Italian Action Resulted From Conflicts Among Chiefs Over Fertile Valley.

Copyright, 1925, by The New York Times Company.
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

New York Times
10-20-25
New York N.Y.

ROME, Oct. 19.—Italian colonial troops have occupied the northern portion of Italian Somaliland which, though technically a part of the Italian possessions, has in actual fact hitherto been almost totally independent under the government of its own chiefs. The territories occupied are the Sultanates of Obbia and the Mijertins, which came under the Italian protectorate in 1889.

Two columns of white and one column of native troops marched from Southern Somaliland some 400 miles to Obbia at the same time that Alula Rafun, in the Sultanate of the Mijertins, was occupied by landing parties from and Italian naval squadron. These two sets of operations were carried out without bloodshed, no resistance being offered by the native populations, which, according to the official statement, "welcomed the Italians with benevolence and sympathy," surrendering some 2,000 rifles and large quantities of ammunition. From these points the occupation will be extended inland.

When Italy assumed the protectorate over Somaliland in 1889, she being then a young nation and unprepared for colonial adventures, it was thought best to limit the occupation to the southern portion of this territory, leaving the north in the hands of local chiefs, under the nominal Protectorate of Italy. This arrangement worked well for Italy as long as a common danger kept the local chiefs' minds off their personal quarrels. Thus, when the Mad Mullah, retreating before British troops, invaded the Valley of Wadynogal, the Sultans of Obbia and the Mijertins combined to fight him, but when he was killed by the British in 1920, they set to fighting among themselves over possession of the fertile and rich Wadynogal, giving much trouble to the Italian authorities.

The Fascist Governor of Somaliland, Cesare de Vecchi, as soon as he arrived at Mogadiscio, decided that he only hope of peace in that region was to occupy the whole of the territory under the Italian Protectorate. He began a long process not only of military, but also of moral and political preparation, in order to insure that the Italian occupation could be effected without arousing the hostility of the natives. During a recent visit to Rome he made the final arrangements with Mussolini's Colonial Minister, Lanza di Scalea, and began operations for the complete occupation of the territory immediately after he returned to his post at Mogadiscio.

The Native Franchise.

THE PRIME MINISTER during his visit to the Cape Native Territories foreshadowed his intentions concerning the future of the Native and the franchise. With a fair amount of plausibility he argued that he did not like the Natives in the Cape to vote together with Europeans for the same parliamentary members. He would rather give the Natives specified constituencies where they could vote and return their own representatives. This sounds well in theory; but when translated into hard facts we discover that the real object is to reduce the Cape Native constituencies down to the value of two seats. As matters stand to-day we have Tembuland as virtually a purely Native seat, with eight other seats where the Native vote is about half of the total votes, and thus decisive, namely Kimberley, Aliwal, Kingwilliamstown, Port Elizabeth Central and South West, Three Rivers, Woodstock, Griqualand, and Liesbeek; while in five other seats the Native vote, wedged in between the two European parties, is a deciding factor, namely, at Uitenhage, Queenstown, Fort Beaufort, East London and Cradock. Thus the Natives control about fourteen seats, and this is now to be whittled down to only two representatives—a fact General Hertzog is careful not to disclose. He is clear on the point that the northern Provinces, where five other seats could be given to the Natives, are adamant against giving votes to the blacks; in fact the one man who counts in the Transvaal, Mr. Tielman Ross, Minister of Justice, was recently reported to have emphatically affirmed that he was not prepared to "give votes to the Kaffirs."

We must confess that we are not enamoured of the suggestion that General Hertzog is an ideal individual to tamper with the Cape Native vote while in his own Province, the Orange Free State he dare not as much as breathe the expression of giving votes

to Natives, and, worse still, while his lieutenant, the Transvaal leader, is out and out opposed to the notion of enfranchising the Bantu.

We would therefore warn our Native-voter readers not to be in too great a hurry to give the Premier a mandate for altering the Constitution for the the purpose of doing what he likes with our hard-won privilege. We have no brief for the South African Party who stand to lose twelve seats by the new-fangled proposal, but we certainly realise the positive danger to our rights if the Premier is to be granted a *carte blanche* to reduce our position to two seats, under the specious pretext of political segregation.

The Basutoland COUNCIL.

The Basutoland Council is opening on the 20th instant. The names of the Councillors appeared in our issue of the 14th August. In them there are few fresh ones. So far as this roll of Councillors is concerned, one is led to think that the National Council is not an institution that stands for a good purpose. Among the fresh names we see some names of branded criminals, the thing which could not be tolerated by the civilised world, and which the Natives themselves, in their barbaric state strongly discouraged. This system of representation in Basutoland has therefore no precedent in the history of Parliamentary institutions of the world. The authorities may have allowed the dignity of the Council system in Basutoland to suffer through forceful circumstances known to them alone but those circumstances, whatever they are, cannot find their basis in the customs of the Basuto people. Their early traditions convince, even obdurate historians, that they were the people who strictly guarded the purity of their courts and societies. However we admit that the influences of civilisation may have produced new elements which though defiled in themselves, were shielded by the present generation in their pursuit of the civilized habits.

In our opinion, the Basutoland government by its relaxation of the right kind of principles to be followed in the nomination of the Councillors, is giving away one of its strongest foothold in combating the old evil habits of the Basuto nation, which in the eyes of this nation did not appear to be wrong. A Council of this kind is a novel thing with the Basuto, and they are therefore dependent on the officials to guide them. And if the officials are weak, their work will give poor results.

In the Bloemfontein "Friend" of the 15th instant, its Maseru correspondent, commenting on the Basuto Herd-boys fights, which have recently resulted fatally in most cases, makes the following appreciative remar :—

"The administration, however, can safely be left to deal with the domestic evils that exist, and fundamentally it seems this particular evil is more a matter for the work of missionaries than mere jurisdiction."

Both these two institutions have means to control these evils. They only need to make a united effort for we know they are working for one end, of making this small nation to become a nation of good citizens who respect the laws of the country.

It would not serve a good purpose if the missionaries invited to the Holy Communion murderers and thieves before they are repented. It would neither serve a good purpose for the administration to invite that class of people to the courts and Councils of State. It is setting a bad examole for the young chiefs and young men of this territory. To make them think

HOPE TO CRUSH BRITISH RUBBER MONOPOLIES

300,000 Natives Will Get Work; Business to Boom Greatly

According to latest press dispatches, American dollars, backed by an internationally-known rubber corporation headed by Harvey S. Firestone are going to reach into the dark, mysterious, savage habitats of the African continent and there turn tangled forests into roaring industrial centers, untamed rivers into dynamos of electrical energy, idle natives into industrious laborers and millions of acres of rich, but untilled soil, into millions of acres of rubber fields.

The little African republic of Liberia is the beneficiary of all this good fortune. Edwin D. Barclay, Liberian Secretary of State, it is evident, did not come to America a few weeks ago because he liked the way the moonlight played about the Washington Memorial shaft, or the way the girls did the Charleston on Broadway.

Behind his mission, as predicted in these same columns at the time, was the consuming desire of Mr. Barclay to gain from American capitalists what the American government had denied him—money. Whether "blood money" or not, time alone can tell. But whatever kind of money it was, those at the head of the Liberian ship of state had sense enough to know that through it, and it alone, could Liberia make the economic progress worthy of the slumbering natural resources lying dormant within her tangled jungles and unplumbed rivers. The rest they are willing to leave to the American sense of fairness. No country, in similar straights, could do otherwise.

Interest Not Philanthropic

Mr. Firestone, with whom the Secretary of State closed a deal for the leasing of a million acres of Liberian land for rubber cultivation, very candidly admits that his interest in the economic growth of Liberia is not a philanthropic one. The rubber magnate points out that American buyers are a little hot under the collar because of the fact that a British-Dutch rubber monopoly has made them pay a pretty stiff price for rubber during the past few months—a price that has sent automobile tires and other similar commodities soaring sky-high in this country. Efforts at a peaceful adjustment of prices failing, the Firestone interests declared open war by invading Africa with the intention of growing their own rubber. "England will soon realize," said Mr. Firestone, "that America has gone into the rubber business in earnest."

Boon to Liberia

The company is to spend $100,000,000 of American cash in turning the jungles into a modern country with model towns, railroads, highways and harbors. Twenty separate plantation units are to be cut out of the tangled forests, and American homes, hospitals and stores are to be erected. American sanitation and lighting systems built and American transportation installed.

Employment will be given to 300,000 natives, now idle through lack of industrial development and 1,000,000 acres of rubber trees are to be planted in what now is brush.

Mr. Firestone described how he had sent out exploring parties of experts three years ago to look the world over for acreages suitable for rubber growing. Politics, difficult laws and revolutions kept him out of the Philippines, Mexico and Central America, but his agents reported ideal conditions in Liberia.

Barclay Swings Deal

Having made this decision, Mr. Firestone met in New York the Hon. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State for Liberia, and a concession for the work was granted. It was the largest concession ever given a rubber company. Since that, American surveyors and rubber experts have been sent to survey the whole of Liberia and choose here and there the land best suited for rubber production until 1,000,000 acres have been taken over.

The work of rebuilding the country already has started. The corporation has let a contract to the J. G. White Engineering Company of New York to build a harbor at Monrovia, the capital and principal city of Liberia.

History of Country

Liberia was established in 1822 by various British and American societies for the abolition of slavery. As soon as a slave secured his freedom, he was shipped away to this little colony on the west coast of Africa. In 1832 there were 2,500 settlers. Today approximately 62,000 American black men and their descendants live in a strip within six miles of the coast. Further inland reside approximately two and a half million uncivilized natives.

The country is modeled after the United States. They have a president, senate, house, and various other legislative, judicial and executive branches. The republic is rich in its soil and in undeveloped resources; it has a strong national spirit and a peace loving population; and it has men endowed with the qualities of leadership. Monrovia, its capital, was named after President Monroe.

The Cape and Transkei Teacher's Union

Some time last June there appeared in the columns of your esteemed journal under the above title an article by Mr. Sotashe of Blythswood. I feel I must also say something in the matter though, I regret to say, it is hardly in the nature of a refutation of what is contained in your correspondent's letter. This is due to the very simple reason that your correspondent expresses his own convictions, but strangely enough adduces nothing in support of what he says. The whole question hinges upon the first two sentences in the third paragraph of his letter wherein he states that "theoretically union is good but practically it won't work," and herein lies the shallowness, not to say emptiness, of his letter, because, as I have said above, he brings nothing forward to support his allegations.

It is the practical side of Union that we are here concerned with as we are all agreed that "theoretically union is good," though personally I see very little of theory, if there be any at all, in the question. Will your correspondent kindly enlighten us as to why "practically it (Union) won't work?" Finally, I quite agree with Mr Sotashe when he says it is very unfortunate of him that he should come to this conclusion. It could not have been otherwise, seeing that there is no logical reasoning in saying that this is due to the fact that Federation has been withdrawn.

I believe the T.T.A. and the C.N.T.A. are still going to have another chance of meeting, so the question has not altogether been relegated to oblivion. Hence my reply.

Thanking you for space.

I am, yours etc

J. P. HERMANUS.

Magodla,
P.O. Ndabakazi.
21/8/25.

Race Problem - 1925

Africa

The Paramount Chief's Address.

To His Royal Highness Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David Prince of Wales etc.

May it please Your Royal Higness

We, the Paramount Chief, Chiefs and Headmen, on behalf of the Basuto Nation, are to-day filled, with joy and gladness, to be able to convey our great thankfulness to Your Royal Highness for coming to visit our country, and at the same time we very heartily welcome you amongst us.

It is the first time our Nation has had the opportunity of receiving the son of our King and Emperor in Basutoland, and we esteem it a very great honour and privilege to be able to do so.

We know Your Royal Highness our country is small, and our inhabitants are few, compared with other portions of the Great Empire over which Your August Father Our Gracious King is Emperor, but we as a Nation humbly, but emphatically, assert that we yeild to no other Nation the position of being the most loyal and devoted subjects in the British Dominions and we are at all times ready and willing to carry out the orders and to submit to the directions of His Majesty's Government.

The Basuto to-day have come from the uttermost ends of our Territory in order to do honour and to pay homage, to Your Royal Highness, as the son of Our Gracious Majesty, and as our future King, and it is the desire of the whole Nation to demonstrate this by making our welcome to-day more evident and impressive than ever in the past.

This day must be such that it will long be remembered by us, our children, and our grand children. We would again express our deep and gratitude to the British Throne for the blessing of peace and prosperity which we as a Nation have enjoyed, from the time of Our late beloved Queen, Queen Victoria the Good, until the present day, through the protection afforded to us by His Majesty's Government, and we would earnestly pray and entreat Your Royal Highness to convey anew to Your Royal Father, King George V, our deep and heartfelt expressions of love loyalty and devotion, and at the same time to beseach him to ensure that this Protection and guidance may never be taken from us, and that our little country shall ever remain administered as it is to-day

We trust Your Royal Highness will derive pleasure pleasure from Your visit and that You will return to England in good health, and that You may be long spared to feel Your High Exalted position in the British Empire.

As we the Basuto Nation Your humble and obedient servants will always pray Almighty God to grant.

PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF Basutoland
on behalf of Basuto Nation.

Matsieng,
Basutoland.
28 May 1925

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WALES IS SNUBBED

There will probably be a public apology offered to the Prince of Wales somewhere in Africa in the near future if the present plans of the British government are carried out. The story has it that Solomon, king of the Zulus, failed to give Wales the royal salute at one of the court presentations at Eschowe, capital of the Zulu nation, and poor Wales went crying to his guardian to arrest the insulting king.

England, regarding the incident as a great diplomatic problem, has ordered a thorough investigation if King Solomon is found guilty he will be severely reprimanded, ordered to apologize to the prince and heavily fined.

Thus does England take care of her own.

In America another visiting prince is beaten, thrown in jail and haled into court for no other reason than that he dared enter an American restaurant fully prepared to pay for what he ate. Newspapers considered it a huge joke. Later, because the French government politely asked America to respect her citizens, this prince, an African by birth, was given the "freedom of the city." Following immediately upon the heels of this "courtesy" from Chicago, newspapers gave out another story that the prince had passed a worthless check and was wanted by the police. This also proved to be one of our methods of entertaining our distinguished guest and without foundation.

All of these things happened to an African prince in America, but no one has yet been called to account for it. There is something wrong with our system and it does no credit to the people who make such abuses possible.

COMING INTO ITS OWN

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, the greatest living authority on Africa, believes it is entirely possible that within a half century all of Africa from the Zambezi to the Sahara may be a great black republic This view is shared by others who have studied at first hand the rapid advancement of the people of the dark continent during the past quarter of a century, and especially since the great World war This event not only aroused dormant Africa, but China, India and other backward countries as well This awakening of the darker races of the world has somewhat alarmed the handful of advocates of "white supremacy." We find in one of our daily papers:

"THE TIME HAS COME when the white races of the world must frankly face the problem of preventing the colored races from becoming world powerful. Despite statements to the contrary, there is danger today of a 'yellow peril.' Japan holds in the palm of her hand the destinies of the far East India, joining with the yellow races under the religious banner of Mohammed, has for centuries been a thorn in the flesh of white races. From the countries of North Africa comes the news of widespread activity which is solidifying the semicivilized black races. In short, there is real danger of the world being ruled by the colored races within a comparatively short time if drastic steps to prevent the occurrence of such a havoc-working catastrophe are not taken."

TO FEEL oneself superior mentally, morally and physically and yet tremble with fear because a group of "inferiors" show signs of awakening is a very pitiful state to be in. Of course, Africa will come into its own. It would be a strange world if it did not. What Japan has done it will do, only on a larger scale. India and China have already made a good start. We venture the prophecy that when the darker races are in the ascendency they will not visit upon their weaker brothers of the white races any of the inhumanities their forefathers suffered at the hands of the dominant Christian whites of today.

Graduation Oration.

[*Continued.*]

Nor must I omit to congratulate Mr. Milner Kabane on the completion of the B.A. course, and on his admission to the University of South Africa, a University which claims many distinguished men as its alumni. It will be for Mr. Kabane to prove himself worthy of the honourable company of which he now becomes a member. I am glad to know that he is now teaching at Lovedale, and cordially wish him all success and happiness in the profession upon which he has entered. It was a matter of great regret that we were unable to retain in this Province the services of your first graduate, Mr. Zachariah Matthews, who found that Natal was able to provide him with a better post than could the Cape Education Department. His [illegible] long deferred, but the Department still cherishes the hope that it may soon be possible to offer additional and better openings for teachers who have had a University training.

On occasions such as this it is usual to devote a considerable portion of the address to those students who are still in the College, and I propose to follow the rule, not by way of an academic discourse, but rather in the form of a friendly talk.

This is a suitable opportunity for recalling to their minds the privileges they enjoy, and the responsibilities they incur in attendig such an institution as this. The two, privilege and responsibility, go together in this, as in all other spheres of life, and cannot be dissociated: and it is well at times to recall this to young people's minds.

If present students were satisfied according to the main purpose they had in view in coming to Fort Hare, it is probable that they would fall roughly into three classes.

First, there would be those who are attracted by the honour of attending a university college, by the certificate which they hope to gain at the end of the course, and the position in the world which such a certificate will give them. One would not deny to a young man or young woman the ambition which Milton calls "the last infirmity of noble minds," for without its spur many noble achievements would not have been accomplished. All honour, then, to the youth who aims at raising himself in the world, and by diligent effect succeeds in doing so. This aim, however, by its very nature as based on the interests only of the individual, is not the highest.

The second group would consist of those who are inspired with a thirst for knowledge has portion similar to the proportion of delicate tracery of tissue, the earth to the solar system, or beauty of the flower, the infinite way take for his field of study variety and adaptation of insect Universe, in which our sun, life, the habits and instincts of and overwhelmingly powerful life, the delicately balanced it is, is but an insignificant instrument we call our body, or the yet more delicately balanced instrument, the mind the student may turn to life from the temptations of the world,

Race Problem - 1925
Africa

The Paramount Chief's Address.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS EDWARD ALBERT CHRISTIAN GEORGE ANDREW PATRICK DAVID PRINCE OF WALES K.C.

May it please Your Royal Highness

We, the Paramount Chief, Chiefs and Headmen, on behalf of the Basuto Nation, are to-day filled with joy and gladness, to be able to convey our great thankfulness to Your Royal Highness for coming to visit our country, and at the same time we are very heartily welcome you among us.

It is the first time our Nation has had the opportunity of receiving the son of our King and Emperor in Basutoland, and we esteem it a very great honour and privilege to be able to do so. 6-5-25 Your visit and that Your Royal Highness may never be taken from us, and that our little country shall ever remain administered as it is to-day

We trust Your Royal Highness will derive pleasure from visiting the Queen of the Zulus, called to Eive Wales the love and heartfelt expressions of loyalty and devotion, and at the same time to beseech him to ensure that this Protection and Guidance

We know Your Royal Highness to be able to do so. 6-5-25 Your visit and that Your Royal Highness will derive pleasure from our country is small, and our inhabitants are few, compared with other portions of the Great Empire over which Your August Father the British Empire.

As we the Basuto Nation Your Gracious King is Emperor, humble and obedient servants will as a Nation humbly, but earnestly pray Almighty God to phatically, assert that we yield to no other Nation the position of Basuto.

PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF Basutoland. being the most loyal and devoted on behalf of Basuto Nation.

subjects in the British Dominions Watsieng, and we are at all times ready and willing to carry out the orders and to submit to the directions of His Majesty's Government.

The Basuto to-day have come from the uttermost ends of our Territory in order to do honour and pay homage, to Your Royal Highness, as the son of Our Gracious Majesty, and as our future King, and it is the desire of the whole Nation to demonstrate this by making our welcome to-day if King Solomon is found guilty be more evident and impressive than heavily fined.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WALES IS SNUBBED

28 May 1925

There will probably be a public apology offered to the Prince of Wales somewhere in Africa in the near future if the present plans of the British Government are carried out. The story has it that Solomon, King of the Zulus, called to Eive Wales the love and heartfelt expressions of loyalty and devotion, and at the same time to beseech him to ensure that this Protection and Guidance

Basutoland, capital of the Zulu nation, and poor Wales was sent crying to his Guardian to arrest the insulting

England, regarding the incident as a great diplomatic problem, has ordered a thorough investigation

Tuesday 4-2-25

Nor must I omit to congratulate Mr. Milner Kabane on the completion of the B.A. course, and on his admission to the University of South Africa, a distinguished mon as its alumni. It will be for Mr. Kabane to prove worthy of the honourable company of which he becomes a member. I'm sure

Graduation Oration.

[Continued.]

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, the greatest living authority on Africa, believes it is entirely possible that within a half century all of Africa from the Zambezi to the Sahara may be a great black republic in America, but no one has yet been called to account for it. There is something wrong with our system and it does no credit to the people who make such abuses possible.

COMING INTO ITS OWN

All of these things happened to an African prince in America another visiting prince is beaten, thrown in jail and hailed into court for no other reason than that he dared enter an American restaurant fully prepared to pay for what he ate. Newspapers considered it a huge joke. Later, because the Frenchman of Mohammed, has for centuries been a thorn in the flesh of white races. From the countries of North Africa comes the news of widespread activity which is solidifying the semi-civilized black races. In short, there is real danger of the world being ruled by the colored races within a comparatively short time if drastic steps to prevent the occurrence of such a havoc-working catastrophe are not taken."

TO FEEL oneself superior mentally, morally and physically and yet tremble with fear because a group of "inferiors" show signs of awakening is a very pitiful state to be in. Of course, Africa will come into its own. It would be a strange world if it did not. What Japan has done it will do, only on a larger scale. India and China have already made a good start. We venture the prophecy that when the darker races are in the ascendency they will not visit upon their weaker brothers of the white races any of the inhumanities their forefathers suffered at the hands of the dominant Christian whites of today.

Thus does England take care of her own.

The Paramount Chief's Address.

THIS day must be such that it will long be remembered by us, our children, and our grand children.

We would again express our deep and Gratitude to the British Throne for the blessing of peace and prosperity which we as a Nation have enjoyed, from the time of Our late beloved Queen, Queen Victoria the Good, until the present day, through the protection afforded to us by His Majesty's Government, and we would earnestly pray and convey anew to Your Royal Highness to Father, King George V, our deep and heartfelt expressions of love loyalty and devotion, and at the same time to beseech him to ensure that this Protection and Guidance may never be taken from us, and that our little country shall ever remain administered as it is to-day

We trust Your Royal Highness will derive pleasure from visiting the Queen of the Zulus, called to Eive Wales the love and heartfelt expressions of loyalty and devotion, and at the same time we are very heartily welcome you among us.

It is the first time our Nation has had the opportunity of receiving the son of our King and Emperor in Basutoland, and we esteem it a very great honour and privilege to be able to do so. 6-5-25 Your visit and that Your Royal Highness will derive pleasure from our country is small, and our inhabitants are few, compared with other portions of the Great Empire over which Your August Father the British Empire.

As we the Basuto Nation Your Gracious King is Emperor, humble and obedient servants will as a Nation humbly, but earnestly pray Almighty God to phatically, assert that we yield to no other Nation the position of Basuto.

PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF Basutoland. being the most loyal and devoted on behalf of Basuto Nation.

subjects in the British Dominions Watsieng, and we are at all times ready and willing to carry out the orders and to submit to the directions of His Majesty's Government.

The Basuto to-day have come from the uttermost ends of our Territory in order to do honour and pay homage, to Your Royal Highness, as the son of Our Gracious Majesty, and as our future King, and it is the desire of the whole Nation to demonstrate this by making our welcome to-day if King Solomon is found guilty be more evident and impressive than heavily fined.

Thus does England take care of her own.

Tuesday 4-2-25

Nor must I omit to congratulate Mr. Milner Kabane on the completion of the B.A. course, and on his admission to the University of South Africa, a distinguished mon as its alumni. It will be for Mr. Kabane to prove worthy of the honourable company of which he becomes a member. I'm sure

Graduation Oration.

[Continued.]

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, the greatest living authority on Africa, believes it is entirely possible that within a half century all of Africa from the Zambezi to the Sahara may be a great black republic in America, but no one has yet been called to account for it. There is something wrong with our system and it does no credit to the people who make such abuses possible.

COMING INTO ITS OWN

All of these things happened to an African prince in America another visiting prince is beaten, thrown in jail and hailed into court for no other reason than that he dared enter an American restaurant fully prepared to pay for what he ate. Newspapers considered it a huge joke. Later, because the Frenchman of Mohammed, has for centuries been a thorn in the flesh of white races. From the countries of North Africa comes the news of widespread activity which is solidifying the semi-civilized black races. In short, there is real danger of the world being ruled by the colored races within a comparatively short time if drastic steps to prevent the occurrence of such a havoc-working catastrophe are not taken."

TO FEEL oneself superior mentally, morally and physically and yet tremble with fear because a group of "inferiors" show signs of awakening is a very pitiful state to be in. Of course, Africa will come into its own. It would be a strange world if it did not. What Japan has done it will do, only on a larger scale. India and China have already made a good start. We venture the prophecy that when the darker races are in the ascendency they will not visit upon their weaker brothers of the white races any of the inhumanities their forefathers suffered at the hands of the dominant Christian whites of today.

Thus does England take care of her own.

Tuesday 4-2-25

Nor must I omit to congratulate Mr. Milner Kabane on the completion of the B.A. course, and on his admission to the University of South Africa, a distinguished mon as its alumni. It will be for Mr. Kabane to prove worthy of the honourable company of which he becomes a member. I'm sure

Graduation Oration.

[Continued.]

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, the greatest living authority on Africa, believes it is entirely possible that within a half century all of Africa from the Zambezi to the Sahara may be a great black republic in America, but no one has yet been called to account for it. There is something wrong with our system and it does no credit to the people who make such abuses possible.

COMING INTO ITS OWN

All of these things happened to an African prince in America another visiting prince is beaten, thrown in jail and hailed into court for no other reason than that he dared enter an American restaurant fully prepared to pay for what he ate. Newspapers considered it a huge joke. Later, because the Frenchman of Mohammed, has for centuries been a thorn in the flesh of white races. From the countries of North Africa comes the news of widespread activity which is solidifying the semi-civilized black races. In short, there is real danger of the world being ruled by the colored races within a comparatively short time if drastic steps to prevent the occurrence of such a havoc-working catastrophe are not taken."

TO FEEL oneself superior mentally, morally and physically and yet tremble with fear because a group of "inferiors" show signs of awakening is a very pitiful state to be in. Of course, Africa will come into its own. It would be a strange world if it did not. What Japan has done it will do, only on a larger scale. India and China have already made a good start. We venture the prophecy that when the darker races are in the ascendency they will not visit upon their weaker brothers of the white races any of the inhumanities their forefathers suffered at the hands of the dominant Christian whites of today.

Thus does England take care of her own.

Tuesday 4-2-25

Nor must I omit to congratulate Mr. Milner Kabane on the completion of the B.A. course, and on his admission to the University of South Africa, a distinguished mon as its alumni. It will be for Mr. Kabane to prove worthy of the honourable company of which he becomes a member. I'm sure

Graduation Oration.

[Continued.]

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, the greatest living authority on Africa, believes it is entirely possible that within a half century all of Africa from the Zambezi to the Sahara may be a great black republic in America, but no one has yet been called to account for it. There is something wrong with our system and it does no credit to the people who make such abuses possible.

COMING INTO ITS OWN

All of these things happened to an African prince in America another visiting prince is beaten, thrown in jail and hailed into court for no other reason than that he dared enter an American restaurant fully prepared to pay for what he ate. Newspapers considered it a huge joke. Later, because the Frenchman of Mohammed, has for centuries been a thorn in the flesh of white races. From the countries of North Africa comes the news of widespread activity which is solidifying the semi-civilized black races. In short, there is real danger of the world being ruled by the colored races within a comparatively short time if drastic steps to prevent the occurrence of such a havoc-working catastrophe are not taken."

TO FEEL oneself superior mentally, morally and physically and yet tremble with fear because a group of "inferiors" show signs of awakening is a very pitiful state to be in. Of course, Africa will come into its own. It would be a strange world if it did not. What Japan has done it will do, only on a larger scale. India and China have already made a good start. We venture the prophecy that when the darker races are in the ascendency they will not visit upon their weaker brothers of the white races any of the inhumanities their forefathers suffered at the hands of the dominant Christian whites of today.

Thus does England take care of her own.

Some are fascinated by the study of pure mathematics, with its attractive symmetry and accuracy. Others again are attracted by the study of the human race, its history and customs, the mysteries of language, the wisdom of the ancients, the philosophy of modern life and conduct, beauty in form, colour, and sound, or the workings of the human soul, so far as these can be studied.

Whatever the student's original aim on coming to College, his University training will have accomplished but little if he completes his course without such an abiding interest in one or more of those forms as will impel him to prosecute its study, long after he has left the professor and the classroom.

The third class, and I venture to hope it is not a minority, have come to Fort Hare with a purpose that is higher than either of those already described, namely the desire to prepare themselves for the service of others—of their own people in the first instance, but also of their fellowmen in general. There are children to be trained and fitted to make the best of their lives; Christians to be fortified in their faith, and heathen to be won to Christianity; there are ignorant and foolish men to be protected from injustice and the wiles of the unscrupulous. Economic conditions of the race call for betterment, and the people as a whole need guidance in their attempt to adapt life and conduct to the new conditions of modern civilisation, so startlingly different from the old. And in these days your people have especial need of the services of balanced minds, that can detach themselves from the immediate aspect of a problem, consider it without prejudice in its many bearings, and ultimately arrive at a sound judgment based on knowledge and right thinking.

Then there is research to be undertaken, for the successful prosecution of which a college training is essential. Indeed it seems to me that any university college is doing less than its duty, and failing to realise itself as a seat of learning, if it does not, in addition to teaching, carry out systematic research in one or more directions. What an attractive field is open to the trained investigator in South Africa. To the botanist, zoologist, the geologist, there are in this country golden opportunities for adding to the world's knowledge. And surely this college is an obvious centre for the study of Bantu life, customs and languages, and of the history of Bantu progress towards civilisation.

Here let me repeat a suggestion I made elsewhere, that the South African College should aim at making it the repository of all available records and other documents relating to mission work in South Africa, of all literature in the Native life, history and languages. I am sure that if suitable arrangements were made for safeguarding books and papers that cannot be replaced, and an appeal were made, many sons of the mission field and others would gladly deposit here cherished records that have come down from the early founders of civilisation in this country. None can divest himself of responsibility in one or other of these directions. If any should wilfully seek to shirk it, he does so at the peril of his intellectual and spiritual development.

African Colonies (Native Labour).

Lieut.-Colonel Henderson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the custom of conscription of Native labour for road or railway construction was first sanctioned by ordinance in any of the Colonies or Protectorates of Africa; whether it was extended at any time last year; whether he is aware that the custom is specifically allowed by the League of Nations; and whether the use of compulsory labour is, in every case, limited to a maximum number of days in each year.

Mr. Amery: It has not been possible in the time at my disposal to ascertain the date of the first ordinance of the kind; in the case of Kenya the power was first regulated by law in 1920. No alteration of the law was made last year. The answer to the last two parts of the question is in the affirmative, except that in Sierra Leone there appears to be no legal limitation on the number of days' work which a Paramount Chief can demand, though no doubt in practice it is limited by custom to a reasonable number. I may add that papers on this matter, so far as it relates to Kenya, will be laid before Parliament at an early date.

BRITISH MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN CONFERENCE.

THE AFRICAN EDUCATION PROBLEM.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

The crisis in China led to African problems coming less into the foreground than during recent years at the annual meetings of the Conference of British Missionary Societies at Swanwick last week. Nevertheless the fact that education in Africa is now one of the greatest problems before the missionary bodies closely linked the thoughts of many with the Chinese troubles, for, as speakers well qualified to put forward their ideas, said again and again, the fundamental cause of the present outbreaks in the Far East is the reaction against Western education.

Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, secretary of the National Christian Council of China, who only arrived back in England from Shanghai a day or two before the Conference, said that the exploitation which China to-day feared was not political and economic so much as cultural. This point was also emphasised by Dr. Harold Balme, President of the Shantung Christian University, in whose opinion the main cause of the present difficulties was the attitude of Chinese educationists. They believed that the future of China lay in their hands rather than in the hands of the politician or the militarist, and the mixing of education and religion of any sort was opposed by them. Particularly did they oppose Christianity, as they could not divest themselves of the idea that it necessarily included the inculcation of Western ideas of thought and of civilisation, which would undermine the sense of Chinese nationalism.

Education is only on the verge of development in Africa, but it was clearly seen that these very arguments might be used in the not far distant future against the work of mission schools. The importance therefore of developments on the right lines—which generally might be described as those laid down by the Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission to West and to East Africa—were and remain deep in the minds of many.

Friday night's sitting was devoted to "The Policy of the British Government on African Education and its Implication for Missions." The discussion was opened by Rev. E. W. Smith, Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and a well-known member of the African Society. The conditions are changing so fast, he said, that we must think of Africa in terms of to-day with its 47,000,000 Africans under the British flag. Optimists say that 90 per cent. of African education is in the hands of the missionary societies; pessimists put it at 80 per cent. These estimates leave out the great number of Koranic schools, of which there are 30,000 in Nigeria.

No fewer than 160,000 trained teachers would be needed for elementary education in Tropical Africa alone if education is to be properly tackled there. The missions are conscious of how far they fall short in reaching a sufficiently high standard.

The recent memorandum of the Colonial Office has declared the accepted policy of the British Government, and this epoch-making document is the inevitable corollary of the acceptance of the principle of trusteeship, for "moral advancement" which carries with it education in its best sense, is of its essence.

Missions, said Mr. Smith, cannot do all that is necessary, and they are now offered co-operation on the part of the Government. He quoted with thankfulness from Sir Hugh Clifford's farewell address, in which he said to the missionaries of Nigeria: "True education must have as the plinth whereon it is set, the substitution of dogmatic religion for the crude Animism of the West African of the Coastal district. That your labours alone can provide."

"You may say that such declarations smack of religion as a useful ally to the magistrate," said Mr. Smith, "but nevertheless it is a great thing to have it set forth in this way as the deliberate policy of the Government that religious education is vital."

While welcoming the establishment of educational advisory boards, the speaker regretted that they would not have executive powers. Missions, however, must appoint as their representatives of those boards men and women who are expert educationists. If there is to be co-operation there must be real co-operation, not a mere acceptance of grants and a blind acquiescence in a policy over which Missions had no control. This will mean putting our own house in order and men and women teachers must be of the highest quality and be given the best training.

"In devising and carrying out a right system of education for Africa depends our national well-being and in no small measure the national well-being of our own

The Bishop of Mombasa spoke highly of the recently established Advisory Education Boards in Kenya. Nearly 150 members, representing the fifty-one societies forming the Conference were present.

Some are fascinated by the study of pure mathematics, with its attractive symmetry and accuracy. Others are interested by the study of the human race, its history and customs, the mysteries of language, the wisdom of the ancients, the philosophy of modern life and conduct, beauty in form, colour, and sound, or the workings of the human soul, so far as these can be studied.

Whatever the student's original aim on coming to College, his University training will have accomplished but little if he completes his course without such an abiding interest in one or more of those forms as will impel him to prosecute its study, long after he has left the professor and the classroom.

The third class, and I venture to hope it is not a minority, have come to Fort Hare with a purpose that is higher than either of those already described, namely the desire to prepare themselves for the service of others—of their own race, in the first instance, but also of their fellowmen in general. There are children to be trained and fitted to make the best of their lives; Christians to be fortified in their faith, and heathen to be won to Christianity: there are ignorant and foolish men to be protected from injustice and the wiles of the unscrupulous. Economic conditions of the race call for betterment, and the people as a whole need guidance in their attempt to adapt life and conduct to the new conditions of modern civilisation, so startlingly different from the old. And in these days your people have especial need of the services of balanced minds, that can detach themselves from the immediate aspect of a problem, consider it without prejudice in its many bearings, and ultimately arrive at a sound judgment based on knowledge and right thinking.

Then there is research to be undertaken, for the successful prosecution of which a college training is essential. Indeed it seems to me that any university college is doing less than its duty, and failing to realise itself as a seat of learning, if it does not, in addition to teaching, carry out systematic research in one or more directions. What an attractive field is open to the trained investigator in South Africa. To the botanist, zoologist, the geologist, there are in this country golden opportunities for adding to the world's knowledge. And surely this college is an obvious centre for the study of Bantu life, customs and languages, and of the history of Bantu progress towards civilisation.

Here let me repeat a suggestion I made elsewhere, that the South African College should aim at making it the repository of all available records and other documents relating to mission work in South Africa, of all literature in the Native life, history and languages. I am sure that if suitable arrangements were made for safeguarding books and papers that cannot be replaced, and an appeal were made, many sons of the mission field and others would gladly deposit here cherished records that have come down from the early founders of South African Native College was established, and not for the individual advancement of any one of you. None can divest himself of responsibility in one or other of these directions. If any should wilfully seek to shirk it, he does so at the peril of his intellectual and spiritual development.

African Colonies (Native Labour).

Lieut.-Colonel Henderson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the custom of conscription of Native labour for road or railway construction was first sanctioned by ordinance in any of the Colonies or Protectorates of Africa; whether it was extended at any time last year; whether he is aware that the custom is specifically allowed by the League of Nations; and whether the use of compulsory labour is, in every case, limited to a maximum number of days in each year.

Mr. Amery: It has not been possible in the time at my disposal to ascertain the date of the first ordinance of the kind; in the case of Kenya the power was first regulated by law in 1920. No alteration of the law was made last year. The answer to the last two parts of the question is in the affirmative, except that in Sierra Leone there appears to be no legal limitation on the number of days' work which a Paramount Chief can demand, though no doubt in practice it is limited by custom to a reasonable number. I may add that Papers on this matter, so far as it relates to Kenya, will be laid before Parliament at an early date.

BRITISH MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN CONFERENCE.

THE AFRICAN EDUCATION PROBLEM.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

The crisis in China led to African problems coming less into the foreground than during recent years at the annual meetings of the Conference of British Missionary Societies at Swanwick last week. Nevertheless the fact that education in Africa is now one of the greatest problems before the missionary bodies closely linked the thoughts of many with the Chinese troubles, for, as speakers well qualified to put forward their ideas, said again and again, the fundamental cause of the present outbreaks in the Far East is the reaction against Western education.

Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, secretary of the National Christian Council of China, who only arrived back in England from Shanghai a day or two before the Conference, said that the exploitation which China to-day feared was not political and economic so much as cultural. This point was also emphasised by Dr. Harold Balme, President of the Shantung Christian University, in whose opinion the main cause of the present difficulties was the attitude of Chinese educationists. They believed that the future of China lay in their hands rather than in the hands of the politician or the militarist, and the mixing of education and religion of any sort was opposed by them. Particularly did they oppose Christianity, as they could not divest themselves of the idea that it necessarily included the inculcation of Western ideas of thought and of civilisation, which would undermine the sense of Chinese nationalism.

Education is only on the verge of development in Africa, but it was clearly seen that these very arguments might be used in the not far distant future against the work of mission schools. The importance therefore of developments on the right lines—which generally might be described as those laid down by the Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission to West and to East Africa—were and remain deep in the minds of many.

Friday night's sitting was devoted to "The Policy of the British Government on African Education and its Implication for Missions." The discussion was opened by Rev. E. W. Smith, Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and a well-known member of the African Society. The conditions are changing so fast, he said, that we must think of Africa in terms of to-day with its 47,000,000 Africans under the British flag. Optimists say that 90 per cent. of African education is in the hands of the missionary societies; pessimists put it at 80 per cent. These estimates leave out the great number of Koranic schools, of which there are 30,000 in Nigeria.

No fewer than 160,000 trained teachers would be needed for elementary education in Tropical Africa alone if education is to be properly tackled there. The missions are conscious of how far they fall short in reaching a sufficiently high standard.

The recent memorandum of the Colonial Office has declared the accepted policy of the British Government, and this epoch-making document is the inevitable corollary of the acceptance of the principle of trusteeship, for "moral advancement" which carries with it education in its best sense, is of its essence.

Missions, said Mr. Smith, cannot do all that is necessary, and they are now offered co-operation on the part of the Government. He quoted with thankfulness from Sir Hugh Clifford's farewell address, in which he said to the missionaries of Nigeria: "True education must have as the plinth whereon it is set, the substitution of dogmatic religion for the crude Animism of the West African of the Coastal district. That your labours alone can provide."

"You may say that such declarations smack of religion as a useful ally to the magistrate," said Mr. Smith, "but nevertheless it is a great thing to have it set forth in this way as the deliberate policy of the Government that religious education is vital."

While welcoming the establishment of educational advisory boards, the speaker regretted that they would not have executive powers. Missions, however, must appoint as their representatives of those boards men and women who are expert educationists. If there is to be co-operation there must be real co-operation, not a mere acceptance of grants and a blind acquiescence in a policy over which Missions had no control. This will mean putting our own house in order and men and women teachers must be of the highest quality and be given the best training.

"In devising and carrying out a right system of education for Africa depends our national well-being and in no small measure the national well-being of our own

Race Problem — 1925.

Africa.

THE SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND.—XXVII.

[By Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson.—Copyright.]

(*Continued from page 416 last week.*)

From 1850 the British territories on the Gold Coast, now consolidated by the purchase of the Danish ports at Accra and Quittah, ceased to be dependencies of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and were made a separate government. This gave Captain Arthur E. Kennedy, who arrived in the October of 1852, in the "Forerunner," the first contract mail steamer employed between England and West Africa, more liberty to attend to the many and varied needs of his position. This he did with magnificent self-denial. During his governorship the first Bishop arrived, the colonists were made British citizens, the Protection of Alien Children Act was passed, that killed the system of apprenticeship, and the tax on land and houses was revised equitably. The local African Improvement Society was formed, under the Captain's supervision, and many improvements brought about in Freetown, notably sanitary and supervision of police. He left in 1854 on leave, but did not return until 14 years after.

Robert Dougan, a mulatto, who had come to the colony in the thirties, and was now Queen's Advocate, assumed the government, and was at once plunged into the Malaghea business. The result was that he was removed from his post, and for some time remained inactive. Later he was given work, completing over 40 years in the colony before he died in 1871.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephen John Hill, during his governorship, entertained at Freetown two distinguished guests, Dr. Livingstone (accompanied by Mrs. Livingstone) for a week in 1858, when on his way to the Zambesi; and on October 10th, 1860, his Royal Highness Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh), who landed from H.M.S. "Euryalus," and received several addresses of welcome. "Prince Alfred Day" is now an annual holiday.

Major Samuel Wensley Blackall went to Dominica as Governor, and after six years was promoted here, where he also did six years, then going on to Queensland, where he died in 1871. In 1865 a new charter was issued bringing the whole of the West African possessions, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Lagos, under one head, with Freetown as the seat of government, Major Blackall being the first Administrator-in-Chief.

The first industrial exhibition was held in the Market House, Freetown, on February 28th, 1865. The French colonies of Senegal and Goree carried off the highest honours. In the English section the foremost exhibitor was Mr. Syble Boyle, a Liberated African.

In 1868 Sir Arthur Kennedy, C.B., again became Governor, retaining the office until 1872, when he was appointed to Hong Kong. That year John Pope Hennessey, C.M.G., arrived, and by abolishing the hut tax won lasting fame, August 22nd being known as "Pope Hennesey Day" to the present time. In the year of his arrival Mr. Hennessey proceeded to the Gold Coast, and there received the gold and ivory baton of the illustrious de Ruyter, which for upwards of 200 years had been the symbol of the sovereignty of Holland on that coast. On his return to Freetown he honoured his Mahomedan subjects by his presence at one of their religious festivals. The next year, 1873, he returned home. Mr. Hennessey after he left Sierra Leone was knighted. When he and his wife left Freetown there was a great demonstration of popular feeling, the women drawing Mrs. Hennessey's sedan-chair, the streets being watered ahead of the procession, and many addresses being presented. Twenty years later, when the news was received of Sir John's death, the day was set apart by the people of the city for general mourning.

South Africa Shows Prince Racial Feuds

Bitterness Over Treatment of Negroes Given as Basis for Boycott Program Decided Upon by Natives

By Warre B. Wells

From The New York Herald Tribune's London Bureau

Copyright, 1925, New York Tribune Inc.

LONDON.

The Prince of Wales, who now is on his way aboard the Repulse from the west of Africa to the south of that continent, is facing a native boycott similar to that staged during his visit to India. Native unrest, it appears which long has been simmering in the South African Union, now has boiled up to a crisis.

The death of half a dozen natives killed in a clash with police at Bloemfontein during the riots against the restrictions recently imposed on brewing Kaffir beer, may have been the match that produced this apparently sudden flare-up of native opinion against the Prince, but in the case of the decision of the native national congress to mark his visit with a boycott the circumstances go much deeper.

The contrast is striking between the enthusiastic welcome accorded the Prince in every part of west Africa during the visit of the last few weeks, the first visit of any British royalty to those colonies, and the chilly reception that may be expected, if the plans of the organizers of the boycott are carried out, in the southern end of the continent.

Native Rule Upheld

There is an equally striking contrast between the status of the treatment of the native populations in west Africa and those in south Africa. The British West African colonies are administered with the most scrupulous regard to native rights. Natives sit on the legislative councils, practice law, medicine and journalism, trade on their own account and number among them many men of wealth and standing. In those parts of the country which are not directly administered by the British the native rulers continue to enjoy a large measure of power.

On the eve of the Prince's visit these colonies presented a varying official viewpoint, which may be dramatically illustrated in the public clash between Lord Leverhulme, leading British industrialist, and the Governor General of Nigeria. Lord Leverhulme protested against the restrictions imposed on Europeans in the ownership of land and trading, but the Nigerian chief sharply replied that these were necessary in the interests of the natives, which represent the first care of the British administration.

The liberal policy toward the natives which the British are following in west African possessions is rendered easier by the fact that these tropical colonies never can become a white man's country, so that the color problem, in the sense of a clash between blacks and whites, may be said to be non-existent.

The situation in South Africa is most different, and as the union is a self-governing dominion the British government has no power to influence the native policy which the rulers of South Africa may choose to adopt. Although the white population in South Africa is in a small minority as compared with the natives, and efforts to stimulate white immigration have proved disappointing hitherto, at the same time most of the country is suitable for white colonization.

Negro Problem Unsolved

In any event, the great majority of Dutch and English settlers are determined not to allow themselves to be swamped by conceding equal political and social industrial rights to the natives. The problem which faces South Africa is in many ways comparable with the Negro problem in the South of the United States. But to date the South African government has made little consistent effort to solve it. Various schemes, such as segregation which would enable the white and colored populations to live side by side with a minimum of friction, have been considered, but mostly the situation has simply been allowed to drift along.

Native hopes of gaining a higher status for themselves have gone glimmering with the accession to power of the Hertzog government, which rests on a combination of Dutch and Labor elements. This combination, for racial and industrial reasons, is not expected to adopt a much more sympathetic attitude toward native claims than the Union party, which supported the preceding Smuts government.

A certain amount of red influence undoubtedly is back of the native agitation, but aside from this the balance of racial stability in South Africa has been seriously upset by the aftermath of the war. The better status of the natives in West Africa has been emphasized by the visit of the Prince to those colonies, as well as by the large French recruitment of native troops and their employment in Europe, a factor which has produced an enormous effect on the minds of all natives throughout Africa.

On the other hand, the manner in which the white residents of South Africa have set about solving what is now the most formidable color question is bound to have profound repercussions on relations between the white and colored races in other parts of Africa. The unpleasant incident due to the native boycott, which may mar the visit of the Prince of Wales to South Africa, will have its brighter side if it induces the government to tackle seriously the problem that becomes graver the longer no solution is sought.

BRITIANS FETE EDUCATIONAL ADVISER

Dr. Thmas Jesse Jones' Report On East Africa Soon To Be Published

U. S. GAMES ADVISED

Baseball And Football Urged To Suppland Midnight Orgies

The African World reports a governmental dinner to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York last week.

4-18-25

Dr. Jones is a former instructor of Hampton Institute and Howard University.

The rapid extension of cotton and other funda- mentals in education:

1—Sanitation and health. 2—Agriculture and simple industry. 3—

He said there are four great governments, European games in Africa through the schools would work great changes.

The French Colonial Government is the most liberal of all in formulating plans to assist the educational needs of the natives.

The British Colonial Government has a respect for the soil and held high rank among the Colonial physical excess of many tropical colonies never can become a white man's country, so that the color problem, in the sense of a clash between blacks and whites, may be said to be non-existent.

The situation in South Africa is most different, and as the union is a self-governing dominion the British government has no power to influence the native policy which the rulers of South Africa may choose to adopt. Although the white population in South Africa is in a small minority as compared with the natives, and efforts to stimulate white immigration have proved disappointing hitherto, at the same time most of the country is suitable for white colonization.

Negro Problem Unsolved

In any event, the great majority of Dutch and English settlers are determined not to allow themselves to be swamped by conceding equal political and social industrial rights to the natives. The problem which faces South Africa is in many ways comparable with the Negro problem in the South of the United States. But to date the South African government has made little consistent effort to solve it. Various schemes, such as segregation which would enable the white and colored populations to live side by side with a minimum of friction, have been considered, but mostly the situation has simply been allowed to drift along.

Native hopes of gaining a higher status for themselves have gone glimmering with the accession to power of the Hertzog government, which rests on a combination of Dutch and Labor elements. This combination, for racial and industrial reasons, is not expected to adopt a much more sympathetic attitude toward native claims than the Union party, which supported the preceding Smuts government.

A certain amount of red influence undoubtedly is back of the native agitation, but aside from this the balance of racial stability in South Africa has been seriously upset by the aftermath of the war. The better status of the natives in West Africa has been emphasized by the visit of the Prince to those colonies, as well as by the large French recruitment of native troops and their employment in Europe, a factor which has produced an enormous effect on the minds of all natives throughout Africa.

On the other hand, the manner in which the white residents of South Africa have set about solving what is now the most formidable color question is bound to have profound repercussions on relations between the white and colored races in other parts of Africa. The unpleasant incident due to the native boycott, which may mar the visit of the Prince of Wales to South Africa, will have its brighter side if it induces the government to tackle seriously the problem that becomes graver the longer no solution is sought.

BRITIANS FETE EDUCATIONAL ADVISER

Dr. Thmas Jesse Jones' Report On East Africa Soon To Be Published

U. S. GAMES ADVISED

Baseball And Football Urged To Suppland Midnight Orgies

The African World reports a governmental dinner to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York last week.

4-18-25

Dr. Jones is a former instructor of Hampton Institute and Howard University.

The rapid extension of cotton and other funda- mentals in education:

1—Sanitation and health. 2—Agriculture and simple industry. 3—

He said there are four great governments, European games in Africa through the schools would work great changes.

The French Colonial Government is the most liberal of all in formulating plans to assist the educational needs of the natives.

The British Colonial Government has a respect for the soil and held high rank among the Colonial physical excess of many tropical colonies never can become a white man's country, so that the color problem, in the sense of a clash between blacks and whites, may be said to be non-existent.

The situation in South Africa is most different, and as the union is a self-governing dominion the British government has no power to influence the native policy which the rulers of South Africa may choose to adopt. Although the white population in South Africa is in a small minority as compared with the natives, and efforts to stimulate white immigration have proved disappointing hitherto, at the same time most of the country is suitable for white colonization.

Negro Problem Unsolved

In any event, the great majority of Dutch and English settlers are determined not to allow themselves to be swamped by conceding equal political and social industrial rights to the natives. The problem which faces South Africa is in many ways comparable with the Negro problem in the South of the United States. But to date the South African government has made little consistent effort to solve it. Various schemes, such as segregation which would enable the white and col-

Race Problem -1925.

Africa.

THE SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND.—XXVII.

[By Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson.—Copyright.]

(*Continued from page 416 last week.*)

From 1850 the British territories on the Gold Coast, now consolidated by the purchase of the Danish ports at Accra and Quittah, ceased to be dependencies of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and were made a separate government. This gave Captain Arthur E. Kennedy, who arrived in the October of 1852, in the "Forerunner," the first contract mail steamer employed between England and West Africa, more liberty to attend to the many and varied needs of his position. This he did with magnificent self-denial. During his governorship the first Bishop arrived, the colonists were made British citizens, the Protection of Alien Children Act was passed, that killed the system of apprenticeship, and the tax on land and houses was revised equitably. The local African Improvement Society was formed, under the Captain's supervision, and many improvements brought about in Freetown, notably sanitary and supervision of police. He left in 1854 on leave, but did not return until 14 years after.

Robert Dougan, a mulatto, who had come to the colony in the thirties, and was now Queen's Advocate, assumed the government, and was at once plunged into the Malaghea business. The result was that he was removed from his post, and for some time remained inactive. Later he was given work, completing over 40 years in the colony before he died in 1871.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephen John Hill, during his governorship, entertained at Freetown two distinguished guests, Dr. Livingstone (accompanied by Mrs. Livingstone) for a week in 1858, when on his way to the Zambesi; and on October 10th, 1860, his Royal Highness Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh), who landed from H.M.S. "Euryalus," and received several addresses of welcome. "Prince Alfred Day" is now an annual holiday.

Major Samuel Wensley Blackall went to Dominica as Governor, and after six years was promoted here, where he also did six years, then going on to Queensland, where he died in 1871. In 1865 a new charter was issued bringing the whole of the West African possessions, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Lagos, under one head, with Freetown as the seat of government, Major Blackall being the first Administrator-in-Chief.

The first industrial exhibition was held in the Market House, Freetown, on February 28th, 1865. The French colonies of Senegal and Goree carried off the highest honours. In the English section the foremost exhibitor was Mr. Syble Boyle, a Liberated African.

In 1868 Sir Arthur Kennedy, C.B., again became Governor, retaining the office until 1872, when he was appointed to Hong Kong. That year John Pope Hennessey, C.M.G., arrived, and by abolishing the hut tax won lasting fame, August 22nd being known as "Pope Hennesey Day" to the present time. In the year of his arrival Mr. Hennessey proceeded to the Gold Coast, and there received the gold and ivory baton of the illustrious de Ruyter, which for upwards of 200 years had been the symbol of the sovereignty of Holland on that coast. On his return to Freetown he honoured his Mahomedan subjects by his presence at one of their religious festi- Mr. Hennessey after he left Sierra Leone was knighted. When he and his wife left Freetown there was a great demonstration of popular feeling, the women drawing Mrs. Hennessey's sedan-chair, the streets being watered ahead of the procession, and many addresses being presented. Twenty years later, when the news was received of Sir John's death, the day was set apart by the people of the city for general mourning.

South Africa Shows Prince Racial Feuds

Bitterness Over Treatment of Negroes Given as Basis for Boycott Program Decided Upon by Natives

By Warre B. Wells

From The New York Herald Tribune's London Bureau

Copyright, 1925, New York Tribune Inc.

LONDON.

The Prince of Wales, who now is on his way aboard the Repulse from the west of Africa to the south of that continent, is facing a native boycott similar to that staged during his visit to India. Native unrest, it appears, which long has been simmering in the South African Union, now has boiled up to a crisis.

The death of half a dozen natives killed in a clash with police at Bloemfontein during the riots against the restrictions recently imposed on brewing Kaffir beer, may have been the match that produced this apparently sudden flare-up of native opinion against the Prince, but in the case of the decision of the native national congress to mark his visit with a boycott the circumstances go much deeper.

The contrast is striking between the enthusiastic welcome accorded the Prince in every part of west Africa during the visit of the last few weeks, the first visit of any British royalty to those colonies, and the chilly reception that may be expected, if the plans of the organizers of the boycott are carried out, in the southern end of the continent.

Native Rule Upheld

There is an equally striking contrast between the status of the treatment of the native populations in west Africa and those in south Africa. The British West African colonies are administered with the most scrupulous regard to native rights. Natives sit on the legislative councils, practice law, medicine and journalism, trade on their own account and number among them many men of wealth and standing. In those parts of the country which are not directly administered by the British the native rulers continue to enjoy a large measure of power.

On the eve of the Prince's visit these colonies presented a varying official viewpoint, which may be dramatically illustrated in the public clash between Lord Leverhulme, leading British industrialist, and the Governor General of Nigeria. Lord Leverhulme protested against the restrictions imposed on Europeans in the ownership of land and trading, but the Nigerian chief sharply replied that these were necessary in the interests of the natives, which represent the first care of the British administration.

The liberal policy toward the natives which the British are following in west African possessions is rendered easier by the fact that these tropical colonies never can become a white man's country, so that the color problem, in the sense of a clash between blacks and whites, may be said to be non-existent.

The situation in South Africa is most different, and as the union is a self-governing dominion the British government has no power to influence the native policy which the rulers of South Africa may choose to adopt. Although the white population in South Africa is in a small minority as compared with the natives, and efforts to stimulate white immigration have proved disappointing hitherto, at the same time most of the country is suitable for white colonization.

Negro Problem Unsolved

In any event, the great majority of Dutch and English settlers are determined not to allow themselves to be swamped by conceding equal political and social industrial rights to the natives. The problem which faces South Africa is in many ways comparable with the Negro problem in the South of the United States. But to date the South African government has made little consistent effort to solve it. Various schemes, such as segregation which would enable the white and colored populations to live side by side with a minimum of friction, have been considered, but mostly the situation has simply been allowed to drift along.

Native hopes of gaining a higher status for themselves have gone glimmering with the accession to power of the Hertzog government, which rests on a combination of Dutch and Labor ite elements. This combination, for racial and industrial reasons, is not expected to adopt a much more sympathetic attitude toward native claims than the Union party, which supported the preceding Smuts government.

A certain amount of red influence in some parts of Africa has been seriously upset by the aftermath of the war. The better status of the natives in West Africa has been emphasized by the visit of the Prince to those colonies, as well as by the large and their employment in Europe, a factor which has produced an enormous effect on the minds of all natives throughout Africa.

On the other hand, the manner in which the white residents of South Africa have set about solving what is now the most formidable color question is bound to have profound repercussions on relations between the white and colored races in other parts of Africa. The unpleasant incident due to the native boycott, which may mar the visit of the Prince of Wales to South Africa, will have its brighter side if it induces the government to tackle seriously the problem that becomes graver the longer no solution is sought.

BRITIANS FETE EDUCATIONAL ADVISER

Dr. Thmas Jesse Jones' Report On East Africa Soon To Be Published

U. S. GAMES ADVISED

Baseball And Football Urged To Suppland Midnight Orgies

The African World reports a governmental dinner to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York last week.

The banquet was given in recognition of the cooperation of American high officials in the work of the commissions to Africa not only native welfare, but the harmful effects of the

Dr. Jones is a former instructor of Hampton Institute and Howard University. He said there are four fundamentals in education: 1—Sanitation and health. 2—Agriculture and simple industry. 3—The decencies and safeties of the home. 4—Healthful recreations.

In regard to the first, the doctor said that the appaling death rate of infants in Africa, as well as the much greater death-rate, threatened African

To assist in formulating plans to meet the educational needs of the natives.

The rapid extension of cotton growing and the successful development of governments, of settlers and of the European games in Africa through Government schools would work

Native rule upheld

Negro problem unsolved

Native hopes of gaining a higher status for themselves have gone glimmering with the accession to power of the Hertzog government, which rests on a combination of Dutch and Labor elements. This combination, for racial and industrial reasons, is not expected to adopt a much more sympathetic attitude toward native claims than the Union party, which supported the preceding Smuts government.

A certain amount of red influence in some parts of Africa has been seriously upset by the aftermath of the war. The better status of the natives in West Africa has been emphasized by the visit of the Prince to those colonies, as well as by the large and their employment in Europe, a factor which has produced an enormous effect on the minds of all natives throughout Africa.

On the other hand, the manner in which the white residents of South Africa have set about solving what is now the most formidable color question is bound to have profound repercussions on relations between the white and colored races in other parts of Africa. The unpleasant incident due to the native boycott, which may mar the visit of the Prince of Wales to South Africa, will have its brighter side if it induces the government to tackle seriously the problem that becomes graver the longer no solution is sought.

Race Problem — 1925. I
Africa.

SERMON

Preached before the Past and Present students of the Fourah Bay College by the Ven. Archdeacon M. Wilson, M.A., Sub-Dean, at the St. George's Cathedral, on Sunday, March 8, 1925, at 3 p.m.

Psalm lxxxvii. 1. (P.B.V.) "Her foundations are upon the holy hills."

Brethren, our gathering together in this Cathedral Church this afternoon as members of the College, past and present, is a distinct move forward and it marks a new feature in the life of an *alma mater*.

Up-to-date college sermons or addresses are usually given *intra muros*, i.e., within the walls of the college. But this is the first time as far as I can remember that a sermon has been arranged to be delivered *extra muros*, i.e., without the walls of the college. I think there is an advantage in this arrangement in that it gives past and present students an opportunity of worshipping together, thanking God for past blessings and mercies, besides bringing together friends and well-wishers to know more of the workings of the college and in this way stir up wider interest in her affairs.

This arrangement was under consideration since the days of the late Visitor of the College, the Right Reverend Bishop Walmsley of blessed memory but nothing definite was arrived at till sometime last year, when at a joint meeting of the College Council and the C.M.S. Executive Committee it was resolved that there should be a public service such as the present at the beginning of or during the Epiphany Term each year; and I was then nominated to be the preacher on this occasion; an honour and a privilege which I very much appreciate, and I ask for the guidance of the Holy Spirit at this time.

Oct. 4, 1922 Weekly News

The text quoted for our meditation this afternoon, you will observe, is the motto of the University of Durham to which the Fourah Bay College has been affiliated. On the back of the University Calendar are inscribed the words of the text in Latin—*Fundamenta ejus super montibus sanctis*—Her foundations are upon the holy mountains (or hills)."

This expression of the Psalmist denotes the stability and security of the Church of God founded upon the Rock of Ages, and nothing can by any means hurt or uproot it—it may at times tremble as though it would fall, but fall it never can, as we are assured in the words of this familiar hymn which forms our Processional this afternoon—

"Crowns and thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane;
But the Church of Jesus
Constant will remain
Gates of hell can never
'Gainst that church prevail;
We have Christ's own promise
And that cannot fail."

The University of Durham, in selecting this verse as her motto has clearly shewn that she feels assured that she is built on Christ the solid Rock, and shall ever stand firm notwithstanding adverse winds and raging storms. And as her daughter, Fourah Bay College may fitly adopt the motto of this University to which she has been affiliated nearly fifty years ago. And as a matter of fact this College was literally founded upon the hills and mountains as early records tell. Let us now refresh our memories and follow up the several stages of development.

In the year 1816 the C.M.S. started a boarding school for the children of "Liberated Africans." It was then called "The Christian Institution" and was located on the hills of Leicester village. This was really the birth of our *alma mater*, the Fourah Bay College.

In 1819 this school was closed. A few of the most promising boys were selected for training as teachers and catechists. They were taken to the mountain village of Regent under the care of the apostolic W. A. B. Johnson. But this good and holy man died. On All Saints' Day 1849 the present building was opened, and the Institution became officially called a College. The Rev. Edward Jones was succeeded by the Rev. H. J. Alcock, an acute Logician, the master of Robert Palmer, J. Eldred, Taylor, (Colonial Chaplain), Obadiah Moore, (Canon Moore), Nicholas J. Cole, (Canon Cole), Daniel Felix and others then followed in succession the Rev. Metcaffe Sunter, Frank Neville, the first Cambridge Graduate who took charge, William John Humphry, who fell a martyr to duty during the rising of 1898 Edmund Henry Elwin (afterwards the 8th Bishop of Sierra Leone, Thomas Rowan William Hewitt and others, besides Acting Principal Denton and the following African Acting Principals, Samuel Spain (Canon Spain), Charles Lewis (Canon Lewis) and T. S. Johnson. Each of these men did their best in the development of the College and produced men, worthy sons of the soil, of whom Africa or any other nation can well be proud.

4-4-22

How far this Institution has answered, and is still answering the purpose for which it was established it is left with you to judge.

From the days of Adjai Crowther up to the present about 600 men have passed through its walls. What a power for good should these be in Church and State along the West Coast of Africa and elsewhere!

Notwithstanding all disadvantages the Fourah Bay College has, as a matter of fact, educated the majority of the African Clergy and many of the leading Laity. It has been the feeder of the Native Church and the West African Missions. It has been the feeder, in a great measure, of the ministry of other denominations. It has also been the feeder of various other vocations in life both at home and abroad, and has produced able Barristers, skilful Doctors, successful Merchants, etc. In the early years of the establishment of the College much discussion went on in England from time to time as to whether the African was capable of being raised perceptibly in the scale of civilization, and in particular whether he had intellect for anything more than any elementary study.

During those years, Dr. Eugene Stock in his C.M.S. History tells us that two speakers at different anniversaries used the same striking illustration in dealing with this question. Sir Fowell Buxton one of the best friends of Africa who with others fought strenuously for our physical as well as spiritual freedom, spoke very hopefully, and after having given an apt illustration drawn from the estimate the Romans had once of the capability of the Britons: pointing out how Rome had found her rival in Britain, and how the descendants of those British slaves had far surpassed the sons of the haughty Romans concluded by saying:—"May not a day arrive when the sons of these degraded Africans will run with you the race of religion and morality, and even outstrip you in this glorious career?" Just at the same time Dr. Philip a distinguished London Missionary Society Missionary in South Africa referred to the very same incident. "Calling one morning," he said, "on a gentleman, I was shown into his library, and while waiting, I took up Cicero's letters to Atticus. One of the first letters which caught my eye was that in which the Roman Orator complains of the stupidity of slaves from Britain. Just as I had finished reading it my eye lighted on two busts placed on opposite sides of the room—Cicero, and Isaac Newton and I could not help exclaiming "see what *that* man says of *that* man's country!"

Fourah Bay College did much in the past and is still doing in the present to prove that the African was quite able, if only he had equal advantages, to hold his own among others of greater advantages.

To quote one instance in passing which happened in the early years. The Rev. C. F. Childe, Principal of the C. M. S. Theological Seminary at Islington (now defunct) speaking of the group of African Students in this College writes of Samuel Crowther as being a typical example. Says Mr. Childe,—"He came to us well-grounded at Fourah Bay College (mark!) and entered at once upon the theological course, and he proved a diligent and successful student. When Dr. Scholefield; the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, conducted one of the Annual Examinations at Islington he took away with him Crowther's answers to the paper of questions set on *Paley's Evidences*, saying 'I should like to show these to some of our Trinity Fellows who maintain that the African mind is incapable of appreciating, or even apprehending an argument.'"

In the year 1876, under the Rev. Metcaffe Sunter, the Fourah Bay College took an important step forward. Though not a University man himself yet Mr. Sunter showed his broadmindedness and his interest in the progress of the Race by putting forth great energy and perseverance in getting the College affiliated to the University of Durham by the unanimous approval of the Convocation; as a people we owe much to this man,—for by this scheme young men have the opportunity of proceeding to English University Degrees without undergoing the risk of climate, expense etc. At the same time the scope of the College was widened to admit of paying Students so as to render the Institution in course of time to be self-supporting.

Here again at the early part of this stage of development there appeared an article in the Durham University Journal of those times stating in a sarcastic way that the next thing the University would do was to affiliate the Zoo. We knew what this meant. This was simply a repetition of the expression uttered in the early years of the establishment of the Institution doubting the capability of the Negro and undervaluing his intellectual strength. I am quite sure that if the writer of that article nearly fifty years ago were still living, if he did not shut his eyes to facts, if he were a man with a living conscience and his better judgment not warped by deep-seated prejudice, he would have altered his opinion long, long ago from what he might have been observing.

In 1878 two years after the affiliation, the first University Examination took place when the B.A. Degrees were conferred upon three Students—Nath. Stephen Davis (then a Tutor) Isaac Oluwole (afterwards Bishop) and Obadiah Johnson (afterwards Dr. Johnson); and Licenses in Theology were conferred upon five Theological Students—Samuel Taylor, Samuel Hughes, Nathaniel Henry Boston, David Brown and William Morgan. The Sub-Dean, Dr. Farrar, in Submitting the "Grace" to the University for adoption said that the Candidates had passed an examination of the most remarkable excellence.

Since the affiliation the number of University Students has been 320, and the following Degrees have been conferred:—

Hon.	D.D.—7
Hon.	M.A.—8
	M.A.—45
	B.A.—138
	L.Th.—46
	D.Th.—6
	B.D.—1
	B.C.L.—9

And besides these there have been certificates of Proficiency and other advantages this College there arose a grave crisis when thrown open to young men as well as young the College threatened to be closed; the women in which they have proved themselves Missionaries. So many of them died within a few years, and the Committee were for the moment crushed by all this overwhelming

In 1907, eighty years after the foundation of the College in Sierra Leone, Fourah Bay College had almost come to a collapse owing to the rank of the Missionaries. So many of them died within a few years, and the Committee were for the moment crushed by all this overwhelming

Sunter, the Fourah Bay College took an important step forward. Though not a University man himself yet Mr. Sunter showed his broadmindedness and his interest in the progress of the Race by putting forth great energy and perseverance in getting the College affiliated to the University of Durham by the unanimous approval of the Convocation; as a people we owe much to this man,—for by this scheme young men have the opportunity of proceeding to English University Degrees without undergoing the risk of climate, expense etc. At the same time the scope of the College was widened to admit of paying Students so as to render the Institution in course of time to be self-supporting.

Here again at the early part of this stage of development there appeared an article in the Durham University Journal of those times stating in a sarcastic way that the next thing the University would do was to affiliate the Zoo. We knew what this meant. This was simply a repetition of the expression uttered in the early years of the establishment of the Institution doubting the capability of the Negro and undervaluing his intellectual strength. I am quite sure that if the writer of that article nearly fifty years ago were still living, if he did not shut his eyes to facts, if he were a man with a living conscience and his better judgment not warped by deep-seated prejudice, he would have altered his opinion long, long ago from what he might have been observing.

In 1878 two years after the affiliation, the first University Examination took place when the B.A. Degrees were conferred upon three Students—Nath. Stephen Davis (then a Tutor) Isaac Oluwole (afterwards Bishop) and Obadiah Johnson (afterwards Dr. Johnson); and Licenses in Theology were conferred upon five Theological Students—Samuel Taylor, Samuel Hughes, Nathaniel Henry Boston, David Brown and William Morgan. The Sub-Dean, Dr. Farrar, in Submitting the "Grace" to the University for adoption said that the Candidates had passed an examination of the most remarkable excellence.

Since the affiliation the number of University Students has been 320, and the following Degrees have been conferred:—

Hon.	D.D.—7
Hon.	M.A.—8
	M.A.—45
	B.A.—138
	L.Th.—46
	D.Th.—6
	B.D.—1
	B.C.L.—9

sorrow. One result of all this trial was a deep conviction of the paramount importance of Native Agency—that if Africa must be evangelized it must be by her sons and daughters—or to use the words of Sir Fowell Buxton.—"The deliverance of Africa is to be effected by calling out her own resources."

Early in 1827, nearly 100 years ago, the Institution was revived, and was established for the training of promising young men under the direction of the Rev. C. F. Hænsel from the Basle Seminary. It was now removed to the newly purchased estate of the late Governor Turner at Fourah Bay, hence the name Fourah Bay College; but although it was brought down to the plain, yet the text is still true as far as its gradual development is concerned, for the foundations of the Fourah Bay College are still standing on the hills.

This man—the Rev. Hænsel—started with six students and the first name on that Roll which is still preserved in the archives of the College is that of the rescued slave-boy Samuel Adjai Crowther—who afterwards became the first African Tutor of the College, the first African Clergyman, the first African Acting Principal, and the first African Bishop of the Anglican Communion. And here we exclaim "What hath GOD wrought!" From 1827 down to the year 1845, the work was carried on with much residential inconvenience—Principal, Tutors Students, domestics being huddled together in one roof. It was early in 1845 that the large building as it now stands was commenced. The first stone was laid on the 5th of February, eighty years ago, by His Excellency Lieut.-Governor Fergusson. When the ceremony was concluded, the Lieut.-Governor addressed the assembly, but he was unable to express his feelings when he referred to the fact that the old building now used for the purpose for which this new one is designed from whence it was hoped that spiritual freedom would be imparted to many Africans, was employed, he said, forty years ago, as a slave factory. Then pointing to the entrance to the grounds, he added: "That gateway now standing was erected for the basest of all purposes; but how little did he who erected it think that one day it would become the gate leading to the temple of the Living GOD." How loudly does our hearts respond to these words and shout with the Psalmist:—

> "When the LORD turned again the captivity of Zion: then were we like unto them that dream.
> Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with joy."

In 1840, thirteen years after the establishment of the College by Rev. Hænsel, the Rev. Edward Jones, an American Negro, took up the work and continued it with much success for more than twenty years; and he produced men like James Johnson (Bishop Johnson), George James M'Cauley, (Archdeacon M'Cauley) Daniel George Williams (Chaplain), Moses Pearce (Canon Pearce) Samuel Mousa and others.

towards the Society's Funds were for purely Missionary purposes, and if Sierra Leone or the West Coast of Africa wanted her sons to obtain English University Degrees she should raise her own monies for that purpose; and certainly this was sound and just reasoning although hard in practice. Then a violent storm was imminent, but, thank God the storm-cloud did not burst, there was no hurt or damage to the Institution, simply because she was firmly estabished upon the holy hills.

But how was this grave crisis averted? we may ask. There was held a big meeting in one of the Halls of the College to consider how best to meet the situation; and it was there resolved that in view of the Pan-Anglican Congress soon to take place, the Delegates be requested and commissioned to interview the C.M.S. on the subject. And in 1908, the year of the Great Pan-Anglican Congress a deputation consisting of the late Bishop Elwin, Bishop Johnson and the preacher interviewed the African section of the C.M.S. in Salisbury Square.

There were three sittings at different dates (June 15, 21, July 14) when the future of Fourah Bay College was fully discussed. Bishop Ingham—many thanks to him—supported the deputation and strongly advocated the continuity of the work stating that it would be a sad day for the Colony of Sierra Leone if it be dropped, considering the advance of knowledge in the Colony and along the Coast. The deputation succeeded. The result was that the Pan-Anglican Congress awarded a grant of £3,000 from its Thank-offering Fund, ear-marking it as in aid of the Principal's salary. This together with other efforts including the economy used by the then Acting Principal (Mr. Denton) averted the threatened crisis, and thus once more the truth of the text was fully brought forth.

We pass on to another stage of development.

In December 1917, eight years ago a further distinct move forward was made, and the College then broadened her basis. In that year the C.M.S. entered into a formal compact with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society by virtue of which the two Societies agree to co-operate in the work and support and control of the College, and a Council known as College Council was formed for this purpose. The new regime was formally inaugurated as a three years' experiment in February 1918. A Wesleyan Vice Principal and a Wesleyan Tutor were added to the Staff, but at the present time the Staff consists or is to consist of an Anglican Principal, a Wesleyan Vice Principal two Anglican Tutors and two Wesleyan Tutors.

There were some misgivings at the time of the inauguration of the scheme, and some doubted as to whether it would last beyond the first term, but to-day it is on its third experimental term to end in 1927: and we hope that this scheme will not only continue but that the College will further widen her basis by taking in other denominations who may wish to join the compact.

We have seen the various stages of developments and we are thankful for them. But like the Master to the young self-confident ruler we say to our *alma mater*. "Thou hast done well; yet one thing thou lackest." And we hear her asking the question "What lack I yet?" Thou art lacking in the Science Course which is very necessary, and the need for which has been long felt. Those of our friends from foreign lands as well as those of us who have the opportunity of visiting foreign lands must have noticed that in every School, College, Institute, or University there is Science Course in one form or other attached to the Academical Course which has helped to the development of the man and the progress of his country.

Dr. Obadiah Johnson one of the Alumni of this College with his breadth of vision and largeness of heart feeling the urgent necessity of this adjunct made provision in his Will for the noble sum of £5,000 towards founding a Science Chair in the College; and although by some slip that Will had no legal force, yet his widow endowed with the same breadth of vision and liberality of mind and respecting the wishes of her husband, struggled against the odds and making some self-sacrifice was able to secure over £3,000 towards this object. And there is much cause for the Founders How very much beholden we are to this generous man and how very grateful to the Widow for her effort!

I would here call attention to the sum of £1,000 bequeathed by the late Bishop James Johnson for the founding of a Scholarship for the purpose of training men for the Anglican Ministry. Also to the kind benevolence of Peter Thomas, Esq. Merchant of Lagos, a Sierra Leonean, belonging to the Wesleyan Communion who gave the sum of £200 to cover the fees of one candidate for three years for the Anglican Ministry; to these men we are also very thankful. To-day an appeal has been made by the Authorities for £1,000 from the Colony of Sierra Leone to set up a Science Laboratory the foundation of which will be laid, God willing, by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the 6th of April next, and £2,000 from the other Colonies for the necessary equipments. And in this connection I may mention the name of Dr. John Randle of Lagos, another liberal minded son of the soil, a Regentonian by birth, who, although not an *Alumnus* of the College, has fallen in with the view of his friend and brother in the Medical profession, and volunteered to see the work set in motion before the gift of his friend is matured, and for this we are grateful to him also.

At present we have with us a Science Master who is Vice Principal provided by the W.M.M.S. we are now looking forward anxiously for progress in this matter. Brethren, if strangers and foreigners who are so to speak, birds of passage, are putting forth efforts and doing all they can to expand and strengthen the work of the College for the good of our country and children's children, shall we West Africans, nay Sierra Leoneans for whose benefit the College has stood and is still standing, shall we look on with folded hands, with apathy and indifference, with-out stretching out a hand of help? May it not be so! I hope we shall readily adopt the language of the Jews in response to the earnest appeal of Nehemiah and say to one another, "Let us arise and build;" and we may be sure that generations yet unborn shall arise and call us blessed. Besides all we have been saying about the progress of the College as far as the academic working is concerned we are glad to know and feel that the moral and spiritual side of the work has not been overlooked. She has continued to serve the purpose for which she was originally founded and to show that her foundations were established upon the holy hills of religion, morality and truth. We have abundant cause, then, for thankfulness, brethren. On every side there is much cause to shout this shout of joy, contained in one of the Psalms we have chanted—"The Lord hath done great things for us already; whereof we are glad."

Yes, I repeat again, "they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

Brethren, I have been endeavouring on this occasion of our first public service of the College to give a rough and hurried sketch of the work and development of this Institution and I trust you will pardon its imperfections and defects.

Before closing, please permit me to say a few words first of all, in regard to the staff and present members of the College. On behalf of all here present I congratulate the authorities for the splendid work they have been doing and for the success that have attended their efforts. The work committed to their care is great, and may the Lord grant them the necessary strength and wisdom to continue to carry it on.

To the present Students I say, my dear young friends I congratulate you on the girdle of manliness as good soldiers of Christ. See that you put on the girdle of truth. A life without truth is bound to fail you are pre-eventually however successful it may seem to the battle-field of be in the present. If you must serve your country, you must be true. paring to go out to fight in the life, either in Church or State; make up your mind to endure

Race Problem - 1925 II.

Africa.

Don't you prostitute the mannood which God has given you for the sake of a paltry something which will soon vanish into thin air—into nothing. Be manly in the sense of the word, at the same time be obedient and respectful to those over you in a good position. Stand up for the truth bearing in mind this motto which is ever true *semper veritas praevalebit.* "Truth shall always prevail." Let your words be always reliable. Let your language be, "I will endeavour by God's grace to live a life of truth and honesty hence forward, whether *intra muros* or *extra muros.*

And to my fellow Old Students, Alumni of this College I have only one ward to say, and that is, while congratulating ourselves for the development and growth and success of our *alma mater* let us see to it that we, each one, endeavour to fulfil the obligations binding upon us in whatever vocation of life we may be, whether in Church or State, by endeavouring to live a life of honesty, of self denial, untiring energy and whole-hearted devotedness to our Master and His cause in imitation of the pioneers who spent their life-blood to found this Institution.

And to all, I say, let us press onward and upward—heavenward. Let nothing retard our progress. Let no world-scare make us loose the courage of our conviction. Always forward--always onward.

And let us thank and bless God's holy name for all the Founders and supporters of this Institution and for all devoted and self-denying Missionaries, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelists and other true members of Christ's Church here on earth who departed this life in his faith and fear humbly beseeching Him to give us grace so to follow their good examples that with them we may eventually be partakers of his heavenly Kingdom.

"Her foundations are upon the holy hills. The Lord hath done great things for us already; whereof we rejoice."

Laus Deo.

"GOLD COAST PLANT DISEASES."

A Valuable Publication.

There has recently come into our hands a publication entitled "Gold Coast Plant Diseases," compiled by Messrs. Bunting and Dade, Mycologists of the Gold Coast Agricultural Department. This commendably brief publication is, as the compilers themselves state, little more than a note-book, but apart from its immediate value, which is considerable, it should prove of the utmost use as the nucleus for further expansion. At this juncture, a more comprehensive work would probably have defeated the end which Messrs. Bunting and Dade had in view, namely, to arouse in the proprietors of the land a sense of the need for co-operation with the Government in the latter's attempt to combat, inter alia, the cocoa diseases that may in time destroy an industry that has beyond all others brought wealth and prosperity to the Colony. 4-18-25

While making due allowance for professional enthusiasm for their subject, and the pessimistic outlook that it engenders, the compilers' notes in regard to the natives attitude towards legislative action by the Government are instructive. The obstructionist tactics of those who should know better, towards any measure which affects, even remotely, the landowner, augurs ill for the future of the Gold Coast, if and when the day comes for the grant of more direct and responsible control of public affairs by the black intelligentsia. How these latter could have construed any section of "The Plants (Injurious Pests) Ordinance, 1923," into an attempt at land alienation, we cannot conceive, but the public utterances of the native members of council, not only in the Colony, but in this country, show only too well that the authors of this work do not overstate their case. Personally, we can see nothing whatsoever objectionable in the enactment quoted, and should have thought that chiefs and people alike would have welcomed this attempt to conserve the agricultural wealth of their country. Must we assume that none of the literate class has troubled to study the rise and fall of industries based upon, more particularly, non-indigenous products in other countries? It would appear so.

Having regard to the importance of this subject, more particularly as applied to the diseases that attack cocoa, we should like to suggest that the excellently reproduced coloured pictures which are embodied in the book might well be published separately and issued by the Agricultural Department to all chiefs and principal landowners in the cocoa-producing areas of the Gold Coast, and that copies be posted up in conspicuous places, preferably near the markets, to which the producer sends or brings his crop. The illiterate native is no fool, and probably would soon grasp the warning that such illustrations convey, even if unaware of the meaning of the letterpress.

As to the various notes and descriptions of the diseases themselves, we consider that these could not be improved upon. Incomplete they may be, but the compilers have certainly made the best of their material, and, as previously suggested, laid the foundation of what may well prove in days to come, to be a standard work of importance. In its present form it is well worth the close attention of all those who, in one respect or another, are interested in the economic prosperity of the Gold Coast, for it is at once a warning against the careless and shortsighted policy now being pursued by the farmers, and an incentive to such improved methods of cultivation as will ensure to the Gold Coast Colony and hinterland a continuance of their pride of place in the markets of the world.

Native Agricultural Show at Fort Hare, Alice C.P.

[Report by Mr S. G. Butler.]

The second Agricultural Show for the Native People of the Ciskei took place at Fort Hare on the 3rd. of July 1924. In every respect the Show was a greater success than the first Show which was held on the 28th. June 1923 The Secretary and the committee are to be congratulated on the step taken in moving the Show ground to the present site. The new show ground lends itself to the making of a really first class ground in the course of time. With the erection of permanent enclosures for the stock and of buildings for the Agricultural and Industrial entries all classes of exhibits will benefit, as they can be shown to the best advantage.

The show was held during one of the worst droughts known and and it says much for the courage of the Show authorites and the keenness of the exhibitors that it was brought to such a successful issue. The number of entries exceed those of last year by a large number and, bearing in minds the season. this was very satisfactory. The interest aroused amongst the Native peasantry by the previous Show is shown in more care being taken in the 'getup' of the exhibits and also by the greater interest taken in the judging. 3-31-25

I notice that in Mr. Tallack's report that he suggests that after the judging is finished that the judge should remain behind for a short time and give information to the exhibitors. The idea is an excellent one, but most difficult to carry out. The only thing that I consider could be done in this connection is to have a "Remarks" space on the back of the exhibitor's card on which the judge could write brief remarks of each exhibit. The steward of each section would then be in a position to explain to each exhibitor how the judge came to make his award. This educational side of all the Shows requires a great deal of organising in order to bring about the full value of the Show and perhaps in this way a start could be made.

Now that the new Show ground has been used, it may be possible to have all exhibits with the exception of the livestock exhibits on the ground the evening before, so that judging could commence say at 9 a.m. This would also give the judges a certain amount of time to explain different points in the different classes.

Sheep Section. In the sheep section improvement was marked. Prizes I consider should be awarded for woolled sheep, that would be sheep with about 8 to 9 months wool on them. The sheep owners would then commence to choose one or two sheep at shearing time and keep these for the Show. In this way they should learn to select their sheep and the value of the longer wool be brought home to them at shearing time. With the number of demonstrators in the Ciskei at present help in the selection of these sheep could easily be got.

Cattle Section. Considering the prolonged drought the cattle section was fair. I consider that Mr. Matthews suggestion of having the two classes of stock a good one, as the comparison of the two types of cattle would be of education value.

Horse Section. I have very little to add to Mr. Munro's report which covers the ground very well. This section was disappointing.

Pigs and Poultry. In these sections as in others more care is necessary in the "get up" exhibits. Prizes should be awarded to the best exhibit of eggs.

(1) Best exhibit 1 dozen white eggs.

(2) Best exhibit 1 dozen Tinted eggs.

The quality of the poultry appeared to be much better than that of the previous year.

Farm Produce. This section was good, the Mealie, Kaffir-corn, Bean, Birdseed and Potato sections were excellent and could hold their own with any of the Transkeian Shows.

Correspondence.

KAMASTONE CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Ha! there you are; he's at it

Race Problem - 1925 H.

Africa.

Don't you prostitute the mannood which God has given you for the sake of a paltry something which will soon vanish into thin air—into nothing. Be manly in the sense of the word, at the same time be obedient and respectful to those over you in a lawful position. Stand up for the truth bearing in mind this motto which is ever true *semper veritas praevalebit.* "Truth shall always prevail." Let your words be always reliable. Let your language be, "I will endeavour by God's grace to live a life of truth and honesty hence forward, whether *intra muros* or *extra muros.*

And to my fellow Old Students, Alumni of this College I have only one ward to say, and that is, while congratulating ourselves for the development and growth and success of our *alma mater* let us see to it that we, each one, endeavour to fulfil the obligations binding upon us in whatever vocation of life we may be, whether in Church or State, by endeavouring to live a life of honesty, of self denial, untiring energy and whole-hearted devotedness to our Master and His cause in imitation of the pioneers who spent their life-blood to found this Institution.

And to all, I say, let us press onward and upward—heavenward. Let nothing retard our progress. Let no world-scare make us loose the courage of our conviction. Always forward--always onward.

And let us thank and bless God's holy name for all the Founders and supporters of this Institution and for all devoted and self-denying Missionaries, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelists and other true members of Christ's Church here on earth who departed this life in his faith and fear humbly beseeching Him to give us grace so to follow their good examples that with them we may eventually be partakers of his heavenly Kingdom.

"Her foundations are upon the holy hills. The Lord hath done great things for us already; whereof we rejoice."

Laus Deo.

"GOLD COAST PLANT DISEASES."

A Valuable Publication.

There has recently come into our hands a publication entitled "Gold Coast Plant Diseases" compiled by Messrs. Bunting and Dade, Mycologists of the Gold Coast Agricultural Department. This commendably brief publication is, as the compilers themselves state, little more than a note-book, but apart from its immediate value, which is considerable, it should prove of the utmost use as the nucleus for further expansion. At this juncture, a more comprehensive work would probably have defeated the end which Messrs. Bunting and Dade had in view, namely, to arouse in the proprietors of the land a sense of the need for co-operation with the Government in the latter's attempt to combat, inter alia, the cocoa diseases that may in time destroy an industry that has beyond all others brought wealth and prosperity to the Colony. 4-18-25

While making due allowance for professional enthusiasm for their subject, and the pessimistic outlook that it engenders, the compilers' notes in regard to the natives attitude towards legislative action by the Government are instructive. The obstructionist tactics of those who should know better, towards any measure which affects even remotely, the landowner, augurs ill for the future of the Gold Coast, if and when the day comes for the grant of more direct and responsible control of public affairs by the black intelligentsia. How these latter could have construed any section of "The Plants (Injurious Pests) Ordinance, 1923," into an attempt at land alienation, we cannot conceive, but the public utterances of the native members of council, not only in the Colony, but in this country, show only too well that the authors of this work do not overstate their case. Personally, we can see nothing whatsoever objectionable in the enactment quoted, and should have thought that chiefs and people alike would have welcomed this attempt to conserve the agricultural wealth of their country. Must we assume that none of the literate class has troubled to study the rise and fall of industries based upon, more particularly, non-indigenous products in other countries? It would appear so.

Having regard to the importance of this subject, more particularly as applied to the diseases that attack cocoa, we should like to suggest that the excellently reproduced coloured pictures, which are embodied in the book might well be published separately and issued by the Agricultural Department to all chiefs and principal landowners in the cocoa-producing areas of the Gold Coast, and that copies be posted up in conspicuous places, preferably near the markets, to which the producer sends or brings his crop. The illiterate native is no fool, and probably would soon grasp the warning that such illustrations convey, even if unaware of the meaning of the letterpress.

As to the various notes and descriptions of the diseases themselves, we consider that these could not be improved upon. Incomplete they may be, but the compilers have certainly made the best of their material, and, as previously suggested, laid the foundation of what may well prove in days to come, to be a standard work of importance. In its present form it is well worth the close attention of all those who, in one respect or another, are interested in the economic prosperity of the Gold Coast, for it is at once a warning against the careless and short-sighted policy now being pursued by the farmers, and an incentive to such improved methods of cultivation as will ensure to the Gold Coast Colony and hinterland a continuance of their pride of place in the markets of the world.

Native Agricultural Show at Fort Hare, Alice C.P.

[Report by Mr S. G. Butler.]

The second Agricultural Show for the Native People of the Ciskei took place at Fort Hare on the 3rd. of July 1924. In every respect the Show was a greater success than the first Show which was held on the 28th. June 1923 The Secretary and the committee are to be congratulated on the step taken in moving the Show ground to the present site. The new show ground lends itself to the making of a really first class ground in the course of time. With the erection of permanent enclosures for the stock and of buildings for the Agricultural and Industrial entries all classes of exhibits will benefit, as they can be shown to the best advantage.

The show was held during one of the worst droughts known and and it says much for the courage of the Show authorites and the keenness of the exhibitors that it was brought to such a successful issue. The number of entries exceed those of last year by a large number and, bearing in minds the season, this was very satisfactory. The interest aroused amongst the Native peasantry by the previous Show is shown in more care being taken in the 'getup' of the exhibits and also by the greater interest taken in the judging. 3-31-25

I notice that in Mr. Tallack's report that he suggests that after the judging is finished that the judge should remain behind for a short time and give information to the exhibitors. The idea is an excellent one, but most difficult to carry out. The only thing that I consider could be done in this connection is to have a "Remarks" space on the back of the exhibitor's card on which the judge could write brief remarks of each exhibit. The steward of each section would then be in a position to explain to each exhibitor how the judge came to make his award. This educational side of all the Shows requires a great deal of organising in order to bring about the full value of the Show and perhaps in this way a start could be made.

Now that the new Show ground has been used, it may be possible to have all exhibits with the exception of the livestock exhibits on the ground the evening before, so that judging could commence say at 9 a.m. This would also give the judges a certain amount of time to explain different points in the different classes.

Sheep Section. In the sheep section improvement was marked. Prizes I consider should be awarded for woolled sheep, that would be sheep with about 8 to 9 months wool on them. The sheep owners would then commence to choose one or two sheep at shearing time and keep these for the Show. In this way they should learn to select their sheep and the value of the longer wool be brought home to them at shearing time. With the number of demonstrators in the Ciskei at present help in the selection of these sheep could easily be got.

Cattle Section. Considering the prolonged drought the cattle section was fair. I consider that Mr. Matthews suggestion of having the two classes of stock a good one, as the comparison of the two types of cattle would be of educational value.

Horse Section. I have very little to add to Mr. Munro's report which covers the ground very well. This section was disappointing.

Pigs and Poultry. In these sections as in others more care is necessary in the "get up" exhibits. Prizes should be awarded to the best exhibit of eggs.

(1) Best exhibit 1 dozen white eggs.

(2) Best exhibit 1 dozen Tinted eggs.

The quality of the poultry appeared to be much better than that of the previous year.

Farm Produce. This section was good, the Mealie, Kaffir-corn, Bean, Birdseed and Potato sections were excellent and could hold their own with any of the Transkeian Shows.

Correspondence.

KAMASTONE CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Ha! there you are; he's at it

one meeting in question, of which in fact I knew nothing, and about which it is the first time to know that there ever was any meeting which discussed and expressed an opinion in connection with this matter.

2. "But why should he (Sigila) be so touchy—since he was present at the conference?" Why! the conference was published in the papers inviting every body. Besides, I received a private invitation, and it does not follow that my presence at the conference as an invited individual should be regarded as representing my district without it sending me thereto. This fact is borne out by an article in the Xosa column of the Imvo of 24th February. Yes, I was present, but Fort Beaufort or its Bantu League was not. And my fellow calls me "touchy" when I tell him my truth which reveals his lie.

3. The Fort Beaufort League never held any meeting for sending delegates to this conference, and above all, not one of those members of the Bantu League who "definitely told" the par that they were going were present at the conference. And if any were present would he be taken to represent Fort Beaufort or the League without being authorised to do so? But my par says that the resolutions passed at the conference are binding to the district of Fort Beaufort by reason of my presence in my private capacity. What is that?

4. "And what is more," says the par, "the Bantu League are affiliated with Victoria East. The Bantu League of Fort Beaufort and the Native Welfare Association of Victoria East are two different bodies working under two separate constitutions. The Victoria East Welfare Association was organised in 1920 and the Bantu League in 1921. I was appointed secretary of the latter ever since it was formed, and I know of no affiliation of the two associations, nor of any negotiations to that affect. Neither was there any meeting ever held between the two to discuss any matter of public interest on a common platform. I would be very glad if this gentleman could tell me when and how this affiliation took place. I am therefore still raising a protest—a strong one, too—against what this gentleman asserts as a fact—which is but quite the opposite of the fact—that Fort Beaufort has its finger in the resolutions passed at the Kamastone Conference. How can that be?

I hope that the gentleman (who has hidden his name) will now make an end to this kind of dishonourable game of his and begin to learn that the multiplication of a lie by any number does not convert it to a truth, but that it still remains a lie each time more intensely black. I must repeat the advice I had given before that "a man should first ascertain the real facts about things before he goes to the press to publish them."

C. A. W. SIGILA.

Ngwenya,
10/3/25.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Then and Now.

Just a quarter of a century has elapsed since the century-long struggle of the Ashanti Confederation against the extension of British power on the Gold Coast ended with the beleaguering of the British Governor and garrison at Coomassie. On the same spot the Ashantis have paid homage to the Heir to the British throne with enthusiastic loyalty. The ex-King, Prempeh, who was present, in European costume, on the Royal Stand, symbolised the new Ashanti, which has frankly accepted British rule and resolutely set its feet on the path of modernity and progress, while the Chiefs in their surgeon array, received for the time the glories of the Ashanti Court.

The Beginning.

More than a century ago a similar scene at the same place marked the beginning of direct communication between the British and the Ashantis. On May 19, 1817, a British Mission (of which the grandfather of the writer of these "Echoes" was a member) was received by Osai Tutu Kwamina, King of Ashanti, then at the zenith of its power. The description of the splendour of the Chief and Court can be applied to the dignitaries who greeted the Prince, and will serve to fill in the details of the general description added by the special correspondents: —

"The Caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashanti cloths of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern: they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulders exactly like a Roman toga; a small gold fillet generally encircled their temples, and massive gold necklaces intricately wrought. . . . Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of aggry beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended: small circles of gold like guineas, rings and casts of animals, were strung round their ankles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas and rude lumps of rock gold hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life in gold were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers. . . . Behind their chairs . . . stood their handsomest youths, with corselets of leopard skins covered with gold cockle-shells, and stuck full of small knives sheathed in gold and silver."

The King.

All these Chiefs were sheltered by gorgeous umbrellas, and bands of drummers and horn-blowers made barbaric music, but all this display was only a prelude leading up to the monarch himself, of whom Bowdich writes:—

"He wore a fillet of aggry beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk . . . his kneebands were of aggry beads, and his ankle-strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals . . . were embossed across the instep-band with small gold and silver cases of saphies; he was seated in a low chair richly ornamented with gold; he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold and covered with small jawbones of the same metal. . . . The royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns, and various musical instruments cased in gold about the thickness of cartridge paper."

Judging by its appendages and the special honour paid to it, this was probably the famous Golden Stool, the Palladium of the Ashanti nation.

The Golden Soil.

One of the correspondents remarks: "The Gold Coast is evidently more than a name." Ever since Europeans came to the Coast, 450 years ago, they have been gathering the precious metal, indirectly by trade for four hundred years, and directly by mining during the last fifty years. Gold-dust was the normal currency of the country till 1889, when it ceased to be legal tender. From time immemorial the precious metal has been won by washing the gravels, the women being especially expert in panning. In his official history of the Ashanti War of 1873-74, Brackenbury describes how Sir Garnet Wolseley and his staff watched women winning gold from the ditches of Cape Coast after a shower of rain. In 1898 I was standing conversing with a friend on the cliff at Seccondee, near where the District Commissioner's office now stands. While talking, I was poking about with the end of my walking-stick, and turned up a nugget which weighed about thirty grains. What is now the mining district was honeycombed with native shafts: nearly all the gold-mining companies were floated to develop reefs which had long been known to the people. The peoples of the Gold Coast were skilful workers in both gold and iron long before the advent of Europeans. The jewels of the Chiefs at the Prince's Durbars, like the patterns of their gorgeous native cloths, are traditional.

W. F. H.

LATEST ABOUT COTTON.

DURBAN, March 25

It is almost dangerous to talk cotton to growers just now. They are all wondering—those in Natal and Zululand—how they will come out in the clean-up from the recent frightfully heavy rains and the resultant floods. Some are very apprehensive, and fear the worst. Some, on the other hand, think they will come out even on the right side.

Someone has attempted to give an estimate of the loss based on the experience of a district where 8,000 acres are—or were—under cotton. It seems that all the ratoon cotton has gone—about a third of the whole—and that the loss is equal to £40,000 in money. (Evidently loss is estimated expenditure plus estimated profit!) It can be safely said however, that to put the losses at 30 per cent. of the crop for the whole of Natal and Zululand is a wild exaggeration. As a matter of fact, no idea of losses can yet be formed. Some cotton must be ruined; of that there can be no doubt. And a glance will disclose it. Some affected cotton may recover in whole or in part once the sun gets to work, and only time can tell. Other cotton may do better than was ever anticipated owing to the rain, having been backward before. And there is no reason to suppose that any planter will fail to make expenses.

It is years since there have been rains like those we have just experienced. It will in all probability be years before they are experienced again, but some planters are wondering if early planting is desirable in view of the fact that late plantings have, according to some observations, completely withstood the rains, while early plantings were beaten down. Early plantings, however, will always get a good market, perhaps a better market than later plantings.

"In three weeks' time," said a big planter to me yesterday, "I shall be able to tell you what the damage is, hardly any earlier; and I think most planters would say the same about their crops. And may the sun never be brought near back to Europe, making the passage to Genoa with a dead weight cargo of scrap iron."

CAPTAIN WM. MATHIE DEAD.

Captain Mathie enjoyed the distinction of being one of the seven skippers who hold Lloyd's certificate for firing a propeller to a disabled ship at sea. The boat was the "Border Knight," and he had to make a William Mathie, whose association with the voyage of three weeks in an open boat to Cape Town Stevedoring Co., of which he obtain assistance. Among other outstanding was a director, extended over twenty-five feats to his credit was his successful navi- years. A Liverpudlian he went to sea as gation of a dredger from Table Bay to lad, and in course of time became the owners Sydney during the stormy season when the of many vessels, including the bulk "Salene," "Waratah" was lost. A man of charm- which he brought to the Cape from Wales personality, Captain Mathie was an orna- Bay. He rigged her as a four-master ment of his profession, and he will be sadly barque and sailed to England, carrying on missed in that great circle of people whose trade in local waters. The boat was eventu- interests are bound up with the great world ally burned off the coast of Mauritius. In of shipping. 1911 he salved the "Antea" when she ran ashore at Mouille Point, and having repaired

one meeting in question, of which in fact I knew nothing, and about which it is the first time to know that there ever was any meeting which discussed and expressed an opinion in connection with this matter.

2. "But why should he (Sigila) be so touchy—since he was present at that Conference?" Why the conference was published in the papers inviting every body. Besides, I received a private invitation, and it does not follow that my presence at the conference as an invited individual should be regarded as representing my district without it sending me thereto. This fact is borne out by an article in the Xosa column of the Imvo of 24th February. Yes, I was present, but Fort Beaufort or its Bantu League was not. And my fellow calls me "touchy" when I tell him my truth which reveals his lie.

3. The Fort Beaufort League never held any meeting for sending delegates to this conference, and above all, not one of those members of the Bantu League who "definitely told" the par that they were going were present at the conference. And if any were present would he be taken to represent Fort Beaufort or the League without being authorised to do so? But my par says that the resolutions passed at the conference are binding to the district of Fort Beaufort by reason of my presence in my private capacity. What is that?

4. "And what is more," says the par, "the Bantu League are affiliated with Victoria East. The Bantu League of Fort Beaufort and the Native Welfare Association of Victoria East are two different bodies working under two separate constitutions. The Victoria East Welfare Association was organised in 1920 and the Bantu League in 1921. I was appointed secretary of the latter ever since it was formed, and I know of no affiliation of the two associations, nor of any negotiations to that affect. Neither was there any meeting ever held between the two to discuss any matter of public interest on a common platform. I would be very glad if this gentleman could tell me when and how this affiliation took place. I am therefore still raising a protest—a strong one, too—against what this gentleman asserts as a fact—which is but quite the opposite of the fact—that Fort Beaufort has its finger in the resolutions passed at the Kamastone Conference. How can that be?

I hope that the gentleman (who has hidden his name) will now make an end to this kind of dishonourable game of his and begin to learn that the multiplication of a lie by any number does not convert it to a truth, but that it still remains a lie made each time more intensely black. I must repeat the advice I had given before that "a man should first ascertain the real facts about things before he goes to the press to publish them."

C. A. W. SIGILA.

Ngwenya,
10/3/25.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Then and Now.

Just a quarter of a century has elapsed since the century-long struggle of the Ashanti Confederation against the extension of British power on the Gold Coast ended with the beleaguering of the British Governor and garrison at Coomassie. On the same spot the Ashantis have paid homage to the Heir to the British throne with enthusiastic loyalty. The ex-King, Prempeh, who was present, in European costume, on the Royal Stand, symbolised the new Ashanti, which has frankly accepted British rule and resolutely set its feet on the path of modernity and progress, while the Chiefs in their gorgeous array, revived for the time the glories of the Ashanti Court.

The Beginning.

More than a century ago a similar scene at the same place marked the beginning of direct communication between the British and the Ashantis. On May 19, 1817, a British Mission, of which the grandfather of the writer of these "Echoes" was a member, was received by Osai Tutu Kwamina, King of Ashanti, then at the zenith of its power. The description of the splendour of the Chiefs and Court can be applied to the dignitaries who greeted the Prince, and will serve to fill in the details of the general description added by the special correspondents: —

"The Caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashanti cloths of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulders exactly like a Roman toga; a small gold fillet generally encircled their temples, and massive gold necklaces intricately wrought. . . . Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of aggry beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings and casts of animals, were strung round their ankles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas and rude lumps of rock gold hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life in gold were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers. . . . Behind their chairs . . . stood their handsomest youths, with corselets of leopard skins covered with gold cockle-shells, and stuck full of small knives sheathed in gold and silver."

The King.

All these Chiefs were sheltered by gorgeous umbrellas, and bands of drummers and horn-blowers made barbaric music, but all this display was only a prelude leading up to the monarch himself, of whom Bowdich writes:—

"He wore a fillet of aggry beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold: his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk . . . his kneebands were of aggry beads, and his ankle-strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals . . . were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of saphies; he was seated in a low chair richly ornamented with gold: he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold and covered with small jawbones of the same metal. . . . The royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns, and various musical instruments cased in gold about the thickness of cartridge paper."

Judging by its appendages and the special honour paid to it, this was probably the famous Golden Stool, the Palladium of the Ashanti nation.

The Golden Soil.

One of the correspondents remarks: "The Gold Coast is evidently more than a name." Ever since Europeans came to the Coast, 450 years ago, they have been gathering the precious metal, indirectly by trade for four hundred years, and directly by mining during the last fifty years. Gold-dust was the normal currency of the country till 1889, when it ceased to be legal tender. From time immemorial the precious metal has been won by washing the gravels, the women being especially expert in panning. In his official history of the Ashanti War of 1873-74, Brackenbury describes how Sir Garnet Wolseley and his staff watched women winning gold from the ditches of Cape Coast after a shower of rain. In 1898 I was standing conversing with a friend on the cliff at Seccondee, near where the District Commissioner's office now stands. While talking, I was poking about with the end of my walking-stick, and turned up a nugget which weighed about thirty grains. What is now the mining district was honeycombed with native shafts: nearly all the gold-mining companies were floated to develop reefs which had long been known to the people. The peoples of the Gold Coast were skilful workers in both gold and iron long before the advent of Europeans. The jewels of the Chiefs at the Prince's Durbars, like the patterns of their gorgeous native cloths, are traditional.

W. F. H.

LATEST ABOUT COTTON.

DURBAN, March 25.

It is almost dangerous to talk cotton to growers just now. They are all wondering—those in Natal and Zululand—how they will come out in the clean-up from the recent frightfully heavy rains and the resultant floods. Some are very apprehensive, and fear the worst. Some, on the other hand, think they will come out even on the right side.

Someone has attempted to give an estimate of the loss based on the experience of a district where 8,000 acres are—or were—under cotton. It seems that all the ratoon cotton has gone—about a third of the whole—and that the loss is equal to £40,000 in money. (Evidently loss is estimated expenditure plus estimated profit.) It can be safely said however, that to put the losses at 30 per cent. of the crop for the whole of Natal and Zululand is a wild exaggeration. As a matter of fact, no idea of losses can yet be formed. Some cotton must be ruined; of that there can be no doubt. And a glance will disclose it. Some affected cotton may recover in whole or in part once the sun gets to work, and only time can tell. Other cotton may do better than was ever anticipated owing to the rain, having been backward before. And there is no reason to suppose that any planter will fail to make expenses.

It is years since there have been rains like those we have just experienced. It will in all probability be years before they are experienced again. But some planters are wondering if early planting is desirable in view of the fact that late plantings have, according to some observations, completely withstood the rains, while early plantings were beaten down. Early plantings, however, will always get a good market, perhaps a better market than later plantings.

"In three weeks' time," said a big planter to me yesterday, "I shall be able to tell you what the damage is, hardly any earlier; and I think most planters would say the same about their crops. And may the sun come to our rescue!"

CAPTAIN WM. MATHIE DEAD.

A prominent figure in shipping circles has been lost to the Cape by the death of Captain William Mathie, whose association with the Cape Town Stevedoring Co., of which he was a director, extended over twenty-five years. A Liverpudlian he went to sea as a lad, and in course of time became the owner of many vessels, including the barque "Salerno," which he brought to the Cape from Walvis Bay. He rigged her as a four-master, and he will be sadly missed in that great circle of people who trade in local waters. The boat was eventually burned off the coast of Mauritius. In 1911 he saved the "Adea" when she ran ashore at Mouille Point, and having repaired the passage to Genoa with a dead weight cargo of soap [illegible].

Captain Mathie enjoyed the distinction of being one of the seven skippers who held Lloyd's certificate for fitting a propeller. The boat was the "Waratah," and he had to make an open boat passage to Sydney during the stormy season when she was lost. A man of charming personality, Captain Mathie was an outstanding figure in his profession, and he will be sadly missed in that great circle of people who trade in local waters. He leaves a widow and family.

Race Problem – 1925.

Africa.

SOME COAST TOPICS.

Education in Southern Nigeria, 1924.

The report of Mr. Hyde-Johnson, the Director of Education for Southern Nigeria, shows that Sir Hugh Clifford's policy of encouraging missionary educational enterprise has again been followed. The direct educational work of the Government in 1924 has shown little growth on the previous year, but grants to assisted schools have risen from £21,872 to £26,835. The number of Government schools is still 43, and a smaller enrolment is more than balanced by better attendances, the average being 6,225 Christians, and 478 Muslims. The assisted schools have increased by 17 to 189, with an average attendance of 27,216. How small is the part taken by Government in female education is shown by the fact that the proportion of boys to girls in its schools is about 15:1, as compared with 3:1 in the others. The ratio of average attendances to pupils continues to improve, and since 1919 has increased from 73 to 80 per cent. for boys, and from 67 to 81 per cent. for girls, suggesting that where the prejudice against female education has been overcome, equal care is being taken to ensure regular attendance for girls and boys. The staff in both Government and assisted schools continues to improve, but Mr. Hyde-Johnson hopes in time to see pupil-teachers give place to youths possessing secondary education. In this he is likely to be disappointed, for even in England it is proving financially difficult to dispense with this class of cheap assistance.

The standard of education continued to show improvement, although more manual training might be undertaken in the assisted schools. The instruction in gardening obtained by the teachers from the Agricultural Department had proved most useful, despite the absence of any means of following it up by expert supervision and inspection. There were 14 schools, besides King's College, offering secondary education, and all were doing well. The various training colleges turned out 118 trained teachers during the year, and they formed a valuable addition to the educational forces of the country.

The unassisted schools numbered 2,624, with an enrolment of 116,953, and an average attendance of 73,169. Twenty-one of these schools had reached assisted standard during the year, it is satisfactory to note. The total expenditure on the 43 Government schools was £26,835, as compared with £76,066 on 189 assisted schools, while the net expenditure for the Education Department itself was £78,624.

The Gold Coast Farmers' Association.

It did not need the spur of a report from New York of the pretensions of two young Gold Coasters with regard to cocoa deals to remind the Farmers' Association of the loss likely to be incurred through dealing with an agent possessing no credentials, but possibly these activities in America may lead to some new development. Cocoa frauds have been carried out in the Colony before, and cases arising from the operations of the late Timothy Laing and reported by WEST AFRICA are still being reproduced in the local press. The peculiarity of the present case is the apparent passivity of those on which the losses will fall. The "Gold Coast Independent," which long ago warned its readers against trusting cocoa to an agent who was alleged to be selling it in Accra for less than purchase price, urges immediate legal action on either farmers or Government. It is deplorable that what to the majority of the farmers was a genuine effort at co-operation in marketing should have proved a fiasco, but it will show them how impossible it is to be independent without efficient organisation. Even if they had handled the cocoa themselves as far as New York, they would have had no guarantee of obtaining better prices than were offered by local firms of repute; indeed, they might have obtained less, for their need for an immediate sale would have been evident. In discussing quite another problem, the "Gold Coast Leader" shows that few West Africans have made a study of modern business methods, unless, perhaps, just such elements as are necessary to secure a clerical post. There is room, as will be seen from the experience of the farmers, for suitable pupils to adopt the study of economics, when both the wonderful possibilities of co-operation, and also its risks, would be more clearly comprehended.

The Lagos Chiefs.

The "capping" of Chief Ojora, and the possible installation of another Chief whose family does not wish its head to remain without Government recognition, conveys a real threat to the White Cap Chiefs who remain obdurate to Government advice, and who still refuse to acknowledge one whom, despite his repudiation of the title, the papers persist in calling the "new Eleko." In the new order of things, there has not unnaturally been some feeling between the two officially-recognised Chiefs as to their respective seniority, but the matter has now been settled. That the grievance of the unreconciled Chiefs is a real one is evident from the fact that Chief Oluwa is risking the success gained in the Apapa land case, for the Arbitration Court which sat last January has not yet made its award, and the compensation, of course, goes to the holder of the office, and not to the individual. Since, however, the *immediate* cause of removal of Government recognition from them was an alleged slight offered to Sir Hugh Clifford, whose beneficial rule in most directions is undisputed, the Chiefs would probably serve their people better by accepting present conditions—under protest, if they like—and continuing to use their influence for the benefit of the community at large. By so doing, they would not be debarred, if or when opportunity offered, from using any legitimate means to advance the cause of the deported Eleko, and their position would be advantageously modified by attempts at co-operation with those who do not see eye to eye with them.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

COTTON-GROWING METHODS

The Right Time for Planting.

(From a Correspondent.)

The "Beira News," in an editorial entitled "Winter or Summer Cotton," asks whether the experience of cotton-growers in the territory following the abnormal rains of the last southern summer should not be taken as an indication that early sowing of cotton is a mistake, in view of the fact that the plant is then more often than not subjected to a certain amount of wet weather and cold winds just at the crucial period when the bolls are appearing? The journal adds that experiments made along the watershed and on the Pungue flats seem to show that the proper time to sow the main crop in land entirely free from frost risk is about March, at the tail end of the normal rainy season. In some districts cotton which failed owing to the late abnormal rains came again and now looks well. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that most of the winter crops this year promise good yields, suggests that late sowing of cotton as a regular policy should be given a fair trial.

New Ginnery and Cigarette Factory.

At Manga, which is destined in time to become a residential suburb of Beira, with which it is connected by light railway as well as being a station on the main line to the interior, Messrs. Caeiro, Ltd., have erected a cotton ginnery and a cigarette factory. The official opening was attended by the Acting Governor, Major Serpa, and about 500 guests. His Excellency closely inspected the plant, and congratulated Mr. Caeiro on his enterprise. The ginnery contains four saw gins and one linter gin, with a total capacity of six tons of lint a day. The hydraulic baling press is one of the finest in the country. The capacity of the cigarette factory is between 30,000 and 35,000 daily. A brick factory capable of producing 12,000 to 14,000 bricks daily, and of turning out 600,000 burnt bricks in one batch has also been installed by Mr. Caeiro. Lavish hospitality was dispensed by Mr. Caeiro to his numerous guests, and the outing was one of the most enjoyable incidents in the memory of the residents of Beira.

New Governor's Arrival.

Captain H. M. Correia da Silva, D.S.O., arrived at Beira by train on October 12, and was welcomed by a large gathering. Major Serpa, who has been acting as Governor and Secretary-General since the departure of Colonel Faure de Rosa, is continuing to act as Secretary-General for the time being, but it is not yet certain whether he will accept a definite appointment to that office, as it is understood that he would prefer to return to his district of Vila Pery.

Republic of Liberia.

SIX MONTHS' TRADE.

100 Per Cent. Increase for the First Half of 1925.

It is gratifying to see that the Republic's trade with the outside world has taken on an encouraging aspect, as reflected by the figures just published for the first six months of the year, compared with those for the corresponding period of the previous year, an all-round increase of about 100 per cent. is noticeable. The position is as follows:—

	Exports.	Imports.
1925	$088,194'20	$1,113 66'16
1924	444.842'57	565,386.42

The balance of trade during this period of 1925 was against us, Germany being our biggest customer with a total export trade of 417.242.39 dol., as against 325,349.91 dol. in 1924. She also has, during 1925, become our largest consumer importing, as she has done, produce from Liberia to the value of 440.843.10 dol., as compared with her imports for the corresponding period in 1924 of 286,554.06 dol.

England comes next with a total export trade of 367.696.77 dol., and imports of 215,544.11 dol., as against the respective items, for the same time last year, of 129.329.00 dol. and 77.317.33 dol.

Holland follows as our third best customer, and then the United States of America, France, and Spain, in the order of the volume of their trade with us. Our exports to Holland rose from 54.445.14 dol. in 1924 to 165,017.05 dol. for 1925; while the imports increased in 1925 to 112,218.36 from 48,967.50 dol. for 1924.

America imported from us in the first semester of the year 20,956.34 dol. worth of produce, and shipped us goods in the same period to the value of 94.421.38. This compares with the respective items in 1924 of 1,092.55 dol. and 37.925.82 dol.

France and Spain continue to do indifferent business with us this year as they did in 1924, and the total volume for the two countries does not attain 3,500 dol. for the whole of the six months of 1925 under consideration; whilst, together, both of these countries contributed a total towards our overseas trade of 6.840.62 dol. in the first half of 1924

The unassigned revenue accruing to the Republic during the month of August, 1924, of which the figures are now available, was 42.264.70 dol., as compared with 8.666.72 dol. for August, 1924. This does not include the hypothecated Customs receipts which are devoted to the service of the 1921 Loan.

for example, offered by a customer who requests that the same or a similar article be supplied. The article not being in stock at head office, it goes to work in the majority of cases to have it produced.

Another and perhaps more powerful means of retaining clients is that the local German firm in nearly every instance secures repeats of any article previously stocked. The influence of this method for retaining custom, especially West African, cannot be overestimated.

German Trade Methods.

There is one observation to make in connection with the trade conditions which the above figures reflect with regard to Germany, and that is, that her position is due only to the methods which she has always employed of looking after the requirements of her customers, instead of adopting the stiff attitude of patrons in trade. A pattern of produce arranged; while in the an article not in stock at the moment is, case of employees, a portion of the monthly

wages is set aside against which he obtains the loan, of a coffee or cocoa farm for the working of which such expenses as payment of labour, etc., are necessary to be incurred, and for which the loan is obtained. Transactions of this kind operate upon very sound psychological considerations which in the end almost invariably lead up to the desired commercial result.

Race Problem – 1925.

Africa.

SOME COAST TOPICS.

Education in Southern Nigeria, 1924.

The report of Mr. Hyde-Johnson, the Director of Education for Southern Nigeria, shows that Sir Hugh Clifford's policy of encouraging missionary educational enterprise has again been followed. The direct educational work of the Government in 1924 has shown little growth on the previous year, but grants to assisted schools have risen from £24,872 to £26,835. The number of Government schools is still 43, and a smaller enrolment is more than balanced by better attendances, the average being 6,225 Christians, and 478 Muslims. The assisted schools have increased by 17 to 189, with an average attendance of 27,216. How small is the part taken by Government in female education is shown by the fact that the proportion of boys to girls in its schools is about 15:1, as compared with 3:1 in the others. The ratio of average attendances to pupils continues to improve, and since 1919 has increased from 73 to 80 per cent. for boys, and from 67 to 81 per cent. for girls, suggesting that where the prejudice against female education has been overcome, equal care is being taken to ensure regular attendance for girls and boys. The staff in both Government and assisted schools continues to improve, but Mr. Hyde-Johnson hopes in time to see pupil-teachers give place to youths possessing secondary education. In this he is likely to be disappointed, for even in England it is proving financially difficult to dispense with this class of cheap assistance.

The standard of education continued to show improvement, although more manual training might be undertaken in the assisted schools. The instruction in gardening obtained by the teachers from the Agricultural Department had proved most useful, despite the absence of any means of following it up by expert supervision and inspection. There were 14 schools, besides King's College, offering secondary education, and all were doing well. The various training colleges turned out 118 trained teachers during the year, and they formed a valuable addition to the educational forces of the country.

The unassisted schools numbered 2,624, with an enrolment of 116,953, and an average attendance of 73,169. Twenty-one of these schools had reached assisted standard during the year, it is satisfactory to note. The total expenditure on the 43 Government schools was £26,835, as compared with £76,066 on 189 assisted schools, while the net expenditure for the Education Department itself was £78,624.

The Gold Coast Farmers' Association.

It did not need the spur of a report from New York of the pretensions of two young Gold Coasters with regard to cocoa deals to remind the Farmers' Association of the loss likely to be incurred through dealing with an agent possessing no credentials, but possibly these activities in America may lead to some new development. Cocoa frauds have been carried out in the Colony before, and cases arising from the operations of the late Timothy Laing and reported by WEST AFRICA are still being reproduced in the local press. The peculiarity of the present case is the apparent passivity of those on which the losses will fall. The "Gold Coast Independent," which long ago warned its readers against trusting cocoa to an agent who was alleged to be selling it in Accra for less than purchase price, urges immediate legal action on either farmers or Government. It is deplorable that what to the majority of the farmers was a genuine effort at co-operation in marketing should have proved a fiasco, but it will show them how impossible it is to be independent without efficient organisation. Even if they had handled the cocoa themselves as far as New York, they would have had no guarantee of obtaining better prices than were offered by local firms of repute; indeed, they might have obtained less, for their need for an immediate sale would have been evident. In discussing quite another problem, the "Gold Coast Leader" shows that few West Africans have made a study of modern business methods, unless, perhaps, just such elements as are necessary to secure a clerical post. There is room, as will be seen from the experience of the farmers, for suitable pupils to adopt the study of economics, when both the wonderful possibilities of co-operation, and also its risks, would be more clearly comprehended.

The Lagos Chiefs.

The "capping" of Chief Ojora, and the possible installation of another Chief whose family does not wish its head to remain without Government recognition, conveys a real threat to the White Cap Chiefs who remain obdurate to Government advice, and who still refuse to acknowledge one whom, despite his repudiation of the title, the papers persist in calling the "new Eleko." In the new order of things, there has not unnaturally been some feeling between the two officially-recognised Chiefs as to their respective seniority, but the matter has now been settled. That the grievance of the unreconciled Chiefs is a real one is evident from the fact that Chief Oluwa is risking the success gained in the Apapa land case, for the Arbitration Court which sat last January has not yet made its award, and the compensation, of course, goes to the holder of the office, and not to the individual. Since, however, the *immediate* cause of removal of Government recognition from them was an alleged slight offered to Sir Hugh Clifford, whose beneficial rule in most directions is undisputed, the Chiefs would probably serve their people better by accepting present conditions—under protest, if they like—and continuing to use their influence for the benefit of the community at large. By so doing, they would not be debarred, if or when opportunity offered, from using any legitimate means to advance the cause of the deported Eleko, and their position would be advantageously modified by attempts at co-operation with those who do not see eye to eye with them.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

COTTON-GROWING METHODS

The Right Time for Planting.

(From a Correspondent.)

The "Beira News," in an editorial entitled "Winter or Summer Cotton," asks whether the experience of cotton-growers in the territory following the abnormal rainfall of the last southern summer should not be taken as an indication that early sowing of cotton is a mistake, in view of the fact that the plant is then more often than not subjected to a certain amount of wet weather and cold winds just at the crucial period when the bolls are appearing? The journal adds that experiments made along the watershed and on the Pungue flats seem to show that the proper time to sow the main crop in land entirely free from frost risk is about March, at the tail end of the normal rainy season. In some districts cotton which failed owing to the late abnormal rains came again and now looks well. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that most of the winter crops this year promise good yields, suggests that late sowing of cotton as a regular policy should be given a fair trial.

New Ginnery and Cigarette Factory.

At Manga, which is destined in time to become a residential suburb of Beira, with which it is connected by light railway as well as being a station on the main line to the interior, Messrs. Caeiro, Ltd., have erected a cotton ginnery and a cigarette factory. The official opening was attended by the Acting Governor, Major Serpa, and about 500 guests. His Excellency closely inspected the plant, and congratulated Mr. Caeiro on his enterprise. The ginnery contains four saw gins and one linter gin, with a total capacity of six tons of lint a day. The hydraulic baling press is one of the finest in the country. The capacity of the cigarette factory is between 30,000 and 35,000 daily. A brick factory capable of producing 12,000 to 14,000 bricks daily, and of turning out 600,000 burnt bricks in one batch has also been installed by Mr. Caeiro. Lavish hospitality was dispensed by Mr. Caeiro to his numerous guests, and the outing was one of the most enjoyable incidents in the memory of the residents of Beira.

New Governor's Arrival.

Captain H. M. Correia da Silva, D.S.O., arrived at Beira by train on October 12, and was welcomed by a large gathering. Major Serpa, who has been acting as Governor and Secretary-General since the departure of Colonel Faure de Rosa, is continuing to act as Secretary-General for the time being, but it is not yet certain whether he will accept a definite appointment to that office, as it is understood that he would prefer to return to his district of Vila Pery.

Republic of Liberia.

SIX MONTHS' TRADE.

100 Per Cent. Increase for the First Half of 1925.

It is gratifying to see that the Republic's trade with the outside world has taken on an encouraging aspect, as reflected by the figures just published for the first six months of the year, compared with those for the corresponding period of the previous year, an all-round increase of about 100 per cent. is noticeable. The position is as follows:—

	Exports.		Imports.
1925	$088,194'20	.....	£1,113 6d 16
1924	444.842'57	.....	£65,386.42

The balance of trade during this period of 1925 was against us, Germany being our biggest customer with a total export trade of 417.242.39 dol., as against 325,349.91 dol. in 1924. She also has, during 1925, become our largest consumer importing, as she has done, produce from Liberia to the value of 440.843.10 dol., as compared with her imports for the corresponding period in 1924 of 286,554.06 dol.

England comes next with a total export trade of 367.696.77 dol., and imports of 215,544.11 dol., as against the respective items, for the same time last year, of 129.329.00 dol. and 77.317.33 dol.

Holland follows as our third best customer, and then the United States of America, France, and Spain, in the order of the volume of their trade with us. Our exports to Holland rose from 54.445.14 dol. in 1924 to 165.017.05 dol. for 1925; while the imports increased in 1925 to 112.218.36 from 48,967.50 dol. for 1924.

America imported from us in the first semester of the year 20,956.34 dol. worth of produce, and shipped us goods in the same period to the value of 94.421.38. This compares with the respective items in 1924 of 1,092.55 dol. and 57.925.82 dol.

France and Spain continue to do indifferent business with us this year as they did in 1924, and the total volume for the two countries does not attain 3,500 dol. for the whole of the six months of 1925 under consideration; whilst, together, both of these countries contributed a total towards our overseas trade of 6.840.62 dol. in the first half of 1924

The unassigned revenue accruing to the Republic during the month of August, 1924, of which the figures are now available, was 42.264.70 dol., as compared with 8.666.72 dol. for August, 1924. This does not include the hypothecated Customs receipts which are devoted to the service of the 1921 Loan.

for example, offered by a customer who requests that the same or a similar article be supplied. The article not being in stock at the time of a house in building against which he obtains the loan, or a coffee or cocoa farm for the working of which such expenses as payment of labour, etc., are necessary to be incurred, and for which the loan is obtained. Transactions of this kind operate upon very sound psychological considerations which in the end almost invariably lead up to the desired commercial result.

German Trade Methods.

There is one observation to make in connection with the trade conditions which the above figures reflect with regard to Germany, and that is, that her position is due only to the methods which she has always employed of *costing after the requirements* of her customers, instead of adopting the attitude of patrons in trade. A pattern of an article not in stock at the moment is, in fact, a portion of the monthly

RHODESIA.

THE RAILWAY REPORT.

Work that Could be Done by Natives.

Last week we gave a comprehensive summary of the valuable report prepared by Brigadier-General Hammond in connection with his investigation into the working of the Rhodesian railway system. The points referred to in the present article are additional to those mentioned previously.

In his letter of instructions the Commissioner was specially asked whether reduction of working expenses could be made without loss of efficiency. In this connection he states:—

I would be failing in my duty if I did not point out one particular direction in which, in my opinion, they could be reduced. It does not lie, however, entirely in the hands of the railways. I refer to the technical education of the native.

There is a very large class of so-called skilled work, which does not require skill or knowledge of a high order, and can be performed by natives under periodical supervision after a short period of instruction. Examples of this are drilling, riveting, plain turning, house painting, firing on a locomotive, and the ordinary gangers' work on the track. To take the last example, a skilled ganger is expected to be able to lay a set of points and crossings, but the ordinary ganger on a railway like this is seldom, if ever, called upon to do it. Many of them must pass through their whole service without ever being required to carry out such work. The bulk of their duty consists of lifting and packing, maintaining curves in good condition, and seeing that the drains and ditches are kept clean. No one can deny that a native could acquire the necessary knowledge in a short time.

More Supervision.

More supervision would be necessary but this could be arranged by placing a European permanent way inspector in charge of every thirty to forty miles, with native gangers under him, and by giving him a pump trolley. It would also solve the difficulty of housing, in connection with the shortening of gangers' lengths. Similarly, the work of firing a locomotive is easily within the scope of the native, and he is probably better suited physically for this work than the man of English descent. Work requiring a much higher degree of skill than the trades mentioned is being performed by natives in many parts of Africa. The contention may be raised that the native of Rhodesia is not as capable of receiving instruction as those of other countries. This argument has been advanced by the opposition in practically every country where native skilled labour is now used, and has, as invariably, been found false. It therefore carries little conviction.

The European wages bill of the engineering department is over £150,000 a year, and of the locomotive department over £300,000. As the natives would only cost at the most £3 a month against the £20 to £25 which is now paid to the Europeans, it is clear that a saving of £100,000 in each of these departments should be obtainable in two or three years without difficulty. There is no need to lay stress on the importance of this from the point of view of rates. If education of a more skilled order was given, and the native was allowed to be employed as a fully skilled tradesman, still larger economies would be effected.

October 1.

A sad accident happened a week ago to Mr. Gerrard, at one time manager for R.C.B.C. of mining operations at Kushitu and Kopiri—M'Poshi. He was travelling towards Kushitu Railway Station when his car struck something and overturned, partially pinning Mr. Gerrard underneath. Luckily his native boy was with him, and managed to release him. Help was obtained and Mr. Gerrard removed to hospital in a very critical condition. Our genial Dr. Wallace spent hours with him till Dr. Harmer arrived from Lusaka. The injuries included two fractures in the jaw, smashed ribs, injured head, and a lung pierced by a rib. Every hope is entertained for the patient's recovery. He is one of the old pioneers, having arrived in Southern Rhodesia in the 'nineties.

* * *

The Caledonian Dance, which was held at Boon's Hotel, was a huge success, and the Chieftain, old Bill Sellars, gave one of his usual appropriate speeches. Mr. and Mrs. Macartney patronised the dance, as in every year.

* * *

The Wesleyan church is in the course of construction, and a fine-looking building it will be, too. It is being put up some two hundred yards from St. John's Church, and we hear incidentally of the intention to build a Dutch Reformed church later on. Now, to complete things, a cinema hall is required. At present, the Mine Club have pictures shown there. But the accommodation is far too small for the population we have here now.

* * *

Mr. Norman Cook, who succeeded Mr. Teagle as local secretary of the mine, seems to have settled down, and is very popular among the sports, viz., tennis, golf, and cricket enthusiasts.

* * *

Mr. G. Rudyard has taken over the mine management while Mr. Macartney is on leave. He has always been very popular on the mine.

* * *

Buildings are going up on the mine property—additional offices and quarters for the staff. There is some talk of foundations being got ready for the new plant which is going to be installed for the zinc process. There is another very fine copper proposition found by Mr. Fred Bush, an old hand of Broken Hill, with a strike of approximately two miles. Copper, glance, etc., are fairly prominent at a depth, and we hear Mr. Bush has practically concluded arrangements with the R.B.H. Development Co. to take it over. It is about fifty odd miles from Broken Hill, with very fine water power from the M'Kushi or Luenseinfera rivers. Also a matter of twenty miles west of here Mr. Marriott is working a fine vanadium proposition, and I hear that he is now concentrating the ore, which shows a good percentage of vanadium. The Goldfields have also got a few very promising finds of copper on their concession, and are developing these.

* * *

The concession was granted to R.B.H. Co. on August 26. This comprises 8,000 square miles west of the railway, and undoubtedly operations on a large prospecting scheme will commence ere long.

Traffic is still going north in large quantities, and when Bwana M'Kuba is in full swing there will be an increase in coal and coke traffic for that huge scheme.

* * *

Mr. R. Brooks, manager of the R.C.B. Concessions, took Mrs. Brooks to Bulawayo recently for the purpose of undergoing an operation. Unfortunately Mrs. Brooks died the day after the operation, much to the regret of us all, for she was a very popular and beloved lady, well known at Bwana M'Kuba, N. Dola, and the Congo. Her body was taken to Johannesburg and cremated. This is a sad loss to Mr. Brooks, and all tender their sincere sympathy to him in his bereavement.

* * *

The annual railway dance given by Colonel Birrney, general manager railways, to employees here was held at the Railway Institute, and was a great success. The attendance was good, likewise the music, which was supplied by our well-known orchestra, comprising Mrs. Bunting (piano), Mrs. Fish (violin), and Mr. Langley (piccolo). This trio are the popular little combination in town with all the latest dance music.

Angola.

ANGOLA'S PROBLEMS.

At the first meeting of the Legislative Council of Angola, which took place recently, the new High Commissioner declared that he considered as urgent the following questions:—Completion of the Loanda Railway and the Port of Lobito; construction of the line from Nambuangongo to the Congo; improvement and extension of the roads in the colony.

At the request of the High Commissioners of Mozambique and Angola, the Colonial Minister at Lisbon has decided to restrict immigration to those Colonies and to limit it to persons who have to fulfil thereat a definite occupation, or who possess sufficient resources to live there for a period. This measure has been decided upon in order to save emigrants suffering privations and disappointment for want of being able to procure immediate work.

Franchise Lost By South Africans; Fear Voting Strength Soon

SMITHFIELD, Orange Free State, Nov. 16.—A decision to totally deprive natives of the Cape Province of their existing Parliamentary franchise is announced here. Premier Herzog declared it is impossible to extend a similar franchise to the other provinces of the South African Union, for this would mean the ruin of European civilization.

Experts, the premier added, figure that the native voters in the Cape Province within fifty years would outnumber the white voters and the change was necessary.

WEST AFRICAN RUBBER AND NATIVE INTERESTS.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Sir,—There is now no question that West Africa can produce, f.a.q., Hevea plantation rubber as well as growing cocoa, oil palms, and ground nuts. Good first plantation rubber realised on the London market 2s. 11½d. when the best Eastern rubber fetched 3s. per lb.

The average yield from 37,000 trees, 9 to 14 years old, was 2.95 lbs. per tree. Hevea is growing well in the Ivory Coast and Liberia, free from fungus or the Eastern rubber plagues.

In Liberia alone thousands of pounds weight is shipped to the United States. This has given the incentive to hundreds of natives along the West African Coast to plant rubber. The wisest policy is to encourage the native grower, and place no restrictions on his output, which has had such a deterrent influence on rubber production in the East, causing labour troubles, through these autocratic measures. The natives of West Africa must have a "free" hand and a "free" market, for to restrict is a suicidal policy, killing any rubber industry, whether in West Africa or elsewhere.—Yours faithfully,

LOUIS P. BOWLER.

Race Problem - 1925

Africa.

GOLD COAST AGRICULTURE.

The interesting and informative paper on "Agricultural Conditions on the Gold Coast" (of which we published a summary) read by Mr. C. H. Knowles, B.Sc. (Lond.), Director of Agriculture in that colony, at Winchester House, last week, gives a survey not only of the existing conditions, but also of the future possibilities of agriculture there. It has been proved experimentally by the Department over which Mr. Knowles presides that almost all the tropical economic plants flourish on the Gold Coast. The soil is extremely fertile: so fertile that large crops of cocoa have been produced year after year without the use of fertilisers, and there is, as yet, no sign of exhaustion. It has also been proved that the comparatively small rainfall is compensated by the great atmospheric humidity. In fact, the feature of the climate which is most trying to the European constitution is one of the colony's greatest agricultural assets. The paucity of the rainfall leaves more sunny days suitable for the sun-drying of crops which require to be dried, such as cocoa and copra, and makes artificial heat for drying unnecessary. The attention of the people is, at present, concentrated on cocoa as the most easily grown and most remunerative crop known to them, but Mr. Knowles shows that their eggs need not all be stored in this one basket. There are a number of products which can take the place of cocoa if stress of competition should make that favourite culture less profitable. The first place among these must be given to the oil-palm, which is idigenous, and the treatment of the fruits of which is an ancient native industry and source of food. The attention of Europeans has been directed to the production of palm-oil on a large scale for some time; knowledge and experience are being accumulated, and improvements are being made in its mechanical production which give good promise of its becoming a paying industry in the near future. Doubts as to the labour available were dispelled by Mr. Lewis A. Smart (Director of Commercial Intelligence) and Mr. Knowles in replying to members of the audience who raised the question. They showed that there is an ample supply of labour, and that there are reserves in the neighbouring French territories which are being attracted by the higher pay and better conditions obtainable in the colony. The paper gives a most encouraging account of present conditions, and holds out the hope of an extension of agriculture, in the wake of improved and more widely distributed means of transport, sufficient to maintain the marvellous economic progress and prosperity in the Gold Coast Colony of to-day for many generations.

African World 10-12-25

Gold Coast Agriculture

THE EDITCR OF *VOX POPULI* AGAIN.

BY A NATIVE OF ANEH.

VI.

The Editor of *Vox Populi* having not felt to leave Togoland matters well alone, we are compelled to continue our strictures on his partial and ill-digested observations.

Our Mr. Editor was not satisfied with his long article in the issue of the *Vox Populi* of the 30th May, 1925, but continued same in the issue of that paper of the 13th June, 1925, under Editorial Notes. What useful purpose the Editor intends his articles to serve is not known since he convinces nobody nor makes any impressions on Togolanders as a disinterested party essaying to throw light on some matters that require enlightenment.

Evidently, Mr. Editor is out to defend his two friends or benefactors in the Press. But he would not have assumed that position if Mr. Octaviano Olympio and the Venerable Reverend Mr. Baeta had not contributed funds solicited by him on his visit to Lomé for the support of his Press. It was an unfortunate visit culminating in entertainments and collection of funds. It is hard to speak ill of a man who gave readily monetary aid in time of need nor even is it easy to do so because a man, who but yesterday, allowed you to dip fingers into a soup plate.

But Accra with Districts is large and wealthy enough to support a Press that bears such an important, the most important of titles, The Voice of the People. The people there understand the value of the Press better than those in Togoland. Unless the Editor would confess to us that the Voice of the People is not the voice of the people, but of himself, we shall not be disposed to forgive him his extraordinary zeal in whitewashing in his Press two discreditable persons of Togoland.

We do not remember any Editor on the Gold Coast ever came to Togoland soliciting for funds. The higher education obtained there should have been the means of opening the people's eyes to the necessity of forming a limited company or companies for the running of a Press, even, having that, they should have given large sums of money for its support. We feel, the people of the Gold Coast have confidence in their Editors, seeing how useful the Press is to them. But if with all these the Editor of *Vox Populi* should pursuade himself to the belief that the Vox is not the Vox of the Gold Coast, but the Vox of Togoland, he should strike tent and cross over to Togoland where he should start criticisms of the Togoland Government exactly as he is doing the Gold Coast Government now.

It is strange that the Editor knowing so much of Togoland does not know of the existence of obnoxious laws enacted to oppress the people. We have forced labour, we have two different laws, one for the naturalised black Frenchmen, soldiers and others who served in the war with their families, all exempted from nine years' deportation, including the members of the Council de Notables for no or trifling offences; high and unnecessary taxes for the crippling of trade; premium paid on intrigues and the divide and rule policy as obtained in Dahomey introduced in Togoland. It may be of special interest to Mr. Editor that his friends, the Notables, according to a decree, are permitted to travel first class in the Railway coaches excluding all others, even their betters. In the German days every blackman was prohibited travelling in a first class coach and this law strictly maintained by the French and exemption is now made of the Government nominated clerk-notables.

Our Mr. Editor, in his blind support of his friends and benefactors, forgets that the Press exists to combat evils and not whitewashing those whose support given to Government to maintain those evils are what the people of Togoland are crying against. A forced labourer would be very grateful to Mr. Editor to fight that evil, so the man fleeced and bled yellow, even the mercantile community, mostly British, would thank him if he would speak only one word in their behalf against the great disadvantages under which they are placed and the inevitable ruin staring them in the face. These people and the people of Togoland are suffering under great disadvantages by strange and ill-conceived policies initiated. Mr. Olympio and the Reverend Mr. Baeta can take care of themselves even in their own defence in the *Vox Populi*

If Mr. Editor takes up his copy of *West Africa* of the 4th October, 1924, he would find a very interesting article contributed by Mr. Olympio on which the Editor of that paper lavishly commented. Later, a writer who signed himself as "E." in the same paper, disagreed with everything Mr. Olympio had written and the sum total of his criticisms in plain ordinary words were "all false and deceptions." If Mr. Olympio had the courage of his conviction in what he had written, he would not have allowed Mr. "E's" challenge or exposure to go unanswered. This is the sort of "the highly intelligent, prominent, enlightened, respected and influential persons recognised by the Togoland Government and by our affable Editor himself.

The Reverend Mr. Baeta is also a writer of note with some retouches from some one if his writing is to be presented before the public. It may be remembered that last year he was invited to Germany for a propaganda work on behalf of the German missionaries for their return to Africa and to say something against the evil of the partition of Togoland under two different powers. The courage with which Mr. Baeta tackled his speeches may be a Dutch courage and with formidable political and ecclesiastical influences at his back. More of this in the next issue.

VII.

We whole-heartedly support Mr. Baeta in the campaign he was asked to join for the return of the German Missionaries, the act for their exclusion was one we deplore, for they labour not for personal gains. We support him also for speaking against the partition of Togoland between two different powers. At the same time we were surprised at Mr. Baeta's plain speaking on behalf of Togoland, but his acts and deeds in Togoland itself do not make the speech as sincere or he might have been deceiving people. A question or two may be permitted at this juncture: Did Mr. Baeta sign any paper singly or jointly that the French should remain forever in Togoland and that paper forwarded to the League of Nations as representing the wishes of the people? Did he pursuade others to join in signing that paper? We believe Mr. Baeta is a British subject and should be neutral in such emergencies. We believe also that the white British community did not sign that paper with the Reverend Mr. Baeta, but the Editor of the *Vox Populi* would if he were to be at Lomé.

In his speech delivered at High Leigh, Haddesdon, on September 12th, 1924, Mr, Baeta complained of short of hands and the responsibilities devolving on the Mission Staff with two resident African Ministers including himself, Catechists, Teachers and other Mission workers in the town of Lomé! It did not appear to the Rev. Mr. Baeta that one servant cannot serve two masters, to be a preacher and a Government servant running to Tsevie, Agbeluhuen and other places on Government errands. The whole trouble is that the blackmen for 30 years under the heels of the German Jackboots consider themselves very important and above their equals or betters if they happen to associate themselves with white-skinned men reporting or intriguing against their own countrymen or having them at their mercy. It is the highest distinction in Togoland to be known by white men. We know of African clergymen who sought no honour from Government but Government honour them on account of their character which is exemplary. If Mr. Baeta minds his business and leave the Government service alone, he will have sufficient hands to work the Mission successfully. If the unity Mr. Baeta prayed for and which we also pray for the Ewe Church, a matter once religious and political, the removal of this war-emergency minister to fill a gap during those horrible years to another sphere will become a necessity.

Now, we will examine Mr. Baeta's pamphlet of 12 pages and see the workings of the mind of the man. On page 7 he wrote:—"The unity of the Ewe Church was the main object of this Synod, despite the political division." On page 8 he wrote:—"We have had enough of the political division of the small country." On page 9 he wrote:—"The orphan congregation of Atakpame and her 14 out-stations would only be poorly administered by Pastor Aku and myself, as we had more than sufficient to do in our own district. Pastor Aku has to look after the whole of the French zone, and I have the

large congregation of Lomé numbering 1,500 members with 15 out-stations which are to be visited every quarter." Further, he said: "Our repeated, at times sorrowful, appeals to the Rev. Beveridge for help for Atakpame remained fruitless owing to the political division until I was called to Germany last May, and Pastor Aku was authorised by the Bremen Mission Board to ordain a young Catechist for Atakpame which ordination took place in June last. I mention this only to show you some of the evil effects of a division of a small missionary field like ours, and we would be thankful if the Rev. Wilkie and D. Schlunk would possibly help to remove such a barrier."

Continuing on page 10 of the pamphlet the Rev. Baeta said:—"At the outbreak of war all our congregations in Togo were obliged to support themselves and the British Government took over the financial responsibilities of the teachers engaged in school work in the British zone, whilst the stations in the French zone received no financial aid from the Government, and they have remained self-supporting up to the present moment."

On pages 11 and 12 Mr. Baeta said:—"The word of God, the whole Bible in our own language, our dear Eve Hymn Book, and other useful literature the Missionaries have given us, are more than a treasure for which we cannot be sufficiently grateful. Through the kind endeavours and mediation of our dear Mr. Oldham and the Board of the United Free Church of Scotland, the British Government has generously allowed our Bremen Mission to send out three of our old German Missionaries to the Gold Coast and the British zone of Togoland last year. We were too glad and happy to welcome them in our midst, as the responsibilities they have put on our shoulders are still too great and too heavy for us to bear—alone. It is a pity they are not yet allowed to enter the French zone, but we hope the near future will bring better changes. We require more Missionaries and Sisters. The absence of lady missionaries and sisters is particularly felt all over the Mission field. We cannot replace or do without them. We want them to come and train our girls to the standard of our boys. We want them to penetrate to the hearts of the mothers, and through the mothers work on the children, because one who has the children has the future. Only better African children can make a better Africa. The harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few. Let us therefore pray the Lord of the Harvest, that He will send forth labourors into his harvest."

SIERRA LEONE LETTER.

The Franchise.

The desire of at least the educated people of the Gold Coast for the franchise is evidenced by the many rumours arising from time to time that at last the Constitution of the new Council is to be published, and failing definite news on the subject, people give themselves up to the evils of nomination on the present system. Judging from past speeches of the Governor, an important preliminary to the introduction of the scheme is the reorganisation of the Municipal Councils on the lines of the new Ordinance, but, as has been seen in Accra, this first step seems to make rather too great demands on the people and their representatives to be generally acceptable. Meanwhile, the French Colonies have instituted a more elementary form of the same principle of having the larger communities directly represented on the higher Council, and it may be that some compromise of the two schemes might be accomplished at the Gold Coast. As no official information is yet available, it seems possible that some such modification is contemplated.

The City Council of Freetown.

The allegations made by Mr. Fowell Boston, City Solicitor of Freetown, have, as previously stated, led to the appointment of a committee of inquiry and to police action, but so far no facts have been published beyond the charges made by Mr. Boston. Whatever be the issue, however, there seems a likelihood of Freetown electors taking a closer interest in the next municipal election, if only suitable candidates can be found. It is in that respect that there is likely to be most difficulty, for clearly without a choice of representatives a municipal vote becomes of little use, and the electors can hardly be blamed for becoming apathetic. Perhaps some of the merchants and other non-professional men will, by standing for office against recognised "public men," stimulate the electors by giving them the choice of varying opinions on matters affecting public business.

The Training College Scheme.

With the Prince of Wales School at King Tom in running order, the possibility of converting the Government Model School into a teachers' training college, as outlined in the Governor's last annual address, now becomes more practicable. This "corner-stone of education," as Sir Ransford Slater rightly called it, has received little public attention lately, but the Board of Education is hardly likely to have forgotten the matter, especially since a Principal for the college was appointed long since. The plan is recalled now by the fact that the examination of school-teachers for their further promotion or re-grading has just been held, a procedure which is also part of the new educational policy laid down for this year. Now that the topographical survey and the educational schemes in connection with it are being put in hand, however, there is little doubt that so pressing a need as a training college will also be dealt with, and probably on a more complete scale than was originally anticipated, in spite of a report that an agricultural college is shortly to be established, to which other educational works must give precedence.

The New Kroo Tribal Ruler.

Mr. J. S. Lewis, the new Kroo Tribal Ruler, has published a statement of policy in which, while he does not perhaps appreciate the full value of the work of his predecessor, he shows himself prepared to follow the same general principles. In education, he shows a tendency to go further, although himself illiterate, and besides appointing a superintendent of schools he intends to appoint a small clerical staff, and to arrange to elect a new committee. His own election, by 675 votes to 331, has led to a good deal of correspondence in local journals, his supporters saying that the complaints regarding the Government conduct of the election emanate from disgruntled headmen anxious to get the administration into their own hands in order to claim once those perquisites from the wages of the sea-going men which were stopped by the late Chief. It will be interesting to see whether Mr. Lewis's policy in education will lead, as he seems to expect, to the production of Kroomen of other than the sea-going type, but it is to be hoped that he will realise that the prosperity enjoyed by his people in the past has been due to their sane rejection of the temptation to give up a useful and profitable life at sea for more dubious prospects in overcrowded labour markets ashore.

An African Educationist.

To old Coasters who regarded the Krooboy as raw material for the preparation of ship labour or steward boys, it must come as a surprise to see that a reception was held in Lagos to a distinguished member of this tribe, Mr. Walo, a B.A. of Harvard and M.A. of Columbia, Director of Education of the M.E.Z. Mission in Liberia. Mr. Walo's visit to Lagos was necessitated by the ill-health of his wife, and he did not intend to take part in any public function, but it was impossible for the visit of a Liberian of his attainments to pass unnoticed. In his views of education, Mr. Walo follows the principles expressed by the two African Education Commissions, and is a firm advocate of racial co-operation. He believes in the cry of "Africa for the African," but in a sense very different from that of Marcus Garvey, for to him the African is anyone resident in Africa, and working for the betterment and uplift of his fellow-residents.

Past Attempts at Self-Help in Sierra Leone.

The work of the Agricultural Department always tends to keep before the minds of the people the fact that they might help themselves, until sometimes they feel that too much stress is laid upon the subject, and ask why prominent Africans, such as Mr. T. J. Sawyerr and Sir Samuel Lewis, who have attempted agriculture in the past, have usually failed. Probably the reason has been insufficient knowledge of the particular soil requirements of different crops, but the fact remains that past experience of agriculture offers little inducement to the people of the Colony to help themselves. In discussing another side of the question—that of shipping—the "Weekly News" gives two accounts of Africans whose attempts at self-help were foiled by the dishonesty of employees. In one case, Mr. H. Johnston, a local merchant, bought a captured slaver for his coasting trade. Before he could insure the vessel, he had to engage a European captain, who, after a dispute with his crew, landed them at Accra under a charge of mutiny, and, sailing for South America, was never heard of again. In another case, a merchant fitted out a vessel to go to England, but when she arrived back it was found she had only been to Dakar, whence, after the crew had had a good time, she returned and was reported unseaworthy. After such adventures, one can easily understand that African merchants ceased to desire to be shipowners, and that self-help in other directions has languished somewhat.

Agricultural Progress.

The last quarterly agricultural reports published by Mr. Dawes, the Directure of Agriculture, show every indication of continued progress in Sierra Leone. The rice problem is being handled so well that there is a prospect of the Southern Province producing an excess over local demands, although in the Northern Province it is impossible to say more than that there will not be more than the usual shortage, partly, however, because the weather was unfavourable during the earlier stages of planting. The cultivation of ginger is extending, especially in the north, where the people prefer it to cotton, and a yield of 1,000 cwt. is anticipated from these areas, where it is a new introduction. Cotton, cocoa, coffee, coconuts, and sisal have all been introduced in suitable areas, and generally appear to have made satisfactory progress. In the piassava trade of the south there was a complete stoppage for some weeks, owing to the producers demanding payment entirely in cash, instead of partly in cash and partly in goods, a sign of progress which, although the dissatisfaction has temporarily been settled by compromise, indicates that more modern trading methods will have to be introduced.

PAYING GUESTS.—Lady would take married couple or nurse in charge of one or two children in her well-furnished small house in Surrey (near Shere). Bathroom, large playroom, telephone, garage, garden, paddock (good kindergarten and junior school in village), from October for winter or longer by arrangement. Apply I.C., c/o Dunn's, 177, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.

Race Problem—1925

Africa.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

HOW HISTORY IS REPEATING ITSELF.

(Exclusively written for THE AFRICAN WORLD *by VERE STENT.)*

CAPE TOWN, September 22.

To sit, amidst the cool shades of Opposition, and watch the Government staggering in the fierce rays of sun criticism and caustic comment, must, I should take his eyes off the fascia, is one of the many compensations for loss of office.

So the South African Party sits to-day. The situation is fraught to make the sphinx laugh. We are to-day out of Africa comes always something new, but the inevitability with which our history repeats itself suggests that, after all, we, like the Earth itself, go round and round in politics, but never forward. Because we make history with immense rapidity, so, I suppose, our repetitions come oftener and within decades, rather than centuries, as happens in other countries. Fewer than fifteen years ago Mr. Hertzog was playing the perfervid patriot, whose love of "land en volk" would not permit him to accept office under the hated yoke of the conqueror, unless left free, even when in office, to work and organise for the avowed purpose of throwing off that yoke. This led, not to his resignation, but to his practical expulsion from the Cabinet. To all General Botha's adjurations to racial reconciliation; to all his speeches counselling moderation in all things, Hertzog had but one answer: a fiery diatribe on the rights of his own particular race and the wrongs done to it by the British. To have no truck with the enemy, to cast out all thoughts of race reconciliation as directly inspired by the Evil One himself, these were the texts of all his discourses.

What De Wet Said.

To aim at a Republic, and a Dutch-speaking Republic at that, and never, no never, under any circumstances, to bow down in the House of Rimon—these and other doctrines were condensed into a single sentence by General De Wet in his famous speech delivered from a heap of fertiliser in Princess Park, Pretoria, when he said "I had rather stand upon a dungheap with my own people than on the most glittering platform with strangers." Then and thus was the Nationalist Party born. That was thirteen years ago. To-day, office and power, and a closer knowledge of, and working with, the machinery of Empire, have opened the Premier's eyes. He thinks it would be a disaster to separate from the Empire, and during his recent tour he has foreshadowed a permanent rapprochement with the English-speaking citizens of the Dominion such as existed during the visit of the Prince.

But now arises a new perfervid patriot by the name of Tielman Roos, and, step for step, almost word for word, he is pursuing the policy that forced Botha into the hands of the Unionist Party, and must, if continued, force Hertzog into exactly the same position into which he once thrust Botha. Instantly comes the answer to any whisper, even, from the Premier of conciliation, any faint sign of weakening on the all-Dutch policy of the Nationalists. Loud and rang from the Transvaal Nationalists come the protestations. "Africa for the Afrikanders and for no one else." Poor Hertzog: unhappy Prime Minister. The break-up of his Ministry looms close upon him. Does he promise the natives representation in Parliament. Roos warns them they shall have it only over his dead body: does the Premier disapprove of the strike. Roos encourages the strikers: does the leader of the Nationalist Party in South Africa suggest a new flag, that shall please everybody, for the Dominion: instantly the Transvaal Nationalists insist that the new flag shall have about it no trace of "that stinking rag"—this is what the Prime Minister called the Union Jack in his unconverted days—to remind true Afrikanders of the Imperial connection. Oom Tielman shoots his darts without discrimination. He tells his Labour allies that if they try to "baas" the Nationalists they will be "kicked out" of the Cabinet. He insults the Transvaal Scottish Regiment by asserting that they are only good at shooting prisoners, and should be disarmed in favour of a backveld rifle corps. In the meanwhile a by-election is toward, the result of which will reach you before this letter. The "Pact" seem more concerned about it than the position warrants. They will almost certainly hold the seat. But if, after all the wild talk that has been indulged in, they should lose it, which I hold to be most unlikely, it will be a real disaster. To this extent Mr. Roos's tactics are unwise, from his own standpoint.

He is a man I know personally, and I am never able to reconcile his genial, tolerant and slightly cynical outlook upon life in private with his virulent speeches in public. Which is the real Roos? I have not yet discovered. Whether he is merely an actor on the platform, playing to tickle the ears of the groundlings, and, in reality, a broadminded, thinking man, or whether his tone in private life is a disguise, under which he conceals the uncompromising zeal and disregard of consequences—even though human lives be involved—of a Lenin, I must confess I am unable to decide.

The Great Psychiatrist.

Let's leave it to that great psychiatrist Old Father Time to psycho-analyse. Meanwhile, the Leader of the Opposition is roaring you as gently as any sucking dove.

Why interfere to stop the Government running down a steep slope into the sea, so long as there is no fear of their taking the country with them? These internal dissensions are an ideal way of getting rid of a Government.

Silence, then, and calm, beneath the coolth contemplation of the shades. To-morrow we may sit in the sun. Apart, then, from politics the country is undisturbed. The shipping strike only needs firm handling to collapse, and unless the Government handles it firmly very soon, the farmers will. Mr. Creswell, the Labour leader, has claimed a lot of credit for having persuaded the crew to take the "Roman Star" to sea; but I hear, from the best source, that if he had not interfered, the ship would have sailed long before it did. The fruitgrowers, though their secretary, Mr. Pare—a very able man—had already acquainted the crew with the peculiar circumstances of the case, and arrangements had been made which Mr. Creswell merely delayed. Only let meaties fall in price, which up to now they have not done—and the farmers will forget any race hate or pride in a common cause. We're none of us quite so obsessed with politics as to see our bumper crops ruined to make a Bolshevik holiday.

Kruger Memories.

Expecting, then, a happy issue out of this affliction, Cape Town busies itself about its carnival, while we up North, pursue the misery of bird hidden in the guise of platinum deposits and plant our other broad acres with cotton. Early rains have flooded the country, and ploughing should be easy and deep. The Labour Party in Johannesburg are quarrelling over the coming municipal elections. Every one is getting ready for the Kruger centenary, and, as the Dutch usurped so much of the attention of our Prince, we have attempted to get to windward of 'em by insisting on taking an enthusiastic part in their posthumus laudations of their last President. Poor old Kruger. The best friend the British Empire ever had. But for him there would have been no defence of Mons and—Quien Sabe?—we might to-day have all been Germans. Through Kruger the British Empire found itself in time and realised, too, the hopeless inefficiency of its Army. The lessons we taught the Germans at Mons were those we learnt from Kruger's burghers. God rest his soul, for a godly, honest, and well-meaning man; and for his mistakes—let the blame for those lie lightly on him.

The Basutoland COUNCIL.

The Twentieth Session.

31st AUGUST 1925.

The first matter which the Council discussed during the early part of the morning of the day was the remarks contained in the High Commission's message relative to the administration of justice in Native Courts. His Excellency indicated the desirability of further improvement in this respect.

Many Councillors expressed opinions on this matter but most of these speeches were mere excuses. Very few intelligent and constructive speeches were made. Almost three quarters of the Councillors being members of the various native Courts, one expected to hear something constructive from the various speakers.

The public is not looking forward for the Councillors excuses in this most important question affecting the common people so extremely that many are now more inclined to risk the chances of taking the law in their hands. These Councillors should know have studied, in their daily dealings with native cases in their respective courts, and known and be able to give reasons why people were not satisfied with their administrative principles and what caused the delay at their courts and how these defects could be overcome and the confidence of the people in their chiefs and courts restored. Even where an attempt in this respect was made, it was feebly done.

Chief Maphaela in giving reasons of the delay at their courts left the matter half-way. He said the chief cause of the delay was due to some of the delinquents not clearing the summons of the courts. He did not mention that these people have become so indifferent to the summons b cause the native courts in ninety nine summons out of hundred never kept their word respecting the dates they fixed for the hearing of the cases, and never take the trouble to explain to the deliquents why the court was not able to keep its promise. So the people have now seen that the chiefs' summons are deceptive documents. They seldom make a mistake with regard to Assistant Commissioners' summons, because they know that there there is truth.

However we are gratified with the chiefs' discretion on this matter They know that their courts were the source of the indifference to the summons and they therefore in the majority of cases, refrain from imposing punishment for this offence.

Chief Sekhonyana think appeals from their courts are unavoidable and that if there had been any court above the Supreme Court of Basutoland, the same thing would have been happening in respect to the latter court. It is a fact, if the latter court would be speculative as theirs have now come to be, the Basuto would lodge appeals against its decisions. The chiefs

fines have become too heavy and unreasonable as well as intolerable During Moshesh's regime and Letsie's I, Lerotholi's and Letsie II's the cow was the heaviest fine that could be imposed on an ordinary Mosotho excepting in rarest offences where one beast was exceeded To-day persons are fined almost in proportion to the number of words they spoke.

The Paramount Chief spoke very logically on this matter and frankly too. He admitted his negligence of duty in respect of chiefs who did not serve out his summons to the deliquents with their jurisdiction as he bade to. He should have summoned them before him to answer for this their demeanor but he did not do so, and as a result of that people were delayed at the courts.

He felt that many mistakes were made by Councillors drawing comparisons between the present and past times when Chief Moshoeshoe, Letsie I, Lerotholi ruled. There was great difference between those days and the present days There was great change in the people since then, effected by the influences of education for which Moshoeshoe was responsible for its introduction into the territory.

These are thoughtful arguments discerning the power of vision behind them They would be beneficial if they carried in practice, and there would be less of that resentful attitude towards the people and sweeping fines.

The next step was the discussion on burrweeds and other infectious weeds. So far as the debates showed there is no change in the condition of things, and we think the least said of it the better.

The Premier and Pondoland.

The position of European traders in Native reserves gives cause for much heart-burning among Native people in South Africa because while the Native is not allowed to enjoy individual possession, the trader is granted a title to the site of his store together with a large slice of ground. The Natives living under tribal conditions are liable to be removed from Crown Land at the pleasure of the Government, but the trader is immovable by reason of his individual title. The white man is actually favoured by preferential treatment in the so-called "colour bar" reserve, as against the indigenous black man On the contrary, in the white areas such as towns, the native, under the Urban Areas Act is not allowed any land ownership or security of tenure, but the same act gives freehold titles to all Europeans This aspect of territorial segregation is in sharp contrast to the smooth abstract theories propounded by the doctrinaire protagonists of segregation, such as Professor Edgar Brookes in his great book "The History of Native Policy in South Africa." General Hertzog at Flagstaff a month ago said:

> "It would be wrong to take these rights away [the title of traders to their sites] and he thought it would hardly be in the interests of the Pondo people if they were left without traders . . The experience of the white man had taught that, unless registered title deeds were given, there were frequent causes of quarrel" Yes, but why should this legislative butcher-axe cut only against the black man and favour the white each way? We do not understand the justice of the white man having it both ways

Replying on the request for Natives to act as jurymen he said "he would only be too glad if the Pondos were ripe for taking this task upon themselves, for the moment he was satisfied that they were not capable of taking this task upon themselves, he would only be too glad to have the task entrusted to them."

Here is one more instance, if any were needed, to demonstrate that politics is a mere game For not more than six days after these soothing words were uttered, the Premier made the acquaintance of a section of Natives civilised enough in his estimate to undertake self government; but in their case he was not in a position to recommend that they have their own juries, or their own Civil Service, much less any pretence at self-government. We may pardonably ask, what is the perplexed thinking Native really to believe?

Cooperation for Africa and Africans.

One of the most suggestive and valuable sections of the Phelps—Stokes Education Report is that devoted to Cooperation. It says the Union of South Africa is far and away the most interesting and significant field of possible cooperation in all Africa. In some respects its potentialities are more real and arresting than those of even such great colonial peoples as those of Great Britain and France. That a million and three quarters, people of Dutch, British and other European stocks now inhabit and control the most potent part of all Africa is stupendous in its meaning. The only possible obstacle to discourage or deter South African influence in all Africa may be a too limited vision of human rights and possibilities. There are some indications that the seeds of her failure in grasping the remarkable opportunities offered to her are in the little selfishness of racial and class prejudices. If South Africans can surmount the narrow appeals of class and race, if they can believe that the differentiation of race should be the basis of respect rather than of hatred, they will realise their destiny and become a determinant of far—reaching significance not only to Africa but possibly to the vital cooperations that must ultimately develop between the Occident and Orient. There are the African masses, and there must be increasingly the African leadership. Native masses and Native leadership are the essential complements of African society. White leadership is a help, and an essential help, but it can never take the place of Native leadership. The inconsistency of Europeans is never more apparent than in their advocacy of racial segregation and the same time their denial of facilities for the training of Native leaders Sound policy acquires the sincere cooperation of both white and native leadership supplementing each other for colonial welfare. The report then proceeds to elucidate the diverse forms of cooperation, namely, Goverament inter departmental cooperation: Native Councils [e.g. Transkei]; Missions Native Welfare Associations; and so forth.

The success of the Joint Native Councils in South Africa is possibly the most substantial evidence of present value and potentialities of local meetings and conferences for mutual exchange of feeling and ideas. The almost dramatic realisation of interracial exchange is decribed by Dr Loram in his Preface to a Report of a Conference of Bantu and Europeans held under the anspices of the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa

POSER FOR BASUTOS.

The suggestion of the High Commissioner that there should be a reduction in the number of herds in Basutoland has created something approaching consternation among the Basutos. The idea presents an almost insurmountable difficulty to the natives who have always reckoned their wealth in cattle, and, apart from questions of food and transport, it is argued that taxes, fines, and dowries are always paid in livestock, and that one good beast, worth, say, ten inferior ones, would not be accepted in place of ten in the case of a dowry. Numerous other reasons are urged in opposition to the proposal, which is not surprising, as it is contrary to both trading methods and prejudices of this semi-civilised race. The matter has been considered by the Basuto National Council, and the Paramount Chief has requested that reduction, if decided on, should be allowed to come about slowly so that his people may be educated up to matters connected with the investment of money.

WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—I read with astonishment the letter of Mr. C. D. Hotobah During in your last issue, on West African Students in England.

In my humble opinion, Mr During has no need to remind West African students what they have left home to accomplish. Every West African student is doing his best to accomplish within the prescribed time the project for which he has left home, and many have done credit to West Africa by gaining honours.

The difference between Mr. During and the student is that the student thinks he is here for educational purposes, and that his education should not be limited to his specific profession. He is here to gain and assimilate the better part of Western civilisation.

The West African students aim at progress and for the accomplishment of that aim have thought fit to bring together within one union students from all West Africa, and so start to bridge the distrust and non-confidence which have existed between the peoples of the four Colonies. The students aim at producing one West Africa and not four West African Colonies and have therefore started with themselves the future leaders.

No one will deny the fact that many students are kept up here by their parents, but, Mr. Editor, students are sent here not on a selfish aim, only to be professionals, and then return home to trade on the ignorance of their people, but in a greater cause, the betterment of their country; further, Mr. During ought to know that the majority of West African students in England at present are self-made men, who have had varied experiences of life both in the Civil Services of the four Colonies and in the commercial world.

Mr. During should make himself explicit. Is he for or against the formation of a West African Students' Union?

Is Mr. During not aware of the fact that in every civilised country there exist unions of students? Is he not aware that in England one finds students' unions of nearly all countries, helped by their own people—the Indian Students' Union, the Ceylonese Students' Union, etc?

The West African students have thought it fitting that, instead of wasting their leisure hours in roaming about London streets, a West African Students' Union should be formed, whereby closer contact could be made between the students and discussions of healthy problems of West Africa as a whole, so that on their return they will not only be men of learning, but men with the sense of duty, a credit to their country, gaining the respect of all.

Mr. During will be surprised to know that a hall has been put at our disposal for meetings by well-wishers of West Africa.

Let Mr. During come forward with constructive, and not destructive criticisms; let him show to the West African world that it is a disgrace that in England you find no hostel or reading-room for West African students. Then, and not till then, will West African students listen to him.

Yours truly,
OYE KAN DURING.

London, October 20.

Race Problem — 1925.
Africa.

BLACK AND WHITE.

OUR SOUTH African correspondent reports this week that "the Nationalist-Labour Government seems bent on goading the natives to desperation," and relates more examples of the injustice and tyranny which have been courageously persistently denounced by the South African Church. There is every reason why the future of South Africa should be cause for anxiety. It is evident that European and African are dividing into hostile camps and that tension and dislike are growing from day to day. The problem in South Africa has its origin far back in history, and its dimensions increase automatically with the passing of time. It is the whole question of the relation of the back and white races in an important section of the habitable globe. The future of the colour conflict in the Union of South Africa may decide the fate of all the country south of the Zimbesi, including Rhodesia and South-West Africa.

This is not a matter that can be settled simply on the merits of the farmers' vote or by manoeuvres of the political parties of to-day. The inexorable logic of the census figures shows that the real urge of the problem lies in the growth of forces which no politician can control, and since they are irresistible he must readjust his attitude towards them if he would avoid catastrophe. But to do this requires, not from the politicians only but from the European population, the power to take wide views and the courage to break down ingrained prejudice. The European population, trained from infancy to look upon the lower grades of labour as beneath the dignity of the dominant white man, see with disquiet the growth of a large and increasing population of "poor whites "unemployed and unemployable Europeans who sink to a condition of degradation. On the other hand, the native African is rapidly outgrowing the childhood of his race. He is becoming educated and race-conscious. He cannot for ever be kept down in the position of a hewer of wood and drawer of water whose political freedom is held on sufferance at the white man's will.

This is the real South African problem, and it is one which must become more insistent during the next century than it is to-day. What is done now may decide for good or ill the future destiny of Africa as a white man's home.

South Africa cries out for labour in order to develop her potential riches, which are vast, if costly to gather in. Indirect methods of forcing cheap native labour by seizing native land and giving the African the choice of working for the white man or starvation can only transform a law-abiding folk into ferocious fighters. At present we may be strong enough to face the prospect without apprehension, but even apart from Christian motives prudence suggests that it would cost far more to annihilate the Bantu than to civilize him. The Christian point of view is admirably expressed by the Bishop of Bloemfontein in his New Year's message.

"What does Christ want done with the native? Quite clearly the native is a child of God: redeemed by the Blood of Christ: loved by God as He loves the poor always. And the natives are our 'poor' in Africa, the poor to whom the Gospel is preached, and the poor who hear the gospel

"White civilization should hold them as a trust: to be treated with justice, firmness, courteousness; as it is, I say whithout any fear of contradiction that the natives do not get justice in South Africa (as a very prominent and fervent Nationalist told me last month), and that even to-day the bastards of native —and coloured women by white fathers are a standing disgrace to the whole community.

"The abuse and ill-treatment of natives, by men who the next day beget bastard children off those same abused natives, makes me sick with rage. Our conversion to Christ must make us missionaries as well as holy men and women. Let no Christian ever dare to say that natives are out-side the full privileges of the Church of God.

The real answer to the whole question is supplied by Christianity, and the Catholic Church is taking a strong hold on the Bantu, as we were reminded recently by the ordination of several native priests by the Bishop of Bloemfontein. The Faith has proved its power to solve many desperate problems in past history. We do not say that this particular difficulty is an old one, for history never sets man the same problems twice. It may yet prove to be a harder one than we have ever met before. Let the Gospel be given a fair trial, remembering that Christianity involves the possession not only of the Spirit of Christ but of His Body, and that, in the corporate fellowship which is the Catholic Church, even race-barriers may be transcended. Above all, let us bear in mind the happy possibility that the African may turn out to be not a worse but a better Christian than the Englishman. This will take time and patience, but it is the one way; Christ is more powerful than our Imperialisms

Agricultural SHOW
Tejatejaneng.

— X —

Report By the President

The Annual Show was held at Teyateyaneng on Saturday May 2nd and was very well attended. It was feared that with the abnormally wet weather the exhibits of mealies and grain would suffer but go the surprise of the Judges the reverse was the case and will be seen from Mr Wacher's report given below he was agreeably surprised.

The horse section which in past years has been a great attraction seems to show a falling off in numbers and quality and the amount of money spent by the Government and interest shown by the Veterinary Department do not appear to have had the effect which might reasonably be expected in a Territory noted in past years for its breed of ponies. Mr Verney's report is given below.

The Sheep and Goats exhibited were unfortunately few in number and only medium quality—This is to be regretted in view of the increasing importance of wool and mohair to the Basuto whose flocks now that they are being properly dipped and cleansed should improve greatly There is of course something to be said for the district resident who has fa to drive his sheep or goats to the Show but we hope that by increasing the value of the prizes in these Classes to make it worth while to bring sheep and goats in from the district and make this a permanent feature of the show.

The Curios and Industrial Exhibits were particularly good and deserve greater encouragement at future Shows as it is very important that the Basuto should develop their gifts in this direction.—More prizes will have to be given and the classes increased at the next Show.

The Poultry Section was up to the average but there is of course no attempt at breeding on scientific lines although a good living might be made by any Mosuto who took the trouble to supply the market with poultry and fresh eggs.

The Cattle Classes were quite up to the average but here again there is no market for Basuto cattle and no attempt at breeding up so that there is very little change from year and year.

On the whole the Show was a great success and sufficiently encouraging to make the organizers wish to improve on it next year so that the Teyateyaneng Show may in time to come take its place as one of the big events in the district and Territory at which the Basuto can learn how to improve their methods in agriculture and breeding stock. Our thanks are due to the various judges both European and Native and the Native Committee who organized the Show and assisted in carrying out the work on the day itself. The Reports of Messrs

Native Women In The Towns.

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL OF EUROPEANS AND NATIVES AFTER CONSULTATION WITH NATIVE WELFARE SOCIETIES, NATIVE CHIEFS, AND NATIVE Organisations

(continued.)

(b) No Railway ticket should be issued to a Native woman or girl unless the forgoing certificate is first deposited with the issuing officer;

(c) No Native woman whose husband or guardian accompanies her should be required to secure the said certificate

(c) Machinery should be created wnereby parents or guardians may be assisted by the Native Affairs Department to secure the return to their homes of Native women and girls who have left home without their permission, or whom they wish to have returned

3. Government should open Record Office at the offices of the Sub-native Commissioners and Magistrates in the Union for Native women and girls intending to proceed to urban or proclaimed areas for work, such Native Record Offices to circularise all Native Hostels and Rest Houses in such urban or proclaimed areas with full names and particulars of women and girls seeking work, and also to ascertain the availability of accom-

within the jurisdiction of any urban local authority a Board consisting of an equal number of Europeans and Natives.

7. (a) All Native women and girls seeking work should report at the Rest House or Record Office.

(b) All Native women and girls entering an urban or proclaimed area or residing with their parents, husbands or approved friends, should apply to the Hostel or Rest House if employment is desired. Such application to be made in person or in writing.

8. No Employer should employ any Native female servants otherwise than through Native Hostels or Record Offices under a written agreement of service to be registered and filed. No Native woman or girl should be required to carry any copy of an agreement of service.

9. After some date to be fixed, no Hostel or Record Office should allow an agreement of service to be registered in respect of women and girls not residing in Hostels or in a location unless suitable accommodation is provided on the premises of the Employer and approved by the Board.

modation in hostels or rest houses.

4. Hostels and Rest houses for Native women and girls should be established within reasonable distances of places of work and / or in the locations or Native villages. The Staff of such hostels and rest houses to consist, as far as possible of women officials, both European and Native.

5. Private hostels or Rest houses should be permitted to continue after obtaining Government recognition, and if they are willing to carry on their work in accordance with the regulations laid down for the management of such institutions. (Urban Areas Act, Section 5 (g).

6. For the proper control of Hostels and Rest Houses, it is desirable that there be appointed

THE FORM AND THE SPIRIT.

West Africa 6/12/25.

In every part of Africa internal conditions and relationships with European countries are changing rapidly and markedly. There is at this moment not one European nation with direct responsibilities in Africa but is either having armed trouble with sections of the Africans or is feeling the necessity to review and reconsider its political position in Africa—France, Great Britain, Portugal, Belgium, Spain, the Union of South Africa. Every one of them is faced with the necessity for modification more or less far-reaching.

The modification announced by our own Colonial Office during the last few days is a modest one. It is not necessarily less wise and useful because it is modest. The relatively slight character of the change may be due to the fact that our own system is in less need of overhaul than are others. We hope it is not vainglorious in us to think that on the whole this is so. In order that readers in Africa may be assisted to realise what the change amounts to in form, we give textually the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, in announcing it :—

> The Government have come to the conclusion that the existing organisation of the Colonial Office is no longer in corresondence with the actual constitutional position in the Empire, and is inadequate to the extent and variety of the work thrown on it.
>
> It fails, more particularly, to give sufficiently clear recognition to the profound difference between the work of communication and consultation with the self-governing partner nations of the British Commonwealth and the administrative work of controlling and developing the Colonies and Protectorates, for whose welfare this House is directly responsible.
>
> The following changes are therefore proposed : The conduct of affairs with the Dominions will be under a separate new Secretaryship of State for Dominion Affairs, with its own Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, who will also act as Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee and Permanent Under-Secretary of State.
>
> For reasons of practical convenience the new Secretaryship of State will continue to be vested in the same person as the holder of the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies, and the Department of Dominion Affairs will continue to be housed in the Colonial Office.

That is what the change is in form, but it would be a mistakes to conclude that the official statement tells all that could be said. The British are slow to change their forms. They often keep the form long after the substance has changed. They do not like to alter the form of a thing unless that form is recognised by them to be misleading, perhaps harmful. That dislike of change is one of the strong and sometimes one of the weak points in the racial make-up. We cannot say, from the standpoint of the African tropical Colonies and Protectorates, that we consider that the change made goes far enough, either in form or substance. We hold earnestly that the Crown Colonies and Dependencies make up a part of the Empire so important that they should have a member of the Cabinet to look after their special needs. Who will argue that these countries in the aggregate are not at least as important as India, which has a member of the Cabinet to itself?

Also, it is possible, we incline to think probable, that the change is made more to meet the wishes of the Dominions than those of the Dependencies. Nevertheless, the Dependencies stand to gain, we believe will gain, materially by the change, first because, as Mr. Amery has since explained, it will leave the Colonial Secretary or either of his Under Secretaries more free to visit the Colonies and Dominions, and, secondly, because, as we learn on good authority, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the present Under-Secretary will be concerned particularly with the business of the Crown Colonies. Of course, Mr. Ormsby-Gore cannot be in his present post for ever; but he and his predecessor, Mr. Wood, have asserted principles and established methods from which we do not believe their successors will be able to recede. On the contrary, we believe the successors will have to develop further.

We need, however, not merely a change of form but a new attitude. Perhaps a better way of putting it is to say we need firm adoption and assertion of an attitude which the facts have forced us gradually to adopt. We will try to state that attitude by saying that it is summed up in the broad position that the Dominions are places predominantly for our European Empire-stock and the Dependencies predominantly for our non-European stock. Grasping and acting upon that truth firmly and consistently, we should whenever desirable re-iterate Sir F. D. Lugard and Sir Hugh Clifford's policy in assuring the people of British West Africa that their lands are theirs, for ever, and that we wish only to assist them, by scientific research, clean government, and institutions for agricultural credit and other branches of development, to make the very most of their lands, by which means, intelligently and consistently pursued, we are confident the result of increased production rightly urged by Lord Kylsant in his speech last week can be reached. We should in our dealings with Union Governments keep at the back of our heads the fact that European Africa is and ever will be a small—possibly a lessening—island in African Africa, and that the Last Continent is and will be in the main the country of the Africans; the African members of the Empire. We should not hide our conviction that the Europeans settled in, at the most 10 or 15 per cent. of East Africa, which will ever do for European settlement, would be much wiser in their own interests to transfer themselves to South Africa or Australia or New Zealand or Canada, because as time goes on the East African aboriginal races are bound to become producers on their own account, as the West Africans are, and will be less and less available as wage-labourers. And in London—what will seem trifles to many, but not to those of the subject race—we should in official documents refer to sections of Africans as Africans or as this or that race of Africans, and not lump them together as "natives," as if all were at the same stage. And if a London theatre-manager allowed players to refer from his stage to British Africans by impudent and insulting epithets we should warn him to change his language or forego his licence. Acting in such a spirit towards the Native Africans we should make our trade with them flourish to the greatest extent of which it is capable, and if the supreme test came again, as it came in 1914, we should find to our credit a store of warm-hearted loyalty and affection upon which we could repose as on a great rock.

The Agricultural Bank.

The appointment of an official as paid secretary Gold Coast Agricultural Society has led the "I dent" to suggest that Government should raise i sent grant of £1,000 to permit the employment of time organising secretary, whose first duty would to increase the membership that the Sociey could claim to represent the views of the agriculturists could then ascertain the actual need for an agricult bank, and could gauge what financial support might be founded. At present, there is a widely-e pressed desire for such a useful institution, but, no unnaturally, the loudest call is from those needing loans, and with the involved systems of credit in Gold Coast agriculture and the cocoa trade, it is difficult to estimate what contributory share in such a scheme would be borne by the farmers themselves. Until the proportion can be ascertained it is unlikely that Government could be prevailed upon to grant financial support, as Sir Gordon Guggisberg has made clear by several speeches. The problem is not, as is often claimed at the Gold Coast, on all fours with that of Trinidad and other West Indian islands, as, in the absence of agricultural plant, the basis of credit is the land, which is held on a tenure, the peculiar nature of which must be provided for.

Race Problem - 1925. I.
Africa.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE CURSE OF RACIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(From the "Observer.")

The Union Parliament met again last Friday, and will continue, with a brief Easter recess, until July. There is every prospect of a very lively session, and the Hertzog Government, for the first time since its election, will really come to close grips with the Opposition and be forced to disclose its hand. The Electoral Bill and the Naturalisation Bill will inevitably let loose again all the old racial passions. I confess, on the threshold of this important new session, to the fear that we shall see a recrudescence of the racialism which has been the curse of South Africa for so many years past. Botha lived and died for his "policy of conciliation," and Smuts has continued his work, and, in the creation of the South African Party, given tangible proofs of his sincerity. After all is said, the South African Party still stands as the one party that can unite the best elements of both Dutch and English, as against the extremists, whose zeal makes them both mischievous and dangerous. 2-21-25

Unfortunately, it is not the Dutch "backvelder" alone who is to blame. He is irreconcilable, and he is violently prejudiced. He still thinks the South African Dutch are the "Israelites" and the English the wicked "Canaanites" and the oppressors of the "Chosen People." The success of his party, too, has stimulated his activities. There is no doubt about the spirit in which the new Government is opening the session. It is best to indulge no illusions. Hertzog has a compact and substantial majority. As a working combination, the Pact is holding together remarkably well. Those who are hoping for a cleavage between Hertzog and his Labour supporters have little to encourage them. Tielman Roos and Colin Steyn have been particularly conspicuous in their support of the Labour Party, and Roos has gone so far as to say that a Nationalist Government without the inclusion of Labour is unthinkable. The Government, as all the present indications point, is clearly capable of holding its own, and it can rely on the whole-hearted support of its following. The present temper of the electorate, too, is in its favour. The mass of the people are quite content to give the Government a fair run and to see if it fulfils its promise to put the country on a better social and economic footing. For the moment Smuts has little opportunity. Tielman Roos is Deputy Prime Minister, and a pushful, ambitious man. There is a certain incompatibility between him and his chief. While Hertzog has been quiet since his election, Roos has been very active, and he has kindled the enthusiasm of the younger and Republican Dutch. The stage is apparently set for a great duel between Hertzog and Smuts, but I am inclined to think that the real fight will be between Roos and the ex-Premier.

NEW ABYSSINIAN COMPANY.

East Africa

THE Abyssinian Produce Co., Ltd., has been registered as a private company with a nominal capital of £20,000 in shares of £1 each. The objects are, *inter alia*, to acquire the businesses of produce buyers, importers and exporters, and merchants carried on by Noel Webster at 83, Cannon Street, E.C., as N.Webster and Sons, and the similar business carried on by Colonel D. A. Sandford at Addis Ababa, Abyssinia, and elsewhere; to carry on, develop, and extend the businesses in Abyssinia and elsewhere of buyers and exporters of and dealers in hides, skins, coffee, wax, wool, mohair, horns, and generally all kinds of Abyssinian and other produce, and to carry on in Europe, Abyssinia and elsewhere in Africa the businesses of shippers and importers of all kinds of machinery and merchandise, fellmongers, cleaners, scourers, wool brokers, pressers, warehousemen, carriers, forwarding agents, shipowners, &c. Feb. 19, 1925

The first directors are: C. A. Chidell (director of African Produce Co., Ltd.); A. Moulsdale, hide merchant; Colonel D. A. Sandford, Addis Ababa, Abyssinia, hide exporter; H. W. Chadwick, 21, Beechcroft Mansions, Streatham, S.W., hide broker. Colonel D. A. Sandford may retain office as director so long as he holds the office of general manager in Abyssinia and holds £2.000 shares.

HALF MILLION COMPANY FOR COTTON GROWING.

East Africa

COTTON PLANTATIONS, LTD., which has offered for subscription at par 500,000 shares of 10s. each, half of its total authorized capital of £500,000, is a company formed to acquire cotton plantations or land suitable for cotton cultivation.

It is first proposed to acquire a purchase option held by the East African Cotton Syndicate, Ltd., over a 7,150-acre estate in Swaziland and a 15,000-acre estate named Changalane in Portuguese East Africa and near the border of Swaziland. In both cases it is considered by Major W. H. Charter, who reported on the properties, that cotton should be produced at less than 8d. per lb., inclusive of shipping, agency and brokerage charges at Liverpool. An option on the Domira Bay concession of Nyasaland is also to be acquired from Major Pratt-Barlow, who states that cotton from it can be placed on the Liverpool market at 7d. per lb. in a normal season. Labour is stated to be plentiful. Major Pratt-Barlow has received £500 for the option, which gives the right of purchase at £7,500 in cash and 20% of the capital of a new company which it is proposed to form to develop the estate

GOLD COAST AGRICULTURE.

THE importance rightly assigned to agriculture at the Gold Coast is shown by the fact that the only vacancy in the establishment is that of botanist, the total personnel being 27 Europeans, 44 Africans, and 2 Cingalese. The record cocoa crop, and the sisal production, have already received full notice in WEST AFRICA, and Lieut.-Col. Ogilvy, the Acting Director of Agriculture, has little to add to what has been said, but progress is being made with other crops. The communal coconut plantations in the three provinces contain 35,000 palms, and in the Western Province the ground has been successfully inter-cropped with ground-nuts, for which there is a strong local demand. The important problem of greater food production is being studied, the cultivation of rice is being encouraged, and experiments are in progress regarding the rotation of crops and the best times for planting. Sustained effort is being made to stop the felling of palms for wine, but the Acting Director is pessimistic, for experiments in tapping standing palms resulted in poorer yields, while despite care several of the trees died. Until palm-wine ceases to attract, therefore, the best plan appears to be to encourage replanting, in which a few Chiefs have shown a real interest, and to continue the demonstration plots established in each province.

West Africa

The Agricultural Department is busy with cotton, coffee, tobacco, lime-juice, and the production of power alcohol from maize and cassava, but either experiments were not sufficiently far advanced, or the cost of production was too high, for much progress to be registered. A surprising revival occurred in the export of rubber, which rose from 15,282 lbs. in 1922-3 to 364,644 lbs. in 1923-4, but Col. Ogilvy regards it as of little permanent importance. Observations of the effects of fire on the shea-butter yield in the Northern Territories showed that a delay of a fortnight in burning the grass reduced the average number of nuts by 70 per cent., while on an unburned "control" patch the yield was six times that of the better of the two burned patches. Since fires are at present unavoidable, it is obvious that, as the Nigerian Forestry Department has found, early burning at least minimises the damage. 2-21-25

The instructional work of the Department has been carried out as usual, and the Agricultural Society has been steadily gaining ground. The new agricultural training centre at Kumasi contained 31 pupils, who spent half their time in practical work. The building of "Cadbury Hall" was started with the aid of Messrs. Cadbury's generous gift, and will in due course afford the nucleus of an agricultural college. Two vacation courses for school teachers were held, with an attendance of 75 per course, but only 55 certificates were awarded. To further education regarding pests, a number of posters in colour have been prepared, and will be issued during 1924-5. The number of plants distributed during the year was 66,000, of which about one-third were for ornamental purposes, while a considerable quantity of seeds was issued, auguring well for a more varied range of products in the future. Detailed reports by the specialist officers of the Department are attached to the main report, and in one of them the Chemist makes the wise suggestion that such officers should tour annually and confer with the Superintendents, as without an exchange of views laboratory work tends to neglect economic problems for academic questions. Thus with cocoa, he thinks that instead of attempting the "impossible task" of improving the quality, work should be directed towards producing a uniform grade.

PRESIDENT KING'S VISIT.

(Exclusive Cable to the "African World.")

FREETOWN, Thursday, January 29.

His Excellency President C. D. B. King of Liberia, accompanied by Mrs. King and suite, arrived at Freetown on Thursday last by H.M. cruiser "Dublin" at 3 p.m. They landed at 3.30, a salute of twenty-one guns being fired by the cruiser "Dublin" and the gunboat "Dwarf." The distinguished visitors were received by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Ransford Slater, who presented all the members of the Legislative Council as well as the Naval, Military and Civil officials. The party drove through Wharf Street amongst cheering crowds, with unbounded enthusiasm prevailing. An official dinner, followed by a reception and ball, was given at Government House. In a very cordial speech, Sir Ransford Slater referred to the continued amity between Great Britain and the Republic of Liberia. He warmly congratulated President King on the improvement in the finance of his country, the reforms he had effected, and on his projected progressive policy, as well as his successful administration. He urged that in addition to the existing goodwill and sympathy, mutual respect and trust would be so enhanced as to tend to abiding prosperity being ensured. President King responded suitably in a highly appreciated speech.

On the 23rd and 24th, dinner parties were given at Government House, followed by a Civil reception, garden party, cinema entertainment and dance, many social and special entertainments, including a reception at the Grammar School. The President received a deputation of the Kru community, and attended a banquet and dance given by the Masonic Fraternity, the visit concluding by festivities at Murray Town, President King's ancestral home, where addresses were presented.

The Colonial Secretary lunched with President and Mrs. King, who also received the Hon. Mrs. Cornelius May, Mayoress of Freetown, on behalf of the ladies of Sierra Leone, who presented a souvenir. Mrs. King addressed the Girl Guides of Sierra Leone, being herself the Chief Guide of Liberia. On the 25th President King and his party left for the Liberian frontier by the Sierra Leone railway, via Bo and Pendembu on the northern border, whence he telegraphed his warmest appreciation to the Governor and Lady Slater for warm official and personal reception and cordial welcome he had received from the community, as well as for all arrangements that had made the visit for himself and his party a most delightful and unforgettable experience.

Full Programme of the Visit.

By the time these lines appear the distinguished President of the Liberian Republic will have left the soil of Sierra Leone on his trek through the hinterland, after an interesting and significant visit, special cabled description of which appears above. Meanwhile, the following draft programme for His Excellency's visit is gazetted in the mail just to hand:—

Thursday, January 22.—5 p.m., arrival in H.M.S. "Dublin"; presentation at wharf of Legislative Council, Bishops, Heads of Departments (Naval, Military, and Civil), Guard of Honour; if time, drive round Freetown; official dinner at Government House

Friday, January 23.—10 a.m., Civic Welcome by Mayor and Corporation, Wilberforce Hall; 11.30 a.m., presentation of address by Kru Community at Kru Court House; 1 p.m., lunch at Government House; 4 p.m., "At Home" (and presentation of address at C.M.S. Grammar School by old boys and present pupils); 8 p.m., dinner at Government House.

Saturday, January 24.—10 a.m., visit to Murray Town and any Government or other institutions that His Excellency may wish to see; 1 p.m., lunch with Colonial Secretary at Hill Station; 4 p.m., civic garden party in Victoria Park; 8 p.m., dinner at Government House.

Sunday, January 25.—Departure for Bo.

Monday, January 26.—7.30 a.m., inspect Bo School; 10 a.m., depart Bo; pick up escort of W.A.F.F. at Daru; arrive Pendembu.

UGANDA COTTON CROP.

The exports of cotton from Uganda during 1923 amounted to 88,046 bales, of which the 1922-23 crop furnished, roughly, 85,000 bales. The 1923-24 crop is officially estimated at 130,000 bales at least. Colonel W. H. Frankish, Trade Commissioner in East Africa, says that this increase is largely due to the increased acreage planted, but contributing factors were the higher yield of seed cotton per acre and a better percentage of lint per unit of seed cotton. Of the 1923-24 crop, it is estimated that some 35,000 bales have been bought in either Uganda or Bombay for consignment to Japan, the reason of the increased consumption by that country apparently being the relatively cheaper price of Uganda cotton than Egyptian in comparison with American.

The acreage planted for the 1924-25 crop shows a large expansion over previous figures, and, with favourable conditions, is estimated to produce some 160,000 bales or more; but a failure of the later rains, or rain when the crop is ripening, might largely reduce this estimate. Nevertheless, the prospect is bright for further large extension of the crop, which has grown from fifty bales in 1904-05 to its present dimensions.

Nigeria.

Railway Earnings.

The traffic receipts of the Nigerian Railway for the week ended December 20 were £51,523, and for the week ended December 27, £43,432, making a total to date of £1,384,037 for the current financial year.

The Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council was prorogued by proclamation of His Excellency the Governor dated January 14. A further proclamation appointed Friday, February 6, for the third session of the Council.

The Prince of Wales' Cup.

At a meeting of the Lagos Race Club in mail week it was announced that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had graciously consented to visit the race meeting on April 7 next and to the presentation of a Prince of Wales' Cup by H.E. the Governor. A provisional programme for the meeting was drawn up and approved.

The Plague Again.

Those who hoped that the removal of the quarantine restrictions at Lagos on December 29 marked the final disappearance of the scourge were unfortunately, too sanguine. Several fresh cases were notified only a few days later, and the scheduled areas were again placed under quarantine on January 10. There is, however, no cause for anxiety at present.

New Lieutenant-Governors.

Commissions have been issued by H.E. the Governor nominating Lieut.-Colonel Francis Jenkins, C.M.G., to act as Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces and Administrator of the Colony, and Mr. Herbert Richmond Palmer, C.M.G., C.B.E. to act as Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces. The latter gentleman succeeds Mr. W. F. Gowers, C.M.G., who was recently appointed Governor of Uganda.

Next Year's Expenditure.

The schedule attached to the ordinance making provision for the service of the colony for the administrative year ending March 31, 1926, shows a total of £6,477,269 granted to meet expenditure for that year. This sum is apportioned as follows:—Nigerian Department, £5,242,686; Northern Provinces, £391,771; Southern Provinces and Colony, £842,812. The figure for Nigerian Departments includes £1,057,693 Public Debt charges, and £1,017,503 for the Nigerian Railway.

Lord Leverhulme at Government House.

The Right Hon. Viscount Leverhulme, whose arrival at Lagos was reported in our last issue, called on H.E. the Governor at Government House on January 9, accompanied by Mr. Hyslop Bell, Mr. D'Arcy Cooper, and Mr. N. D. Maidman. On the following evening His Excellency entertained Lord Leverhulme and party to dinner, the guests including the Honourables the Chief Secretary, the Lieutenant-Governor, Southern Provinces; the Attorney-General, Treasurer, Director of Marines, Comptroller of Customs, Deputy Chief Secretary and Resident of the Colony. The dinner was followed by a dance, to which about sixty guests were invited. Lord Leverhulme and party left Lagos for their up-country tour on January 15.

French Governor's Visit.

His Excellency M. Marchand, Governor of the French Cameroons, arrived at Lagos by the s.s. "Hoggar" on December 27, attended by his Chef-de-Cabinet. He was met on arrival by the French Consul and H.E. the Governor's Aide-de-Camp and conducted to Government House, where he was received by His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford. His Excellency gave a luncheon party in honour of M. Marchand. The following guests were invited:—The Honourables the Acting Chief Secretary, the Lieutenant-Governor, Southern Provinces; the Director of Marine and Mrs. Hughes, the Consul for the Netherlands and Mrs. Fontein, Lieut.-Colonel T. G. Burney, M.C., and Mrs. Burney, Captain F. W. Garvey, and Mr. and Mrs. Pomery.

His Excellency, accompanied by the Governor of the French Cameroons, afterwards attended the Lagos Races, driving up the course. M. Marchand left the same afternoon by the s.s. "Hoggar," on which he was returning to France.

Sierra Leone.

PRESIDENT KING'S VISIT.

A Memorable Demonstration of Anglo-Liberian Friendship.

(Special Despatch to "The African World.")

FREETOWN, January 30.

The President of Liberia and Mrs. King have passed through Sierra Leone on their way to the hinterland of Liberia. They were accompanied by Mrs. Grimes, Lady-in-Waiting to Mrs. King; the Hon. J. L. Morris, Secretary for the Interior; the Hon. Dr. B. W. Payne, Secretary for Education; Major Moody Staton, Commandant of the Liberian Frontier Force; Mr. T. O. King and Master King, sons of the President; Mrs. Barclay, the President's mother-in-law and wife of ex-President Barclay; and Lieut. Colonel Davies, A.D.C. to the President. H.M.S. "Dublin" conveyed the President, Mrs. King, Mrs. Grimes, and the A.D.C. from Monrovia to Freetown. The rest of the party came one day ahead on the "Abinsi."

H.M.S. "Dublin" arrived on January 22, and His Excellency the Governor went on board at 5 p.m. to welcome the President and to bring him ashore. On landing, the President and his party and the Governor were met by the Hon. Colonel-Commandant G. T. Mair, C.M.G., D.S.O., Officer Commanding the Troops, and the Hon. H. C. Luke, Colonial Secretary. The West African Regiment furnished a guard of honour, and the regimental band played the Liberian National Anthem as the Royal Salute was given. After the inspection of the Guard of Honour, members of the Legislative Council, the Bishop of Amastri and Archdeacon Wilson, heads of military and civil departments, and a few others, were introduced to the President and Mrs. King. There followed a drive through some of the principal streets of Freetown, the President receiving a great ovation from dense crowds lining the route of procession. Government House was reached at 6 o'clock, when Lady Slater welcomed her guests at the entrance.

The Governor and Lady Slater gave a banquet, followed by a reception and ball, to which over two hundred guests were invited.

Many Notable Functions.

On the following day the President and Mrs. King were given an address of welcome by the Mayor and Councillors of Freetown. This was followed by a visit to the Kru Court House, where the Kru community gave an address of welcome and presented Mrs. King with a pair of massive gold table-napkin rings. Both these functions were attended by H.E. the Governor, and the former by Lady Slater also.

In the afternoon the President and Mrs. King attended an "At Home" at the Church Missionary Society Grammar School, where the President studied as a boy, and he was made first patron of the Old Boys' Society. A dinner party at Government House, followed by a cinema and dance at the Wilberforce Hall given by the municipality, completed the day's engagements.

Murray Town, where the President lived as a child, was the first place visited on Saturday. Here the President, after receiving a welcome from the Headman and Village Committee, attended the wedding of a relative. Subsequently he visited the new Government School at King Tom, the prison, and the Law Courts. The President and Mrs. King, accompanied by Mrs. Grimes, then motored to Hill Station, where they had lunch with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. H. C. Luke.

In the afternoon the President, Mrs. King, H.E. the Governor, and Lady Slater attended a garden party in the Victoria Park given by the Municipality. Here Mrs. King (who is head of the Liberian Girl Guides) inspected the Girl Guides and made them a notable speech on their aims and duties.

The Freemasons of Freetown entertained the President and Mrs. King to a dinner and dance.

The Hinterland Trek.

At 7 o'clock on Sunday morning Their Excellencies and party left by special train for Bo accompanied by the Commissioner of the Central Province, Mr. W. D. D. Bowden, who, with his sister, Mrs. Milne, gave a dinner party in their honour that night to twenty guests—probably the largest party ever given in the hinterland of Sierra Leone. Next day the President inspected Bo School, and then proceeded by special train with Mrs. King and his suite to Pendembu. On Tuesday, January 27, the trek started. Accompanied by Mr. Bowden and a body-guard furnished by the Sierra Leone Battalion, West African Frontier Force, the President and his party marched to the border, which they crossed at Kabawana. He will now go through his own territory back to Monrovia. The trek is expected to take about

Bishop Gardiner of Liberia.

The Right Rev. Theophilus Momolu Gardiner, D.D., Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Liberia, who reached Freetown early last month in a very serious condition, was reported to be making good progress when the Liberia-mail left.

Death of Mr. David Parkor.

The death is reported of Mr David Charles

PRESIDENT KING'S VISIT.

(Exclusive Cable to the "African World.")

FREETOWN, Thursday, January 29.

His Excellency President C. D. B. King of Liberia, accompanied by Mrs. King and suite, arrived at Freetown on Thursday last by H.M. cruiser "Dublin" at 3 p.m. They landed at 3.30, a salute of twenty-one guns being fired by the cruiser "Dublin" and the gunboat "Dwarf." The distinguished visitors were received by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Ransford Slater, who presented all the members of the Legislative Council as well as the Naval, Military and Civil officials. The party drove through Wharf Street amongst cheering crowds, with unbounded enthusiasm prevailing. An official dinner, followed by a reception and ball, was given at Government House. In a very cordial speech, Sir Ransford Slater referred to the continued amity between Great Britain and the Republic of Liberia. He warmly congratulated President King on the improvements he had effected, and on his projected forms in the finance of his country, the re-lin. Trade Commissioner in East Africa) say progressive policy, as well as his successful administration. He urged that in addition to the existing goodwill and sympathy, mutual respect and trust would be so enhanced as to tend to abiding prosperity being ensured. President King responded suitably in a highly appreciated speech.

On the 23rd and 24th, dinner parties were given at Government House, followed by a Civil reception, garden party, cinema entertainment and dance, many social and special entertainments, including a reception at the Grammar School. The President received a deputation of the Kru community, and attended a banquet and dance given by the Masonic Fraternity, the visit concluding by festivities at Murray Town, President King's ancestral home, where addresses were presented.

The Colonial Secretary lunched with President and Mrs. King, who also received the Hon. Mrs. Cornelius May, Mayoress of Freetown, on behalf of the ladies of Sierra Leone, who presented a souvenir. Mrs. King addressed the Girl Guides of Sierra Leone, being herself the Chief Guide of Liberia. On the 25th President King and his party left for the Liberian frontier by the Sierra Leone railway, via Bo and Pendembu on the northern border, whence he telegraphed his warmest appreciation to the Governor and Lady Slater for warm official and personal reception and cordial welcome he had received from the community, as well as for all arrangements that had made the visit for himself and his party a most delightful and unforgettable experience.

Full Programme of the Visit.

By the time these lines appear the distinguished President of the Liberian Republic will have left the soil of Sierra Leone on his trek through the hinterland, after an interesting and significant visit, special cabled description of which appears above. Meanwhile, the following draft programme for His Excellency's visit is gazetted in the mail just to hand:—

Thursday, January 22.—5 p.m., arrival in H.M.S. "Dublin"; presentation at wharf of Legislative Council, Bishops, Heads of Departments (Naval, Military, and Civil), Guard of Honour; if time, drive round Freetown; official dinner at Government House

Friday, January 23.—10 a.m., Civic Welcome by Mayor and Corporation, Wilberforce Hall; 11.30 a.m., presentation of address by Kru Community at Kru Court House; 1 p.m., lunch at Government House; 4 p.m., "At Home" (and presentation of address at C.M.S. Grammar School by old boys and present pupils); 8 p.m., dinner at Government House.

Saturday, January 24.—10 a.m., visit to Murray Town and any Government or other institutions that His Excellency may wish to see; 1 p.m., lunch with Colonial Secretary at Hill Station; 4 p.m., civic garden party in Victoria Park; 8 p.m., dinner at Government House.

Sunday, January 25.—Departure for Bo.

Monday, January 26.—7.30 a.m., inspect Bo School; 10 a.m., depart Bo; pick up escort of W.A.F.F. at Daru; arrive Pendembu.

UGANDA COTTON CROP.

The exports of cotton from Uganda during 1923 amounted to 88,046 bales, of which the 1922-23 crop furnished, roughly, 85,000 bales. The 1923-24 crop is officially estimated at 130,000 bales at least. Colonel W. H. Frankland, Trade Commissioner in East Africa, says that this increase is largely due to the increased acreage planted, but contributing factors were the higher yield of seed cotton per acre and a better percentage of lint per unit of seed cotton. Of the 1923-24 crop, it is estimated that some 35,000 bales have been bought in either Uganda or Bombay for consignment to Japan, the reason of the increased consumption by that country apparently being the relatively cheaper price of Uganda cotton than Egyptian in comparison with American.

The acreage planted for the 1924-25 crop shows a large expansion over previous figures, and, with favourable conditions, is estimated to produce some 160,000 bales or more; but a failure of the later rains, or rain when the crop is ripening, might largely reduce this estimate. Nevertheless, the prospect is bright for further large extension of the crop, which has grown from fifty bales in 1904-05 to its present dimensions.

Nigeria.

Railway Earnings.

The traffic receipts of the Nigerian Railway for the week ended December 20 were £51,523, and for the week ended December 27, £48,432, making a total to date of £1,384,037 for the current financial year.

The Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council was prorogued by proclamation of His Excellency the Governor dated January 14. A further proclamation appointed Friday, February 6, for the third session of the Council.

The Prince of Wales' Cup.

At a meeting of the Lagos Race Club in mail week it was announced that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had graciously consented to visit the race meeting on April 7 next and to the presentation of a Prince of Wales' Cup by H.E. the Governor. A provisional programme for the meeting was drawn up and approved.

The Plague Again.

Those who hoped that the removal of the quarantine restrictions at Lagos on December 29 marked the final disappearance of the scourge were unfortunately, too sanguine. Several fresh cases were notified only a few days later, and the scheduled areas were again placed under quarantine on January 10. There is, however, no cause for anxiety at present.

New Lieutenant-Governors.

Commissions have been issued by H.E. the Governor nominating Lieut.-Colonel Francis Jenkins, C.M.G., to act as Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces and Administrator of the Colony, and Mr. Herbert Richmond Palmer, C.M.G., C.B.E. to act as Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces. The latter gentleman succeeds Mr. W. F. Gowers, C.M.G., who was recently appointed Governor of Uganda.

Next Year's Expenditure.

The schedule attached to the ordinance making provision for the service of the colony for the administrative year ending March 31, 1926, shows a total of £6,477,269 granted to meet expenditure for that year. This sum is apportioned as follows:—Nigerian Department, £5,242,686; Northern Provinces, £391,771; Southern Provinces and Colony, £842,812. The figure for Nigerian Departments includes £1,057,693 Public Debt charges, and £1,017,503 for the Nigerian Railway.

Lord Leverhulme at Government House.

The Right Hon. Viscount Leverhulme, whose arrival at Lagos was reported in our last issue, called on H.E. the Governor at Government House on January 9, accompanied by Mr. Hyslop Bell, Mr. D'Arcy Cooper, and Mr. N. D. Maidman. On the following evening His Excellency entertained Lord Leverhulme and party to dinner, the guests including the Honourables the Chief Secretary, the Lieutenant-Governor, Southern Provinces; the Attorney-General, Treasurer, Director of Marines, Comptroller of Customs, Deputy Chief Secretary and Resident of the Colony. The dinner was followed by a dance, to which about sixty guests were invited. Lord Leverhulme and party left Lagos for their up-country tour on January 15.

French Governor's Visit.

His Excellency M. Marchand, Governor of the French Cameroons, arrived at Lagos by the s.s. "Hoggar" on December 27, attended by his Chef-de-Cabinet. He was met on arrival by the French Consul and H.E. the Governor's Aide-de-Camp and conducted to Government House, where he was received by His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford. His Excellency gave a luncheon party in honour of M. Marchand. The following guests were invited:—The Honourables the Acting Chief Secretary, the Lieutenant-Governor, Southern Provinces; the Director of Marine and Mrs. Hughes, the Consul for the Netherlands and Mrs. Fontein, Lieut.-Colonel T. G. Burney, M.C., and Mrs. Burney, Captain F. W. Garvey, and Mr. and Mrs. Pomery.

His Excellency, accompanied by the Governor of the French Cameroons, afterwards attended the Lagos Races, driving up the course. M. Marchand left the same afternoon by the s.s. "Hoggar," on which he was returning to France.

Sierra Leone.

PRESIDENT KING'S VISIT.

A Memorable Demonstration of Anglo-Liberian Friendship.

(Special Despatch to "The African World.")

FREETOWN, January 30.

The President of Liberia and Mrs. King have passed through Sierra Leone on their way to the hinterland of Liberia. They were accompanied by Mrs. Grimes, Lady-in-Waiting to Mrs. King; the Hon. J. L. Morris, Secretary for the Interior; the Hon. Dr. B. W. Payne, Secretary for Education; Major Moody Staton, Commandant of the Liberian Frontier Force: Mr. T. O. King and Master King, sons of the President; Mrs. Barclay, the President's mother-in-law and wife of ex-President Barclay; and Lieut.-Colonel Davies, A.D.C. to the President. H.M.S. "Dublin" conveyed the President, Mrs. King, Mrs. Grimes, and the A.D.C. from Monrovia to Freetown. The rest of the party came one day ahead on the "Abinsi."

H.M.S. "Dublin" arrived on January 22, and His Excellency the Governor went on board at 5 p.m. to welcome the President and to bring him ashore. On landing, the President and his party and the Governor were met by the Hon. Colonel-Commandant G. T. Mair, C.M.G., D.S.O., Officer Commanding the Troops, and the Hon. H. C. Luke, Colonial Secretary. The West African Regiment furnished a guard of honour, and the regimental band played the Liberian National Anthem as the Royal Salute was given. After the inspection of the Guard of Honour, members of the Legislative Council, the Bishop of Amastri and Archdeacon Wilson, heads of military and civil departments, and a few others, were introduced to the President and Mrs. King. There followed a drive through some of the principal streets of Freetown, the President receiving a great ovation from dense crowds lining the route of procession. Government House was reached at 6 o'clock, when Lady Slater welcomed her guests at the entrance.

The Governor and Lady Slater gave a banquet, followed by a reception and ball, to which over two hundred guests were invited.

Many Notable Functions.

On the following day the President and Mrs. King were given an address of welcome by the Mayor and Councillors of Freetown. This was followed by a visit to the Kru Court House, where the Kru community gave an address of welcome and presented Mrs. King with a pair of massive gold table-napkin rings. Both these functions were attended by H.E. the Governor, and the former by Lady Slater also.

In the afternoon the President and Mrs. King attended an "At Home" at the Church Missionary Society Grammar School, where the President studied as a boy, and he was made first patron of the Old Boys' Society. A dinner party at Government House, followed by a cinema and dance at the Wilberforce Hall given by the municipality, completed the day's engagements.

Murray Town, where the President lived as a child, was the first place visited on Saturday. Here the President, after receiving a welcome from the Headman and Village Committee, attended the wedding of a relative. Subsequently he visited the new Government School at King Tom, the prison, and the Law Courts. The President and Mrs. King, accompanied by Mrs. Grimes, then motored to Hill Station, where they had lunch with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. H. C. Luke.

In the afternoon the President, Mrs. King, H.E. the Governor, and Lady Slater attended a garden party in the Victoria Park given by the Municipality. Here Mrs. King (who is head of the Liberian Girl Guides) inspected the Girl Guides and made them a notable speech on their aims and duties.

The Freemasons of Freetown entertained the President and Mrs. King to a dinner and dance.

The Hinterland Trek.

At 7 o'clock on Sunday morning Their Excellencies and party left by special train for Bo accompanied by the Commissioner of the Central Province, Mr. W. D. D. Bowden, who, with his sister, Mrs. Milne, gave a dinner party in their honour that night. Twenty guests—probably the largest party ever given in the hinterland of Sierra Leone. Next day the President inspected Bo School and then proceeded by special train with Mrs. King and his suite to Pendembu. On Tuesday, January 27, the trek started. The President, accompanied by Mr. Bowden and a body-guard furnished by the Sierra Leone Battalion, West African Frontier Force, the President and party marched to the border, where they crossed at Kabawana. He will now go through his own territory back to Monrovia. The trek is expected to take about ten days.

Throughout the journey the President practises what he preaches as proved by his present tour, and by the fact that several prominent aboriginal natives hold important posts in his Government. The burden of his advice to the Liberian people is: "Turn your eyes from the coast and look to the interior."

Bishop Gardiner of Liberia.

The Right Rev. Theophilus Momolu Gardiner, D.D., Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Liberia, who reached Freetown early last month in a very serious condition, was reported to be making good progress when the mail left.

Death of Mr. David Parkor.

The death is reported of Mr. David Charles

Race Problem - 1925. II.

Africa.

Parker, which took place at Freetown on January 12. The deceased was a prominent Freemason and a well-known citizen, who took an active part in the religious, municipal, and social life of Sierra Leone.

The Church in Sierra Leone.

The Sierra Leone Church Almanack and St. George's Parish Almanack for 1925 contains photographs of the bishops of the diocese since 1862, the Rt. Rev. O. E. Vidal, D.D., being the first and Dr. G. W. Wright the present Bishop, who succeeded the late Bishop Walmsley. There is also a record of the native clergy, commencing from the Rev. G. C. Nicol, M.A., who was ordained in 1849, and ending with the Rev. E. N. Jones, B.A. Of the 94 clergymen covering that period, only 46 are still living.

Training African Pilots.

A notable innovation is announced in respect of the training of African pilots. Mr. J. C. Newton, the representative at Freetown of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., has been instrumental in securing the interest of the directors of that company in the training of African pilots, the Government having been able to formulate a scheme whereby it will be possible for two boys, well educated and of good physique, to be chosen from the secondary schools of the Colony, and to be apprenticed on the same terms as other "midshipmen apprentices" of the company. No premium will be required, and a small salary will be paid during the term of apprenticeship.

Gold Coast Diamonds.

According to advices received from the Gold Coast, H.E. the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, in his annual address to the Legislative Council, made special reference to the possibilities of the Gold Coast in the production of diamonds, and disclosed some particulars which had heretofore been kept confidential relating to the export of diamonds:—In 1919 the first diamond was discovered in the Gold Coast; in 1920, 102 carats were exported; in 1921, 831 carats; in 1922, 5,305 carats; in 1923, 9,547 carats; and in 1924, 63,000 carats.—Reuter.

THE SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND.—XIX

[By Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson.—Copyright.]

Granville Sharp provided a chaplain for his party, the Rev. P. Fraser, who was here during the years 1787-9, and thus holds pride of place in that long list of gentlemen, who, for the faith they held, lived here as chaplains and missionaries.

From 1804 the Church Missionary Society took an interest in the land, sending during the next 12 years Lutheran Clergymen, Russian, Livonian, Swabian, and Lusatian, educated at the Missionary Seminary at Berlin. Amonst the names of those who came are Renner, Hartwig, Nylander, Butscher, Prasse, Barneth, Wanzel, Klein and Wilhelm. The era of the new village life followed, and to these villages went many devoted Britishers, like Johnson, of Regent, During, of Gloucester, Bacon, of Kent, Johnston, of York, Coker, of Hastings, and Campbell, of the Bananas. These gentlemen held the official position of manager in the Colony, and acted as Magistrates, besides doing their church and school duties.

The combined length of service of the first three bishops was only six years. Owen Emeric Vidal was the first consecrated, arriving in 1853. He died on Christmas Eve of 1854, when returning to Freetown from Lagos. John William Weeks, a missionary in the Colony some years before, came in 1855, and was taken ill, on returning from a visit to the Yoruba people, and only lived a few days after being carried ashore. John Bowen followed, in 1857, and died two years after.

Bishop Vidal, in 1854, ordained the first two liberated Africans as clergymen, Thomas King and Thomas Babington Macaulay. But already a similar ex-slave had been ordained in England. Samuel Adjai Crowther was born about 1806 in the Yoruba country. In his teens he was the property of five successive masters, and was finally sold to a Portuguese trader, who shipped him, with 186 others, for Cuba. H.M.S. "Myrmidon" caught the slave-ship, and landed the slaves at Freetown, in 1822. Crowther was sent to the village of Bathurst. When the lad was baptised he was given the name, Samuel Crowther, of one of the earliest members of the C.M.S. In 1864, at Canterbury Cathedral, he was consecrated Bishop of the Niger, and took up his permanent abode at Lagos, passing to his rest in 1891. As an eloquent preacher, linguist and translator, teacher, and author, he did noble service to the cause of Christianity and civilisation. He was succeeded by James Johnson, born at Benguema, just south of Waterloo, the son of liberated Africans, and ordained in 1863, and sent to Lagos. In 1900 he was consecrated at Lambeth, and died in 1917.

In 1861, the Sierra Leone Native Church undertook the support of its own pastors, churches and schools, aided by a small grant from the C.M.S., which ceased in 1890. The Society's work is now confined to Freetown, where it has Fourah Bay College (in conjunction with the Wesleyan Methodists), the Grammar School for Boys, and the Anne Walsh Memorial School for Girls. This Native Church would not have been possible but for the great generosity of some of its members, such as Charles Forsyth, a mulatto, who gave a church to the people, at Tasso. John Ashwood, Abraham Hughes Farrar, Daniel along the Sherbro river measuring one mile in length by five-sixths of a mile in breadth. The first station had been called Amistad, the second was called Good Hope, and the mission was called the Mende Mission

The West Coast received the attention of Pope Gregory XVI and Pope Pius IX, about the forties, and missionaries were sent to Senegal and Liberia. By 1858 the evangelisation of the district extended from Rio Nunez to Cape Palmas, and was under the French Society of African Missions, whose headquarters was at Lyons. In January, 1859, these missionaries began to labour in Freetown, but yellow fever proved fatal to the Vicar Apostolic and five members of the Society, and the mission was abandoned. After an interval of four years the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost already in Senegal came, and found about 70 Catholics in the town. At first a large store was used, but on Christmas Day, 1865, the Catholic Church in Howe Street, now a pro-cathedral, was opened.

In June, 1839, the agents of the C.M.S. represented to the Governor the fact that Mahomedans were "openly and ostentatiously observing the rites of their religion," having built mosques at Foulah Town and Fourah Bay, the districts of their settlement. The first was destroyed through a mistake by the police, but the second, "large and conspicuous," was in daily use. Governor Doherty discovered that his predecessor had given permission for their erection. After the accident at Foulah Town, the Mahomedans there asked leave to move to some other location. For a time the clash of faiths was high-sounding, but at last better counsel and a more brotherly spirit ended it, and the colonists grew accustomed not only to the mosques and their Imams, but also to a Mahomedan school (opened by a Governor) in which the children were taught Arabic as well as English.

Carrol, the grandson of a Nova Scotian, and Thomas John Sawyerr, who gave £1,000 in its first year.

In 1816 Earl Bathurst wrote authorising the building of St. George's Church, the foundation stone of which was laid next year. The work progressed slowly and the walls crumpled before the roof was ready. In 1828 it was opened for public worship, after, it is alleged by Mr. McQueen, in an article in "Blackwood," £50,000 had been spent upon it, by Colonel Denham, the first sermons being preached by the Rev. L. F. Hansel and the Rev Thomas Davey.

In 1839, a Spanish slave-ship left the Sherbro coast for Cuba, where the Mende slaves were sold for about £90 each. At Havana they were put on board the "Amistad" schooner to be taken to Principe. One of the slaves, Cinque, a strong, brave, intelligent man, led the others, and all gained their freedom. Cinque compelled the two Spanish men to take turns at the wheel, ordering them to steer the ship across the ocean to Africa, but the Spaniards, after zig-zagging for a couple of months, came in sight of Montauk point, Long Island, United States. The American port authorities at first took the part of the Spaniards, drove the slaves into the hold, and fastened then down, and took the schooner to New Haven. The slaves were put into jail, held on the charge of murder and piracy. All told they now numbered 44, three of them young girls.

Professor Gibbs, of Yale University, searched all the ships in the harbour to find a seaman familiar with the West Coast, and failing, went to New York, where, on the British ship "Buzzard," he found a Mende, James Covey, who had been sold from the Bullom country, and repatriated at Freetown, and had enlisted as a sailor under Captain Fitzgerald, of H.M.S. "Buzzard." Mr. Gibbs was allowed to take Covey to New Haven as an interpreter, and through him the real story became known. A public subscription was made and lawyers retained for their defence. The trial assumed international importance. The United States had not abolished slavery. The Southern States clamoured for the punishment of the Mendes. The Northern States claimed their freedom. Spain demanded they should be returned to Cuba. The case went from court to court until it reached Washington, where their defence was taken up by J. Q. Adams, a former President of the United States. His address on their behalf lasted 13 hours and was printed in a book of over 100 pages. The Supreme Court decided that the Mendes were to be set free. That was in 1841.

By 1842 there were only 23 of the party left. A movement was started to send them back to Sierra Leone. At the farewell meeting at Farmington the Mendes proved the worth of the education given to them by honouring Sherman Boothe, their teacher.

Race Problem - 1925. II.

Africa.

Parker, which took place at Freetown on January 12. The deceased was a prominent Freemason and a well-known citizen, who took an active part in the religious, municipal, and social life of Sierra Leone.

African World

The Church in Sierra Leone.

The Sierra Leone Church Almanack and St. George's Parish Almanack for 1925 contains photographs of the bishops of the diocese since 1862, the Rt. Rev. O. E. Vidal, D.D., being the first and Dr. G. W. Wright the present Bishop, who succeeded the late Bishop Walmsley. There is also a record of the native clergy, commencing from the Rev. G. C. Nicol, M.A., who was ordained in 1849, and ending with the Rev. E. N. Jones, B.A. Of the 94 clergymen covering that period, only 46 are still living.

Training African Pilots.

A notable innovation is announced in respect of the training of African pilots. Mr. J. C. Newton, the representative at Freetown of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., has been instrumental in securing the interest of the directors of that company in the training of African pilots, the Government having been able to formulate a scheme whereby it will be possible for two boys, well educated and of good physique, to be chosen from the secondary schools of the Colony, and to be apprenticed on the same terms as other "midshipmen apprentices" of the company. No premium will be required, and a small salary will be paid during the term of apprenticeship.

Gold Coast Diamonds.

According to advices received from the Gold Coast, H.E. the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, in his annual address to the Legislative Council, made special reference to the possibilities of the Gold Coast in the production of diamonds, and disclosed some particulars which had heretofore been kept confidential relating to the export of diamonds:—In 1919 the first diamond was discovered in the Gold Coast: in 1920, 102 carats were exported: in 1921, 831 carats: in 1922, 5,305 carats: in 1923, 9,547 carats: and in 1924, 63,000 carats.—Reuter.

THE SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND.—XIX

[By Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson.—Copyright.]

West Africa

2-21-25

Granville Sharp provided a chaplain for his party, the Rev. P. Fraser, who was here during the years 1787-9, and thus holds pride of place in that long list of gentlemen, who, for the faith they held, lived here as chaplains and missionaries.

From 1804 the Church Missionary Society took an interest in the land, sending during the next 12 years Lutheran Clergymen, Russian, Livonian, Swabian, and Lusatian, educated at the Missionary Seminary at Berlin. Amonst the names of those who came are Renner, Hartwig, Nylander, Butscher, Prasse, Barneth, Wanzel, Klein and Wilhelm. The era of the new village life followed, and to these villages went many devoted Britishers, like Johnson, of Regent, During, of Gloucester, Bacon, of Kent, Johnston, of York, Coker, of Hastings, and Campbell, of the Bananas. These gentlemen held the official position of manager in the Colony, and acted as Magistrates, besides doing their church and school duties.

2-21-25

The combined length of service of the first three bishops was only six years. Owen Emeric Vidal was the first consecrated, arriving in 1853. He died on Christmas Eve of 1854, when returning to Freetown from Lagos. John William Weeks, a missionary in the Colony some years before, came in 1855, and was taken ill, on returning from a visit to the Yoruba people, and only lived a few days after being carried ashore. John Bowen followed, in 1857, and died two years after.

Bishop Vidal, in 1854, ordained the first two liberated Africans as clergymen, Thomas King and Thomas Babington Macaulay. But already a similar ex-slave had been ordained in England. Samuel Adjai Crowther was born about 1806 in the Yoruba country. In his teens he was the property of five successive masters, and was finally sold to a Portuguese trader, who shipped him, with 186 others, for Cuba. H.M.S. "Myrmidon" caught the slave-ship, and landed the slaves at Freetown, in 1822. Crowther was sent to the village of Bathurst. When the lad was baptised he was given the name, Samuel Crowther, of one of the earliest members of the C.M.S. In 1864, at Canterbury Cathedral, he was consecrated Bishop of the Niger, and took up his permanent abode at Lagos, passing to his rest in 1891. As an eloquent preacher, linguist and translator, teacher, and author, he did noble service to the cause of Christianity and civilisation. He was succeeded by James Johnson, born at Benguema, just south of Waterloo, the son of liberated Africans, and ordained in 1863, and sent to Lagos. In 1900 he was consecrated at Lambeth, and died in 1917.

In 1861, the Sierra Leone Native Church undertook the support of its own pastors, churches and schools, aided by a small grant from the C.M.S., which ceased in 1890. The Society's work is now confined to Freetown, where it has Fourah Bay College (in conjunction with the Wesleyan Methodists), the Grammar School for Boys, and the Anne Walsh Memorial School for Girls. This Native Church would not have been possible but for the great generosity of some of its members, such as Charles Forsyth, a mulatto, who gave a church to the people, at Tasso. John Ashwood, Abraham Hughes Farrar, Daniel along the Sherbro river measuring one mile in length by five-sixths of a mile in breadth. The first station had been called Amistad, the second was called Good Hope, and the mission was called the Mende Mission

The West Coast received the attention of Pope Gregory XVI and Pope Pius IX, about the forties, and missionaries were sent to Senegal and Liberia. By 1858 the evangelisation of the district extended from Rio Nunez to Cape Palmas, and was under the French Society of African Missions, whose headquarters was at Lyons. In January, 1859, these missionaries began to labour in Freetown, but yellow fever proved fatal to the Vicar Apostolic and five members of the Society, and the mission was abandoned. After an interval of four years the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost already in Senegal came, and found about 70 Catholics in the town. At first a large store was used, but on Christmas Day, 1865, the Catholic Church in Howe Street, now a pro-cathedral, was opened.

In June, 1839, the agents of the C.M.S. represented to the Governor the fact that Mahomedans were "openly and ostentatiously observing the rites of their religion," having built mosques at Foulah Town and Fourah Bay, the districts of their settlement. The first was destroyed through a mistake by the police, but the second, "large and conspicuous," was in daily use. Governor Doherty discovered that his predecessor had given permission for their erection. After the accident at Foulah Town, the Mahomedans there asked leave to move to some other location. For a time the clash of faiths was high-sounding, but at last better counsel and a more brotherly spirit ended it, and the colonists grew accustomed not only to the mosques and their Imams, but also to a Mahomedan school (opened by a Governor) in which the children were taught Arabic as well as English.

Carrol, the grandson of a Nova Scotian, and Thomas John Sawyerr, who gave £1,000 in its first year.

In 1816 Earl Bathurst wrote authorising the building of St. George's Church, the foundation stone of which was laid next year. The work progressed slowly and the walls crumpled before the roof was ready. In 1828 it was opened for public worship, after, it is alleged by Mr. McQueen, in an article in "Blackwood," £50,000 had been spent upon it, by Colonel Denham, the first sermons being preached by the Rev. L. F. Hansel and the Rev Thomas Davey.

In 1839, a Spanish slave-ship left the Sherbro coast for Cuba, where the Mende slaves were sold for about £90 each. At Havana they were put on board the "Amistad" schooner to be taken to Principe. One of the slaves, Cinque, a strong, brave, intelligent man, led the others, and all gained their freedom. Cinque compelled the two Spanish men to take turns at the wheel, ordering them to steer the ship across the ocean to Africa, but the Spaniards, after zig-zagging for a couple of months, came in sight of Montauk point, Long Island, United States. The American port authorities at first took the part of the Spaniards, drove the slaves into the hold, and fastened then down, and took the schooner to New Haven. The slaves were put into jail, held on the charge of murder and piracy. All told they now numbered 44, three of them young girls.

Professor Gibbs, of Yale University, searched all the ships in the harbour to find a seaman familiar with the West Coast, and failing, went to New York, where, on the British ship "Buzzard," he found a Mende, James Covey, who had been sold from the Bullom country, and repatriated at Freetown, and had enlisted as a sailor under Captain Fitzgerald, of H.M.S. "Buzzard." Mr. Gibbs was allowed to take Covey to New Haven as an interpreter, and through him the real story became known. A public subscription was made and lawyers retained for their defence. The trial assumed international importance. The United States had not abolished slavery. The Southern States clamoured for the punishment of the Mendes. The Northern States claimed their freedom. Spain demanded they should be returned to Cuba. The case went from court to court until it reached Washington, where their defence was taken up by J. Q. Adams, a former President of the United States. His address on their behalf lasted 13 hours and was printed in a book of over 100 pages. The Supreme Court decided that the Mendes were to be set free. That was in 1841.

By 1842 there were only 23 of the party left. A movement was started to send them back to Sierra Leone. At the farewell meeting at Farmington the Mendes proved the worth of the education given to them by honouring Sherman Boothe, their teacher.

VISCOUNT BURNHAM ON SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEM

BRILLIANT GATHERING AT OLD COLONY CLUB DINNER

ROOM FOR A THOUSAND FAMILIES A YEAR IN THE UNION.

The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, C.H. who was vice-chairman of the British Parliamentary Delegation on its recent visit to South Africa, was the guest of the evening at the Old Colony Club's annual dinner at Aldwych House, W.C., and after dinner delivered an arresting address on "South Africa To-day."

The Hon. Sir Edgar Walton, K.C.M.G., High Commissioner of South Africa, presided, and in welcoming Viscount Burnham spoke feelingly of the work which His Lordship had done in Imperial affairs.

Viscount Burnham dealt very exhaustively with the main problems which he considers South Africa has to deal with, and, while acknowledging the difficulties in regard to the native population, expressed his opinion that there was room in South Africa for not fewer than one thousand British families a year.

Imperial Conferences.

His lordship, at the outset, said that, while he was not sure some of the Imperial Conferences had not done as much harm as they had done good, he was convinced that it must be for the lasting benefit of both the Dominions, the Home Country, and South Africa that the Union was the first of the Overseas Dominions to invite the Parliamentary Delegation to visit her shores. (Hear, hear.) He did not think full justice had been done to the present Government of South Africa for all they did in seeing to it that nothing was left undone which could make the visit of the Delegation profitable. He thanked General Hertzog for the series of speeches he made emphasising the cordial spirit of goodwill, brotherhood, and co-operation between the two nationalities which dominated South Africa, and for expressing his opinion that the rift between the two races had been too long left open, and must be closed over in a manner which would be enduring and beneficial. (Hear, hear.)

He believed the visit of the Delegation must have been of considerable value and importance in the development of our constitutional relations. His lordship spoke of the development of the motor car as a means of quicker communication, and said it seemed to him that the forces of science were making for harmony and co-operation. Under such conditions it would be difficult to keep up the estrangements and difficulties upon which the hatreds and the animosities of the past had fattened and flourished. The wireless system of broadcasting would no doubt effect a wonderful modification in the opinions of the resident population no matter how remote they might be. "It may be," said his lordship "that the old Boer will have none of it, but I wager that his children will insist upon having it in full measure." (Cheers.)

Crisis of Her Fate.

South Africa, like other Dominions, was in the crisis of her fate. She had to choose, in face of the grave problem of the native races, whether she would strive by working together the texture of national life for common prosperity and common agreement, or by stirring up the embers of past controversies and past grievances—many of them well founded in their day—gradually drift into a squalid kind of civil war under which every man's hand would be set against his neighbourhood and conditions would be well nigh impossible. He did not believe in the latter hypothesis. He was convinced that no matter what the views of the day might be, or how much irritation might be caused by bursts of petulance and of anger, which occurred in all political warfare, that on the whole South Africa would tend to produce and maintain a common patriotism among the European population, which would be all the better because it had a local attachment to the glorious country in which they lived but would be in no wise inconsistent with the larger patriotism of the British Empire as a whole. (Cheers.)

He went on to say he had come across no one who did not believe that South Africa had entered upon an era of industrial and agricultural expansion far greater than she had ever known. All the signs were favourable.

His lordship spoke of the enormous revenue provided by the gold mines, which had enabled South Africa to spend ten millions on irrigation schemes apart from smaller experiments. South Africa produced a very large percentage of the gold of the world. South Africa made possible the financing of the war and the financing of the after-war. (Hear, hear.) It had enabled the Government of the Union to carry on its administration, on the whole, in a wise and liberal manner.

His lordship dealt with the subject of wool and sheep farming. He could not think of anything better than for those who had served in the Army and were in receipt of a pension, or had some other capital or both, to go out and take up sheep farming under fair conditions. He felt sure that with adequate means to start with they would be assured of a substantial return for the next ten or twenty years at least. Cotton, too, was now being developed with every prospect of successful cultivation. There was the possibility of South Africa increasing production for her own benefit and also by making the cotton industry of this country independent of foreign sources of supply, enable it to secure a return which would rescue it from its present depression. (Hear, hear.)

Unlimited Labour.

After a brief reference to the sugar mills, his lordship said South Africa had the advantage of an unlimited supply of coloured labour which was good in quality and reliable. He realised how urgent was the necessity of providing for the white population who were now out of employment in the Union, but at the same time he considered that the views they heard depreciating coloured labour were not a fair representation of the case. (Hear, hear.) "I have heard," he declared, "very few complaints in South Africa from employers of all kinds as to the labour which they have at their command."

He had no doubt that the problem of the future of South Africa was the problem of colour. He discoursed at some length on the question of greater facilities for the natives engaged in agriculture. Personally he considered that the education which was given was sadly lacking in its want of practical issue and far too much upon the lines we had followed with some success, perhaps, at home, but with disastrous results in India. He thought more might be done. He suggested the possibility of agricultural experts instructed in agricultural colleges, not, perhaps, here, but certainly in the Union, going to the kraals and teaching those who could in turn teach the natives the modern methods of treating the land. He admitted that he did not think Kaffirs or coloured men would ever be fit to take positions of special responsibility or act as leaders of men, but where it was merely a matter of manual labour there was nothing to show that the Kaffir would not rise to that point of proficiency which enabled him to do the work properly. Our sympathies must naturally be with the European population, but, on the other hand, they had the fact that the Kaffirs and coloured people were getting a much larger degree of self-consciousness, if not of race consciousness, and they were not willing to remain where they were. They could not say even that they would be kept back from the better kind of education. The number of non-European population receiving education had already vastly increased.

The problem the South African Government was "up against" was that they did not know how to control and limit the native population on the one hand and provide somehow, on the other, for the urgent and clamant needs of the white population.

That might suggest there was not room for working-class emigrants, except those qualified for special posts. He believed, however, there was certainly room in South Africa for no fewer than one thousand British families a year, but they would be wise not to embark their fortunes in some unknown venture.

Welcome for Settlers.

He believed the Boers were prepared to welcome British settlers as much, or more, as any other people. And why not? There were no ideas which at bottom were radically different on the great moral standards to which they all tried to attain. That being so, he was hopeful they would gradually be able to strengthen the Commonwealth of South Africa by a steady infusion of the best fibre and the best qualities of those who at home found life somewhat cloudy, under favourable circumstances, to seek fresh homes under a brighter sun than we knew at home.

He only hoped there would be no disagreements in matters political as would arrest what he believed to be the active tendency on the part, especially of those who had served in the Forces of the Crown, to seek a home in South Africa more than, or at least as much as, in any other part of the British Dominions. He trusted they were going to see that nothing was done on this side which could lead the people of South Africa, as a whole, to think their interests did not in any way differ from those of the Mother Country. (Cheers.)

If in heart and mind we meant to make South Africa a co-operative part of the Commonwealth we could not do it by sending out a few tourists. They could only do it by helping both nationalities there and sending out those who were prepared to put their brains and strength into the common stock. (Cheers.)

In the discussion which followed one of the guests contended that the wool, hides, and skin industry was capable of further development, but it required experts in South Africa who understood the business.

SIR J. B. ROBINSON'S GREAT WORK AS PIONEER.

A well-deserved tribute to the great pioneering services rendered to South Africa by Sir Joseph Robinson appears in the following letter to the "Cape Argus":—

Sir,—There is some danger that Sir Joseph Robinson's career as a litigant, with its triumphs and defeats, may obscure the very real work that is to his credit as one of South Africa's foremost citizens.

Gold and diamonds have been the most profitable industries of this country for as long as most of us can remember, yet the pioneer of both is still with us to-day.

Sir Joseph was working diamonds on a fairly large scale long before anyone else, and some years before the discovery of Kimberley.

When one thinks of the thousands of miles of underground excavations on the Rand, and everything they imply, all honour to the man who had the financial courage to sink the first shaft.

But it was in the management and control of his mines that his finest qualities were displayed.

A working day of eighteen or twenty hours at the age of seventy to seventy-five was a regular occurrence to him, and the stimulus he applied to a host of directors and managers was something to marvel at.

The writer has been privileged to be present at many of his interviews with mine managers, and his grasp of technicalities and fertility of resource were uncanny.

It was the irony of fate that his splendid qualities were devoted to a property that was long on the verge of unpayability, but he managed to keep Randfontein afloat, and when the economic history of South Africa comes to be written no figure will bulk larger than Sir Joseph Robinson's.

RANDITE

Race Problem—1925.

Africa.

PRESIDENT KING'S TOUR THROUGH BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

The special coach in which President King and his suite travelled (on the conclusion of the functions arranged for his visit to Freetown), through the British Protectorate, to the Liberian Protectorate, and the other carriages attached thereto, was at Water Street Station early on Sunday morning, 25th January. Captain C. R. Webb, the General Manager of Railway, was in attendance at the Station and so were the other officers of his staff. The General Officer Commanding the Troops Hon. Colonel Mair, C.M.G., D.S.O., was awaiting the arrival of the distinguished guest and party. At the proper time the official cars began to arrive and within a few minutes His Excellency Sir Ransford Slater, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., was at the Station with His Excellency the President, Mrs. King, Mrs. Grimes, Mrs. Barclay and little Master Cecil King. The Hon. Colonial Secretary, and other Executive officers were also present.

The President inspected the Guard of Honour formed in front of Water Street Station and afterwards shook hands with the Commissioner of Police and other officers and proceeded to the Station through the carpeted entrance. The Honourable the Provincial Commissioner of the Central Province, Mr. W. D. B. Bowden was the Commissioner charged with Orders to see the President through British Territory. He occupied a carriage by himself.

After taking farewell of those invited to meet him, the President entered into the coach.

In another carriage were Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, A.D.C., to the President, Major Staton of the Liberian Frontier Force, Honourable J. Morris, Minister of the Interior and Hon. Dr. Payne, Minister of Education and Mr. N. B. Seton, Private Secretary to the President, Mr. C. D. B. King, son of the President, Assistant Private Secretary to the President. In the other carriage were the Honourable C. May travelling as Consul of Liberia Mr. A. Lisk Carew as Photographer to the President and Mr. G. B. A. Johns, son of the late Hon. J. J. W. Johns, Governor of Sinoe.

In a moment the whistle went off and the train moved slowly on from the Station bound for the Protectorate. Along the route from Water Street to Dove Cot and Cline Town there were crowds cheering and ovating as the train passed. In nearly all the houses on the way the faces of people were observed through windows who waved handkerchiefs and cheered.

At every station whether the train stopped or not there gathered a group cheering the President. At Kissy, Wellington and Hastings the train passed through without stop, nevertheless there were those who assembled and cheered. At Waterloo the train stopped and a deputation was presented to the President by Commissioner Bowden; an Address was read to which the President replied. In a few minutes after, the train was rushing through Newton, Songo, Bradford and other stations, and no stoppage was made till the train arrived at Boia where the residents presented the following Address:—

ADDRESS

To His Excellency C. D. B. King, President of the Republic of Liberia.

Your Excellency.—We the undersigned resident and representatives of the different departments of this town of Boia in the Central Province of the Protectorate of Sierra Leone take this opportunity of your visit to our Colony and Protectorate as a genuine "Red Letter Day" and a privilege of showing our hearty tribute of respect and greeting to Your Excellency.

We are highly proud when we consider that Your Excellency is of our own kith and kin a genuine full blooded Negro and a representative of our highest attainment in culture and achievement.

It is our wish and prayer that God may guide you in your ruling that you may prove a blessing not only to the Republic of Liberia but to all Africans in general.

That God bless, preserve, guide and stablish you and yours with all your Counsellors is the humble and earnest prayer of Your humble Servants.

Signed:—A. T. Hingston, (Headman) E. T. Babin, Rev. D. H. Davies. H. J. Thorpe, S.E. B. Johnson, O. S. Spencer, J. M. Godwin, etc., etc.

THE REPLY

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your expressions and good sentiment of high respect lavished on me and mine. I hope in my capacity to serve for the benefit of Africa and pray to be enabled to do so.

C. D. B. King.
President of Liberia.

Boia Junction, Central Province,
25th January, 1925.

On reaching Bo in the afternoon (Sunday), a large crowd assembled at the Station and as the train stopped Commissioner Bowden presented first, the European officials and merchants, next, the African officials and merchants. An Address was presented and read by the Rev. E. J. Harris, U.M. Minister who was accompanied by a band of men and women carrying a banner with the inscription "Welcome to President King of the Republic of Liberia." To this Address the President made a suitable reply, after which all dispersed to assemble again at functions organized for the occasion, viz, an Official Dinner. Masonic Welcome, and a Gathering of the people. The last was held at the Schoolroom of the United Methodist Church at Bo. At the Masonic reception the Rev. E. J. Roberts as W.M., presented an Address to which the President gave an interesting reply. Mrs. King made an appreciative speech at the gathering which was kept beyond midnight. The enthusiasm of the people at this centre was high and each one did his or her best to acclaim the President and his party.

Early on Monday morning the 26th Jannary, the President inspected the Bo School in company with the acting principal Mr. E. de Lisle, after sitting to a photograph with the representative Freemasons of Bo. In going through the classrooms he was accompanied by his Ministers of State as well as by the Consul of Liberia in Sierra Leone.

At 10 a.m., the travelling party assembled at Bo Station where they entrained on their journey to Pendembu. Provincial Commissioner Bowden was still in charge. An escort of the West African Frontier Force in charge of an European officer also entrained at this Station. Passing through Gerehun, Yamandu, Baoma, Blama, a halt was made at Kennema Station for a few minutes, where a few presentation was made of those who were at the Station. At Moa Siding a few moments were spent, then the train proceeded to Daru, and Baiima and arrived at Pendembu after 4.30 p.m., where a large gathering assembled and presentation was made by Commissioner Bowden. The party then walked leisurely to the Barri where the Chiefs had gathered, as also other residents. District Commissioner Hollins was present at this meeting. An Address was presented by the Chiefs and Settlers which was read by Mr. Arthur Short, Agent for Messrs. G. B. Ollivant, who after reading had it folded and placed within the socket of two halves of a highly polished small elephant tusk with golden bands on which the tusk stood. The President gave a reply expressing his appreciation of the evidence of good feeling shown towards him and his party, and his desire to be friendly to all. He spoke of the work Liberia was doing and regarded himself and others as pioneers in the great work. He commended them for their loyalty to the great British Government under whose benign rule they are and of the existence of peace with one another through the oversight and energy of the British Commissioners. This function being over, the party were asked to proceed to another booth where Tea was served. At this gathering the Freemasons presented an Address of Welcome through Mr. Max Thompson, Agent of Paterson Zochonis & Co., at Pembembu. The President received the Address and gave a suitable reply. At this gathering the ladies who took part and served were Mesdames Max Thompson, Fred Solomon, Henry Solomon, Remi Allen, Arthur Short and several others.

At night Commissioner Bowden and his sister Mrs. Lee Milne, were host and hostess at the Official Dinner held at the Hall of the Circuit Court which was elegantly transformed into a handsome dining hall by the wonderful ability of Mrs. Milne and Mrs. Hollins the wife of the District Commissioner. The party sat to a splendid repast in the heart of the Protectorate, which the President in his speech said could not surpass the beauty and elegance of the Hotel Cecil in London. The low red lights were beautifully and artistically displayed round the tables and deserved the commendation of any astute critic. Beautiful native country cloths surrounded the room permitting the balmy evening breezes to play on the guests at table. The British Officers are to be congratulated on the ingenuity which they lavished on a mud thatched building and made it look as if in fairy land. assisted by the artistic tastes of the lady helpers. The party continued till almost midnight when every one dispersed to get ready for the next day's journey and to bid farewell to Pendembu looking forward to the trek through bush paths to entering into Liberian Territory.

On Tuesday morning carriers were at hand ready hammocks of all descriptions had been requisitioned, baggage were lined in long rows and escorts were in evidence. At long last glimpses were caught of the President and the party emerging from the Rest House, where they had passed the night to the spot of assembly, and as he approached near the area, the whistle went off when each carrier seized his load, placed it on his head and was off, guarded by the escort throughout the journey. Soon after this, the President headed the procession followed by his lady and others with escorts, and pleasantly and cheerfully the long line of trekkers wended their way. Meanwhile the Commissioners in bush kit suddenly disappeared from the scene and were lost to view till they rejoined the party at Kabawana in the declining afternoon, where the President was right loyally received by his Liberian subjects under the Lone Star and Stripes.

The march was interesting and instructive as one passed through wooded hills, thronged with remarkable cane-twigs and other deep green foliage, and dense forests ranges. We passed through many swampy surroundings indicative of dense malarial odour and feverish symptoms, then climbed on hills covered by woody arches of a sunless sky, cool and cold. We next approached hammock bridges which hung across the river The bridges made of bush rope swayed to and fro as you cross. They are of various lengths and roped tightly on large deeply rooted trees on either side. Ascending the stair of rounded wooded planks to reach the level of the bridge, one is apt to slip unless protected by the rope which must be firmly held. It was new experiences to many, but as one ventured to cross some with firm, others with timid steps, a roar of laughter was heard by those who had crossed. It was amusingly interesting though associated with some risk. In this way all safely crossed to the joy of the party.

Kabawana which is Liberian territory is built on a hill and here the President was received by his loyal subjects. The band of the Liberian Frontier Force, of which the Bandmaster is Lieutenant Crichlow, played the National Anthem under the Lone Star. After photographing the party the British Commissioners took leave of the President and returned to the British side where they slept for the night, while the President and his party continued the journey to the next town viz., Foloma, where they remained for the night. It was a very cold night, the temperature was under fifty degrees. The cheerful spirit of the party gave no room for complaint, everything seemed so lively and bouyant and around a big camp fire incidents relating to the journey were laughingly told till all were lost in the arms of Somnus.

The next morning was opened with a dense mist which covered the whole area of the village and it was difficult to see at any distance. It was beautifully cold and bracing, and one would believe himself to be in the temperate zone. In the course of the morning the majestic power of the sun dispersed the deep and dense morning mist and genial warmth was restored.

Every one was busy preparing to move forward to the next village after breakfast, which the writer partook with His Excellency and party by invitation in his own tent erected for the occasion. Soon after, all was ready and while the Liberian party proceeded forward the writer took farewell of His Excellency and party and retraced his steps on his journey homeward, which was accomplished in reasonable time. While bidding the President good bye he expressed the wish for the success of his mission to the interior. His Excellency kindly said he and his party were most grateful for the good will and esteem shown to him by the people of the Colony and Protectorate and that they will not soon forget the happy times they spent and the efforts of all to give them a hearty welcome.

With these words we left the Company and trekked again to the base. Pendembu.

NEW NATIVE AREAS FOR THE UNION.

A reassuring statement as to the proposal for the transfer of Bechuanaland and Swaziland to the Union of South Africa was made by Lord Onslow, Under-Secretary to the War Office, in the House of Lords yesterday, on behalf of the Government, in reply to the important questions on the subject raised by Earl Buxton. Lord Onslow said that no step in this direction had yet been taken other than the reception of deputations which waited on the High Commissioner and the Prime Minister to discuss the proposal. The Union Government felt that there were many important considerations to be weighed carefully before they entered into any negotiations with the Imperial Government on the matter. The Union Government did not intend to ask for the transfer of either territory at present, nor would the question arise during the forthcoming Session of Parliament, since it had not yet reached a stage at which the Imperial Government could be asked to give a decision. No steps in any case would be taken until the white and the black populations concerned had had a full opportunity of expressing their views. In answer to a question on the same subject in the House of Commons, Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary, said that Parliament would have the fullest opportunity of discussing and, if it wished, of disapproving of any proposed transfer of Bechuanaland Basutoland, or Swaziland to the Union of South Africa. We understand from a reliable source of information in South Africa by last mail that General Hertzog is in no way anxious to be in a hurry as far as the addition of new native territories to the Union is concerned.

THE GREAT COPPER DEPOSITS OF THE KATANGA.

It is not easy to realise that within less than two decades Belgian and British enterprise should have succeeded in establishing in the heart of the African continent a great base metal industry, already ranking as one of, if indeed not, the largest individual copper producer in the whole of the world, a distinction which, if not already gained, will undoubtedly accrue on the completion of the extensions in hand or contemplated. Last year the Union Minière produced 85,379 tons of copper, an increase of approximately 30,000 tons over the output of the preceding year, while there are now in hand extensions which within the next few years will raise the output to 200,000 tons per annum. The effect of an income of probably more than £12,000,000 must have a far-reaching effect upon the prosperity of Belgium and the Congo, as well as on the finances of the Union Minière and the Tanganyika Concessions—both great corporations and partners working in cordial co-operation in the development of what is proving to be one of Nature's richest storehouses.

THE RAILWAYS OF AFRICA.

An important announcement was made by Sir Henry Birchenough, presiding at the annual meeting of the Chartered Company. Both the company and the Rhodesian Railway Trust, he stated, were well aware of the importance of sufficient and efficient means of transport and, after reminding his audience that through the foresight of Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit, Rhodesia had in the past enjoyed a railway system considerably in advance of its then traffic requirements, announced that the Beira Trustees were sending out experts who would study the requirements of the country for railway extensions or provision of motor roads. Reference was also made to the agreement entered into with the concession holders at Beira, which it was hoped would lead to the provision of adequate wharf and shipping facilities. That Beira, with all its wonderful natural advantages, has drawbacks as the sole exodus for sea-borne traffic was, however pointed out by Mr. Jean Jadot at the special meeting of the Union Minière, who remarked that again the traffic of the Union Minière had been held up by stoppages due to floods, and that consequently it became necessary to consider the completion of the railway in the Belgian Congo, so as to join up with the Benguella line when finished. Mr. Jadot was very insistent on the importance of this railway to his company, as not only providing another outlet to the sea, but which would also prove of considerable assistance in the obtaining of the labour requirements which the larger mining operations of his company would need. Mr. Jadot struck a wise note in the statement that to-day the outlook for the economic development of Africa was so assured that there was no longer occasion for jealousy in the construction of new railways, there being room for all if the natural wealth of the continent were to be developed on a scale needed to give the raw materials so urgently required for the complete rehabilitation of the world's industries.

THE PORT OF BEIRA.

From a Correspondent.

ATTENTION has been repeatedly directed in these columns to the swift progress of the port of Beira, and in recording trade returns during the autumn months of last year it was shown that there was every likelihood of the final figures for 1924 showing an aggregate exceeding 600,000 tons. Complete statistics are now available. Beira achieved its objective, inward and outward cargoes totalling 600,399 tons, or over 93,000 tons above the figures for 1923. In the twelve months there was therefore an advance of over 18%. As the bulk production of maize for export increases in Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland and Rhodesia there is bound to be further remarkable activity at the port, which, when once the Zambezi bridge is in being, will also have to handle a heavy coal bunkering and export trade. An idea of the developments in contemplation may be gathered from a recent statement of the managing director of the Zambezia Mining Development Company that the Tete coalfields could produce at the rate of 300,000 tons a year as soon as adequate transport facilities are provided.

To cater for such trade Beira must obviously have deep-water wharves and modern equipment. Such facilities are of vital importance to the territories served by the port, and they are urging that the work should be expedited.

Rhodesian Comments.

The Salisbury (Rhodesia) Chamber of Commerce, for instance, recently held a special meeting to consider a memorandum drawn up by its committee on the subject of trading facilities and congestion at the Portuguese harbour. The document, which criticises the position strongly but impartially, laying almost all of the blame on the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, holds that unless something is done promptly to augment the existing facilities there will be a state of chaos at the port between the months of July and November of this year. It states that the chief landing company at Beira added to its equipment during 1924 six pontoons, ten steel lighters and two new tugs, while another eight pontoons are under construction. Yet no additional facilities had been made available at the wharf and piers. The difficulties of handling inward and outward traffic can therefore be imagined.

Recording the conviction that the Mozambique Company "is just as keen as we are for the efficient working of the port," the committee suggest the Rhodesian Government should instruct the High Commissioner in London, Sir Francis Newton, to arrange a meeting with the directors of the Railway and the Mozambique Company and endeavour to arrive at a solution. As Colonel Birney, the general manager of the Railways, is at present in London, he could give first-hand information.

The report was unaimously adopted without discussion.

Natives and the Government.

As was seen in our report of last issue, the Natives of the Ciskei are far from being behind times in following the movements of the Government with reference to their affairs. The outstanding fact is that the present ministry is not doing justice to the Bantu by failing to consult Native opinion before hand when contemplating to introduce into Parliament measures of far-reaching importance that cut at the root of their life. Those of our people who dwell within municipal areas are just about half a million (587,000), and excessive care was taken by the previous Government in consulting Native opinion in every town in the Union and through the Conference of their leaders in Bloemfontein in 1922 in drafting the Urban Areas Bill long before it was brought to the House of Assembly. Yet with all, that piece of legislation has already proved to be imperfect in two respects, security of tenure and the excessive power given to magistrates to inflict a punishment covering two years without the right of appeal.

Now, General Hertzog intends to legislate for the four millions of Bantu in rural areas, and to introduce changes that are nothing short of revolutionary. Instead of acquainting the people beforehand, he is straightway going to the House of Assembly with a bill of his own private and mysterious origin and ask the members to discuss matters hitherto unpublished, except by a mere hint in the press. Further than that he has already taken the extraordinary step of dealing with the Imperial Government anent the incorporation of the Crown territories under the most objectionable and humiliating clauses of the Union Act Schedule.

We humbly advise a policy of caution to the honourable Minister for Native Affairs, lest we be suddenly thrown into the turmoil of general Native unrest at a time when confidence in the political stability of South Africa is an urgent necessity for the attraction of foreign capital to give a forward fillip to the trade of the country.

Race Problem — 1925

Africa.

AMERICAN MURDERS IN AFRICA

THE United States is not at war with the Riffs. France and Spain are. This country is supposed to be neutral. Yet there is an American escadrille, commanded by one Sweeny, in Morocco attached to the French army dropping dynamite on Riffian villages killing defenseless women, children and old men. These murders failed to make the world safe for democracy in the last war, so they are attempting to make the Riffian country safe for Frenchmen and Spaniards.

They have been bragging about the effectiveness of their bombing. Effective bombing in war means that there has been lots and lots of killing, lots of blood spilled, even though it is the blood of a baby in its mother's arms or of an old man sitting out his last days in front of his hut.

This man Sweeny and his gang are typical of the United States. Our Nordic boosters like the sight of blood and burnt flesh and defenseless women, cripples and imbeciles writhing in pain and agony. It is their idea of a Christian civilization. The point is to burn or shoot all those that you don't like and be a brother to the rest.

Therefore, while his friends are clubbing an insane Negro to death in Georgia, the brave Sweeny flies high in the air and drops the Anglo-Saxon gospel, of peace and good will, in the Riffiian villages.

When Sweeny returns—and we hope he won't—he should be made Chief Butcher of some band of killers such as the K. K.K.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
OCTOBER 11, 1925

AFRICAN CHIEF ARRIVES TO STUDY NEGROES HERE

Nana Amoah III, Ruler of the Gold Coast Fantis, Recounts Colorful Tales of Native Habits, Pomp and Religion—How He Was "Elected"

NANA AMOAH III, ruler of 30,000 African negroes, has come to the United States and will spend the next few weeks traveling through the North and the South, his aim being to secure first-hand information about the industrial and social life of negroes in America. The Chief says that it is his desire to bring about a closer understanding between the negroes of the two continents. He hopes to familiarize Americans, both black and white, with the customs and the needs of the Fantis, his people.

The Fantis constitute one of the tribes inhabiting that rich and historically picturesque corner of the world known as the Gold Coast. Though the land and its inhabitants are under the suzerainty of Great Britain the natives have been left free to rule themselves after their own fashion, matters of taxes, law and education alone receiving outside direction.

They are a peace-loving and somewhat poetic people. Originally the Fantis came from the north and, working their way toward the sea, conquered the inhabitants of the coast. But they have forgotten their old warlike ways.

Chief Amoah was elected the head of his tribe in 1914, war conditions preventing, however, his ascent to the throne until 1919. The term "elected" is a little misleading. Nana Amoah does not head a republican Government but comes of a ruling house that has been in power for nearly three centuries. The inheritance, instead of passing from father to son, is handed on from uncle to nephew. Seniority is of no importance.

When the ruler feels that the hour of his death is near, he enters into consultation with the Queen mother, behind closed doors (the flap of a tent or a palm leaf). Together they discuss the qualifications of all the young male members of the family. The successor to the throne is chosen for his worth. Upon the death of the Chief, the favored nephew's name is given to the Council of Elders by the Queen. "It is the Queen who has the real power," says Nana Amoah. The people then signify whether they are satisfied with the nominee. If so, he is acclaimed the new ruler.

Drum Wireless.

"Our election returns are flashed by a wireless method of our own from east to west and from north to south," Chief Nana Amoah relates. "They are carried through the air—over mountains, across lakes and rivers, through the jungles—by the beating of drums."

There is, it seems, "a language of the drum," a native African equivalent of the Morse code, beaten out on small drums and large drums—so high as a man, that boom into the stillness of the bush. Telegraphic drumming is an art and a profession on the Gold Coast. Messages carry from twenty to thirty miles, are picked up by the sharp ears of a sentinel and relayed to the next station. In this manner news spreads as fast as sound can travel.

Great celebration marks the election of a chief. Dancing and feasting enter into the ceremonies. Besides the oath of office taken by the young chief—in which he pledges himself to do his duty by his people night or day, to respond whenever called upon and to defend the rights of his tribe in case of war—he must swear allegiance to the British Government.

With great pomp he is escorted to the Deputy Governor. "Wearing my robes of state," said Nana Amoah, "I was carried in a palanquin on the shoulders of some of my subjects. I took with me gifts of gold. My subchiefs were in attendance; the Council of Elders and the brimpons." These last, he explained, are the Rockefellers and the Fords of the Fanti tribe, "though in my country money does not buy power; a chief may be a poor man, but wealth will never make a chief."

Each subchief had his attendants. In the procession were the sword bearers, holding silver and golden urns in their hands; elephant-tail boys, who ran back and forth shooing flies, and the Treasurer, holding in his right hand a pair of scales. The great Chief himself wore chains of gold and precious stones about his neck, while the ornaments on his arms were so heavy that it took two aids to help him hold them up.

In olden times the heads of the tribes were called Kings, but the title was changed to Chief when England's rule was extended to the Gold Coast. A sword and not a crown is the emblem of power. Though Chief Amoah dresses in the latest English fashion when traveling, he brought along several of his most gorgeous native costumes, as well as his royal sword. The robes are brilliant in color and of fine texture. On his head he wears a soft silk scarf.

"Some of the beads I wear on special occasions," said Nana Amoah, "are priceless; they were made by ancient Phoenician artists and are relics of the days when those great mariners traded along our shores."

Settling Disputes.

The Government of the Fanti is paternalistic. All disturbances that cannot be settled privately are referred to the Chief. The individual is responsible to the family, the family to the tribe and the tribe to the Chief. Above the Chief is the Mbra, or Paramount Chief, chosen for his prowess, whose sole duty it is to lead the Fantis in war.

To aid him Chief Amoah has twelve Councilors. All crimes, other than murder, are brought before the native councils. Graver offenses are tried in the English courts.

"We have poverty, but no paupers," said the African visitor. "Every citizen must do some work. We have land belonging to the Crown which can be occupied by those who have no home of their own. Should a member of our tribe die leaving his immediate family without means of support, the responsibility falls to his nearest relations. If they are unable to assume it the tribe becomes responsible.

"Polygamy is not customary among the educated people, though it does exist in my tribe. Marriage is less a hazard with us than it is here. We are careful before we enter into marital relations."

Courtship pursues the following fashion: The young Fanti, having beheld the maiden of his choice, confides the secret to his father, who proceeds to investigate the girl's circumstances. If the result proves satisfactory, consent is given; if not, the young man must seek elsewhere.

But search for family skeletons does not end here. Woe to the young man if his own escutcheon prove less fair than the girl's! Often two persons are betrothed when they are children, though marriage does not take place until the girl is about 18.

Courtesy to Strangers.

Respect and courtesy are shown to the unarmed visitor who travels though the Fantis' domain. "The stranger who enters one of our villages becomes the charge of the odikro, or head man of the community. In the name of the villagers he presents the guest with gifts. When the visitor is about to make his departure, messengers are sent ahead to the next village to advise its odikro. Furthermore, he has the protection of an escort of our people while he journeys from one settlement to another.

"His belongings are held sacred. Should one of my people, by chance, find a wallet containing money, he would deliver it into the hands of the odikro who, if unable to return it to the stranger, would secure it with grasses or thongs and preserve it until called for. Even after a lapse of twenty years the owner would find it intact."

Though Christianity is rapidly spreading in Africa, large numbers of the natives adhere to their primitive beliefs and superstitions.

"The outside world often misunderstands the native's worship of nature," opened Nana Amoah, who is himself a Christian. "When we pray to mountains, streams and rocks, it is not because we believe them to be endowed with any divine power but because we think that they are better able than we to reach our god, who, according to our conception, is a very remote being. We recognize a universal god to whom we give two names: Yami, the god who made me, and Yamkupon, the friend that never fails.

"This god is far off, in the realms above, where it is difficult for us, as mere mortals, to communicate with him. So we offer our prayers to some soaring peak that it, reaching heavenward, may intercede on our behalf. The missionaries, however, have taught many of us that there is a God, ever present and within us, who does not need to be approached through other instruments than our own hearts and minds."

Chief Nana Amoah was educated in the Wesleyan College. He is widely traveled and has spent many years in England, where his two daughters are now in school. Nana Amoah is 49 years old and has four children.

The estimated number of children of school age in the Gold Coast colony is 300,000. Only about 35,000 are getting any education. It is said that although the educated natives do not constitute more than half the population of even the coast cities, they dominate the thought and action of their people. Like Nana Amoah, III, those Africans who have come in contact with European culture speak English with a British accent. Like him they look to America for inspiration and assistance in the completion of their struggle for self-development.

Under the Skin in Afric

Native Industries

By the Rev. W. L. Turner, M.A.

TURNING from our study of the native institutions of the West coast to their industries, we continue making very interesting inquiries and observations. To think the African lazy is to completely misjudge him. He does his day's work before the foreigner begins to stir. From the dawn of day till the sun is hot the West coast is a veritable beehive, completely working with countless bodies of ebony hue, ever hustling, ever singing, faces stern but very clever. At whatever occupation he may be engaged, the African begins at dawn and works till about 9 o'clock in the morning. Then he slows down as the heat increases to rest and sleep until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon; then he plays till 10 or 12 at night.

Africa sleeps in the middle of the day and in the middle of the night; she works in the buoyant and refreshing hours of the morning. She plays as the day saddens and fades into darkness, and as earth takes on a mantle of night. We often misjudge him because our work day begins as his ends. He is not lazy. He knows when to work and how to shun the dangerous mid-day tropical sun. He works, they work, all work, and at what? In the several native industries of the West coast. In the first place, there is the *palm industry*, affording several fruitful occupations, viz., the body of the tree yields as fine a grain as can be gotten from soft timbers of West Africa. Then bore a hole into the core of the tree and there will run out a gallon or more of as delicious crude wine as one would desire; the leaves are used for roofing, fencing, and it is said that the Germans paid $85 a ton for piersava made from the leaf also. The nuts from this tree produce about 90 per cent of the cooking fat used on the coast. A rich butter is also obtained, and the kernel yields a very valuable oil when refined. The palm cabbage is taken from the head of the tree and is very delicious; in fact, a palm forest is another way of spelling wealth.

Agriculture. While agriculture consists in all domestic products, plants, and animals, and therefore should include the palm forests as well, we are here limiting it to farm products alone. He produces sweet potatoes, corn, cotton, rice, cassavas, eddoes, bananas, coffee, and ginger. His poultry consists mainly of chickens. Rice is served ordinarily in the place of bread. Cassavas is not only used as a potato, but they make a very good quality of starch from it also. From ginger is made a beer second only to the palm wine as a soft drink. The cow and goat are domestic animals found in every town.

Fishing. As a fisherman he is rarely equaled. His most popular fish is the deep-sea red snapper. He also captures sharks of considerable size, as large as 150 pounds. Mullet, drum, sand trout are found in markets as well.

Hunting. The African loves to hunt. There are about six specimen of deer. The most delicious is the meat of the red deer. The most common is the fillan-tongue. This is a very small fellow, and a terrible pest to crops. The monkey family consists of a dozen or more varieties. The one most valuable for fur is the long-haired black with a white tail. There are also the squirrel, the opossum, the porcupine, the bush cat, the leopard, and the elephant. In capturing the elephant it should be noted that his flesh is eaten and his ivory marketed. Many tribes do not eat monkey, it should be kept in mind. The Vai, and Mindingo, and others of the Mohammedan group do not eat monkey, believing it to be of distant relation to man.

Leather. Making shoes, pockets, and bags, covering canes, etc., from nicely tanned leather is quite a paying proposition among natives. The shoe last as an invention is laid to equatorial Africa. Be that as it may, the truth is, the natives can make splendid shoes.

Tobacco. To the native tobacco is the most popular plant grown. He *loves* it. And from early childhood till old and grayheaded, he leans heavily upon his tobacco staff. He must have it, and will work all day long for one twist. He makes snuff also, but rarely ever dips it. He sniffs his snuff. Puts a strong spice into it and sniffs it for head troubles—colds and catarrhal effects. To know and understand his pervading use of tobacco, and his ability to handle bush medicines, and when you stand and see him push off his fishing smack daily, and set sail for forty or fifty miles at sea, you must agree with the Harvard historian who claims that centuries before Columbus was born, the natives of West Africa came to America and taught the American Indians the practice of bush medicines and the use of tobacco.

Work in Iron. In every town one enters, one finds the blacksmith shop and the smith at work, pumping his deerskin bellows and hammering at a piece of iron. He is making a sword, a cutlass, a war club, a knife, or a dagger. He is so skilled with the hammer that he beats the edge on the knife that shaves him. It must be kept in mind that Western Equatorial Africa taught the world the work of iron; that is, work in iron began in Equatorial Africa. In far interior Liberia, near the English boundary, among the Kpwelli tribes, iron has not only a strong commercial value, but is actual legal tender. A twisted bar of iron resembling somewhat a flinted arrow, is two cents. And in the markets twelve bars are worth twenty-four cents, or one shilling. The writer has a sample—two cents—in iron.

Gold. While one sees constantly the pound sterling in gold in the banks on the coast and in the stores, yet to the native gold is largely above market value. The gold of Africa is made into ornaments, and is worn by the individual as necklaces, bracelets, hairpins, earrings, bangles, breastpins, etc. He wears it, but does not barter in it, for the price of gold is above buying. There is abundant gold in Liberia.

Our next subject is the most difficult of the series, "Tribal History," and we truly hope it will prove the most interesting.

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK, ARKANSAS.

The Premier's Native Policy.

[By Max D. Mashicila.]

The Premier is every day proposing the solution of the native and coloured problem. The solution of this great question with all its ramific tions, is almost beyond the powers of any public man, but still, the Premier lays stress upon the urgency of a solution of this question. The problem is, undoubtedly, of such great moment that the opinions of Cape members who represent the coloured and native voters should be fearlessly ventilated.

The political solution laid before the whole country by General Hertzog in his Smithfield speech, will remain an indelible impression in our minds. We pardonably assume that the scheme is the considered policy of the Cabinet. Our beloved father, General Hertzog, proposes to abolish the Cape Native Franchise. The rights were given to us in 1854, when the Cape received representative government, and were re-affirmed in 1872 when Responsible Government was granted. Nobody can say that these rights have been unwisely exercised. The natives had looked in many respects to their own interests first as was very natural in a people just emerging from barbarism. No fault, whatsoever, could be found with this. It was proposed to abolish the Cape Native Vote and substitute therefore a Union Franchise, the qualification for which had not yet been stated.

The Premier's proposal to permit actually come about under the new native voters to elect seven white men to represent them in the Assembly would mean a permanent division in the House on the basis of colour—a thing we do not want.

We fear very much that the Premier's apprehension that Native representation would, if the present system continued, dominate or govern Euro. pean interests in years to come, might

Again, General Hertzog is really serious in advocating the complete political, economic and industrial equality of the coloured man with the European.

Oh! Oh! to be a black man in this country. I wish I could turn my colour and be a white or coloured man in this country.

Under the Skin in Afric

Native Industries

By the Rev. W. L. Turner, M.A.

TURNING from our study of the native institutions of the West coast to their industries, we continue making very interesting inquiries and observations. To think the African lazy is to completely misjudge him. He does his day's work before the foreigner begins to stir. From the dawn of day till the sun is hot the West coast is a veritable beehive, completely working with countless bodies of ebony hue, ever hustling, ever singing, faces stern but very clever. At whatever occupation he may be engaged, the African begins at dawn and works till about 9 o'clock in the morning. Then he slows down as the heat increases to rest and sleep until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon; then he plays till 10 or 12 at night.

Africa sleeps in the middle of the day and in the middle of the night; she works in the buoyant, invigorating freshing hours of the morning. She plays as the day saddens and fades into darkness, and as earth takes on a mantle of night. We often misjudge him because our work day begins as his ends. He is not lazy. He knows when to work and how to shun the dangerous mid-day tropical sun. He works, they work, all work, and at what? In the several native industries of the West coast. In the first place, there is the *palm industry*, affording several fruitful occupations, viz., the body of the tree yields as fine a grain as can be gotten from soft timbers of West Africa. Then bore a hole into the core of the tree and there will run out a gallon or more of as delicious crude wine as one would desire; the leaves are used for roofing, fencing, and it is said that the Germans paid $85 a ton for piersava made from the leaf also. The nuts from this tree produce about 90 per cent of the cooking fat used on the coast. A rich butter is also obtained, and the kernel yields a very valuable oil when refined. The palm cabbage is taken from the head of the tree and is very delicious; in fact, a palm forest is another way of spelling wealth.

Agriculture. While agriculture consists in all domestic products, plants, and animals, and therefore should include the palm forests as well, we are here limiting it to farm products alone. He produces sweet potatoes, corn, cotton, rice, cassavas, eddoes, bananas, coffee, and ginger. His poultry consists mainly of chickens. Rice is served ordinarily in the place of bread. Cassavas is not only used as a potato, but they make a very good quality of starch from it also. From ginger is made a beer second only to the palm wine as a soft drink. The cow and goat are domestic animals found in every town.

Fishing. As a fisherman he is rarely equaled. His most popular fish is the deep-sea red snapper. He also captures sharks of considerable size, as large as 150 pounds. Mullet, drum, sand trout are found in markets as well.

Hunting. The African loves to hunt. There are about six specimen of deer. The most delicious is the meat of the red deer. The most common is the fillan-tongue. This is a very small fellow, and a terrible pest to crops. The monkey family consists of a dozen or more varieties. The one most valuable for fur is the long-haired black with a white tail. There are also the squirrel, the opossum, the porcupine, the bush cat, the leopard, and the elephant. In capturing the elephant it should be noted that his flesh is eaten and his ivory marketed. Many tribes do not eat monkey, it should be kept in mind. The Vai, and Mindingo, and others of the Mohammedan group do not eat monkey, believing it to be of distant relation to man.

Leather. Making shoes, pockets, and bags, covering canes, etc., from nicely tanned leather is quite a paying proposition among natives. The shoe last as an invention is laid to equatorial Africa. Be that as it may, the truth is, the natives can make splendid shoes.

Tobacco. To the native tobacco is the most popular plant grown. He *loves* it. And from early childhood till old and grayheaded, he leans heavily upon his tobacco staff. He must have it, and will work all day long for one twist. He makes snuff also, but rarely ever dips it. He sniffs his snuff. Puts a strong spice into it and sniffs it for head troubles—colds and catarrhal effects. To know and understand his pervading use of tobacco, and his ability to handle bush medicines, and when you stand and see him push off his fishing smack daily, and set sail for forty or fifty miles at sea, you must agree with the Harvard historian who claims that centuries before Columbus was born, the natives of West Africa came to America and taught the American Indians the practice of bush medicines and the use of tobacco.

Work in Iron. In every town one enters, one finds the blacksmith shop and the smith at work, pumping his deerskin bellows and hammering at a piece of iron. He is making a sword, a cutlass, a war club, a knife, or a dagger. He is so skilled with the hammer that he beats the edge on the knife that shaves him. It must be kept in mind that Western Equatorial Africa taught the world the work of iron; that is, work in iron began in Equatorial Africa. In far interior Liberia, near the English boundary, among the Kpwelli tribes, iron has not only a strong commercial value, but is actual legal tender. A twisted bar of iron resembling somewhat a flinted arrow, is two cents. And in the markets twelve bars are worth twenty-four cents, or one shilling. The writer has a sample—two cents—in iron.

Gold. While one sees constantly the pound sterling in gold in the banks on the coast and in the stores, yet to the native gold is largely above market value. The gold of Africa is made into ornaments, and is worn by the individual as necklaces, bracelets, hairpins, earrings, bangles, breastpins, etc. He wears it, but does not barter in it, for the price of gold is above buying. There is abundant gold in Liberia.

Our next subject is the most difficult of the series, "Tribal History," and we truly hope it will prove the most interesting.

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK, ARKANSAS.

The Premier's Native Policy.

[By Max D. Mashicila.]

The Premier is every day proposing the solution of the native and coloured problem. The solution of this great question with all its ramifications, is almost beyond the powers of any public man, but still, the Premier lays stress upon the urgency of a solution of this question. The problem is, undoubtedly, of such great moment that the opinions of Cape members who represent the coloured and native voters should be fearlessly ventilated.

The political solution laid before the whole country by General Hertzog in his Smithfield speech, will remain an indelible impression in our minds. We pardonably assume that the scheme is the considered policy of the Cabinet. Our beloved father, General Hertzog, proposes to abolish the Cape Native Franchise. The rights were given to us in 1854, when the Cape received representative government, and were re-affirmed in 1872 when Responsible Government was granted. Nobody can say that these rights have been unwisely exercised. The natives had looked in many respects to their own interests first as was very natural in a people just emerging from barbarism. No fault, whatsoever, could be found with this. It was proposed to abolish the Cape Native Vote and substitute therefore a Union Franchise, the qualification for which had not yet been stated.

The Premier's proposal to permit actually some about under the new native voters to elect seven white men to represent them in the Assembly would mean a permanent division in the House on the basis of colour—a thing we do not want. We fear very much that the Premier's appreciation that Native representation would, if the present system continued, dominate or govern Europ. in interests in years to come, might

Again, General Hertzog is really serious in advocating the complete political, economic and industrial equality of the coloured man with the European.

Oh! Oh! to be a black man in this country. I wish I could turn my colour and be a white or coloured man in this country.

Race Problem — 1925

Africa.

RICHEST DIAMOND FIELDS IN AFRICA

Thousands Of Natives, Controlled By A Few Hundred Whites, Work In The Belgian Congo.

BELGIAN CONGO, South Africa, Oct. 14.—Africa is rightly called the land of riches. What are believed to be the largest diamond mines in the world, are located in this region. There are about fifty diamond mines here. A single company now employs nearly 25,000 workmen. A force of a few hundred white men directs thousands of natives.

The new African mines, it is estimated, have diamond-bearing earth spread over 150,000 square miles. Since the region lies just south of the equator climatic conditions encountered are difficult. This region had rarely been penetrated until the discovery of diamonds. To reach it, a river journey of some 500 miles is necessary from the nearest railroad.

It has been necessary in some places to cut away almost impenetrable jungle at great expense before mining operations could be commenced. In other regions the diamond deposits are covered by deep sand, clay and silt.

The equipment of the mines is modern and up to date. A narrow guage railroad has been built and more than 1,000 miles of automobile roads constructed. Several powerful wireless stations are maintained by the diamond company to keep in touch with the outside world.

The quality of the diamonds mined varies widely. Many of the stones are blue-white or colorless and transparent, comparing favorably with those from other places of the world. Many are yellow and brown, green, blue and red. There is a wide variation in size. Diamonds of forty carats have been found and ten-carat stones are comparatively common. Many of the stones are found in the beds of streams where the action of the water has chipped them.

A generation ago much was written about the rapid growth of the demand for diamonds, especially in America, and the probability of a serious diamond shortage if new sources of supply were not soon discovered. Likelihood of a diamond shortage for some time to come has been removed by the discovery of diamonds in the Belgian Congo.

NEGRO WORKERS OF PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA TORTURED, WAGES ARE STOLEN. WOMEN ENSLAVED ON ROADS

(By The Federated Press)

NEW YORK, July 14.—Portugal no longer exports slaves for sale but Portuguese planters and traders in Angola, Portuguese East Africa, hold the natives in peonage "worse than slavery," Edward A. Ross, University of Wisconsin, professor of sociology, announces in his report on compulsory labor in the Portuguese colony.

Slavery in the simple form of ownership of blacks by whites was ended with the downfall of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910 but the terrible new system began in 1918. Between 1910 and 1918, when "republican principles" were supposed to be in use, Portuguese landowners complained of the "laziness of natives." Most Portuguese employers thought the natives should work for nothing or at most 20 cents a month and about 2 cents a day for food, Ross reports.

Workers Flogged and Tortured

Nineteen villages were visited and nearly 7000 natives interviewed thru interpreters. Local pastors and teachers were talked with.

Everywhere it was found that the workers were ruthlessly driven: forced to work up to 12 months a year; flogged with the djambock or hippo lash and tortured. Women are requisitioned to work on roads and "if a mother lays a baby under a tree and rises up from her work when it cries, she may get struck for it."

Native police are forced to inflict brutal punishments upon their brother blacks. "A year ago police came to a mission, collected the men, went to the pounding rocks where the women pound their manioc and had their meal spread ready to dry and took them off to work on the road without even giving them a chance to gather up their meal and carry it to their homes.

"Children had to quit the mission school saying, 'Father has been taken to work on a plantation, mother and the older brothers are working on the roads, so I must stay out of school to hoe the fields, pound the manioc into meal and feed my little brothers and sisters.' Furthermore, the child will have to pound the meal and carry it to mother working on the road with the baby on her back."

Wages Are Stolen

So much of the natives' time and strength is requisitioned by the Portuguese masters that the blacks are no longer able to attend their own gardens and fields. "There is little evidence that any considerable part of the wages turned over in trust to the officials by the employers of natives hired from the government actually reached the hands of those to whom it belongs," Ross says. "The amount of unpaid labor exacted of skilled natives is not infrequently so excessive that the young men see nothing to be gained by their acquiring skill in the missionary schools."

Most Road Workers Women

"Motor roads have been extended by conscripted, unpaid, unrationed natives, for the most part women, with only the most primitive implements." Labor-stealing is widespread, that is, no pay for half-days and many other days worked. "We heard of no effort made by any official to curb this despicable practice. The official does not appear to be in a strong position with respect to his fellow nationals, the traders and planters... The blacks feel that the Portuguese are leagued against them and that there is no recourse the white man's violence and injustice."

Government Does Nothing

"The government provides practically nothing in the way of schools, medical care, emergency relief or justice against the white trader, for the people of the villages, as recompense for the heavy burden of unrequited toil it lays upon them. The treatment of natives in Portuguese territory compares so unfavourably with that experienced by the natives of Rhodesia or Belgian Congo that there is a strong tendency to emigrate across the frontier."

French Negro Books

"Afim Assanga" is another one of those books written by African natives dealing with the white man's colonial administration and attempts at civilizing the natives. The author is a French subject, who served in the French army of occupation in the Ruhr and on the Rhine and the place where the book is published is Berlin. The French negro author says that the Prussian Junkers themselves hated throughout their African colonies and have taught the black man a set of vices of which he had not an inkling before. This only confirms the statements of Rene Maran, author of the sensational "Batouala," another negro work that caused a stir in Paris last year because of its stark picturization of the moral decay introduced by the French in their colonies. But "Afim Assanga," the new book, does one thing that seems to brand it as insincere and a piece of political propaganda. It iterates that the natives love the Germans and hate the French. That is ridiculous nonsense as any observer of African colonial affairs will affirm. To the backward natives there is little difference between Frenchmen or Germans. And to those who come in contact with both the French and Germans, the latter always paid special attention with bribes, gifts and especial kind treatment to create a sense of contrast in the native's mind between German and French rule.

WHITE MEN CONTINUE TO FIND SOMETHING OF VALUE IN AFRICA

Diamond Mines Over Enormous Area Discovered in "Belgian" Congo—Small White Force Exploits Labor of Thousands of Natives

(From the New York Times)

The world has several times been threatened with a diamond famine. Nearly a century ago experts calculated that the diamond supply was rapidly decreasing and could not long be expected to meet the demand. The discovery of the South African diamond mines solved the problem for a long period. A generation ago much was written about the rapid growth of the demand for diamonds, especially in America, and the probability of a serious diamond shortage if new sources of supply were not even discovered. Likelihood of a diamond shortage for some time to come has been removed by the discovery of diamonds in the Belgian Congo. Although diamonds were first discovered in this region as late as 1907, the development of the industry has been remarkable. It is virtually a post-war industry. During 1923 and 1924 nearly 20 per cent of the world's supply of diamonds, measured by weight, was gathered in these mines.

It has been necessary in some places to cut away almost impenetrable jungle at great expense before mining operations could be commenced. In other regions the diamond deposits are covered by deep sand, clay and silt.

The new African mines are believed to be the largest in the world. It is estimated that the diamond-bearing earth is spread over 150,000 square miles. Since the region lies just south of the equator climatic conditions encountered are difficult. This region had rarely been penetrated until the discovery of diamonds. To reach it a river journey of some 500 miles is necessary from the nearest railroad.

The equipment of the mines is modern and up to date. A narrow gauge railroad has been built and more than 1,000 miles of automobile roads constructed. Several powerful wireless stations are maintained by the diamond company to keep in touch with the outside world.

The quality of the diamonds mined varies widely. Many of the stones are blue-white or colorless and transparent, comparing favorably with those from other parts of the world. Many are yellow and brown, green, blue and red. There is a wide variation in size. Diamonds of forty carats have been found and ten-carat stones are comparatively common. Many of the stones are found in the beds of streams where the action of the water has chipped them.

About fifty diamond mines are in operation in this general region. A single company now employs nearly 25,000 workmen. A force of a few hundred white men directs thousands of natives.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Sanitation.

There is no question to-day as to the importance of education to West Africa, there is not even discussion: it is admitted on all sides, and much is being done to improve it, and to increase the opportunities of acquiring it. There is equal unanimity as to the importance of improving health, but there is, perhaps, less popular enthusiasm. While every one seems to consider himself competent to discuss education and to make suggestions for its improvement or provision, sanitation is considered a matter for experts, to be left to medical men. The war on disease is supported by public opinion, and money is freely voted for hospitals, dispensaries, and public medical services. The less spectacular, but equally important, problems of urban sanitation have made less advance because they stir less interest. The work is more energetically carried on, but the system has hardly changed during the last quarter of a century. The methods of collection, and of disposing of rubbish and sewage, retain all their old objectionable features. Dustbins, latrines, and sewage destructors are themselves causes of nuisance and scatterers of diseases, and sources of offence to the noses of the citizens. Secombe is, therefore, to be congratulated on the appointment as Sanitary Officer of a reformer who has taken effective steps to abate the nuisances. Major A. L. Otway (Army Medical Corps) has, since his appointment as the town's Medical Officer of Health, brought his wide experience and initiative to bear, and introduced new and effective methods of destroying refuse and night-soil, which not only do away with noisome smells, but prevent the breeding of the swarms of flies which used to be generated by careless exposure of this garbage. This is, perhaps, the most important and far-reaching feature of the reform. What was the use of private and personal cleanliness while the town was studded with collections of uncleanness, and haunted by disease-laden flies? With characteristic enthusiasm for everything conducive to the public good, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, before going on furlough, took steps to extend the system to the whole Colony. A conference of Medical Officers of Health will discuss the features of Major Otway's system and study its operation. The approval of such a conference will probably lead to the introduction of the system into the other Colonies. I cannot refrain from a word of compliment to the Major's helpmeet, Mrs. Otway, who furthers the good work by making the necessary working drawings, and superintending the construction of the apparatus.

Tuskegee and Science.

Booker Washington's noble foundation by its services to his race, has been indirectly of service to all humanity. It is now entering on a career of direct world-wide service by scientific contributions to the world's needs. Professor Carver, the Negro chemist at the head of the laboratories and experimental station of Tuskegee Institute, has discovered a source of wealth in the soil surrounding it. From this he has succeeded in producing "twenty-seven different wash-colour combinations applicable to plastered surfaces, sixteen stains for furniture and inside woodwork, thirty-two varnishes and numerous other stains for painting bungalows and box-cars, as well as toilet-powders and the long-sought ultra-marine blues which were used by the Egyptians of Tut-ankh-Amen's time." It is probable that the discovery will lead to the development of a new industry. The Professor, who has been awarded the Spingarn medal (given each year to the man or woman of African descent who makes the highest achievement in any field of human endeavour), and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Great Britain, was born in slavery, of slave parents, on the farm of Moses Carver, in Missouri. Like Booker Washington, his indomitable energy and strength of character have raised him to an eminence of achievement for which every American of the Great Republic is proud to hail him as a fellow-citizen.

Native Female Education.

The contributor to the "Nigerian Spectator" who writes over the signature "Challenor" has a thoughtful article in the issue of September 5 on "Our Women," advocating the training of girls as teachers, to which I am moved to add a few notes. Female education is needed to enable the growing women to meet the social and economic problems of life under the change of conditions caused by progress and the introduction of new ideas of the function of society and the mutual relations of its members, following on contact with Western civilisation. The women are more affected by these changes than the men. Under the native social systems the position of women is clearly defined: their economic status is secure, and their political influence is strong. Marriage does not entail on them the disabilities which followed, until quite recently, a Christian marriage. A married woman does not become merged, as it were, in her husband and his family, but retains her individuality and family ties, and the ownership of her property does not pass to her husband. Each of the partners has a separate estate, and neither can interfere with the other's property. The Christian could theoretically claim the undivided loyalty and affection of her husband, a claim not always respected, and which she could not enforce. The wife of a polygamous husband has the satisfaction of knowing who her rivals are, and that her husband cannot squander her wealth upon them. The economic pressure of the increasing cost of living and the more varied desires generated by "progress" will in due course lead to the abandonment of polygamy in favour of monogamy, and the problem of the unmarried woman who has to support herself will follow, owing to the loosening of the family and tribal system, by which every member was provided for, which proceeds so rapidly when native institutions come into contact with European authority. The best preparation of women for this inevitable change is by giving them as full and up-to-date education as the young men are receiving. In later life they must meet as mates or as rivals in the struggle for life and livelihood. If as mates, both must be on an equal footing of mental culture; if as rivals, the woman must be trained to equal efficiency so as to hold her place in the economic struggle. For this preparation female teachers are indispensable. The eager advocates of education in the British West African Colonies must not overlook this aspect of the education problem, lest they produce a lop-sided society where one half is overweighted or dragged back by the other. They will find in it a series of new problems and a fruitful field of labour.

W. F. H.

A NEW NIGERIAN RAILWAY.

Feeder Line to be Constructed from Zaria to Gusau, 114 Miles in Length; cost over £500,000.

Construction will presently be begun on a new feeder line of railway, of 114 miles, from Zaria, north-west, to Gusau, Northern Nigeria. The approval of the Colonial Office for the construction will be officially announced at the next meeting of the Legislative Council. The railway will tap a great cotton-growing area hitherto dependent on camel and donkey transport, and latterly a certain amount of motor transport.

The construction will cost from £500,000 to £700,000, according to the amount of second-hand material it is possible to use (obviating the use of new material to be bought in England); and the character of the country. Much use will be made of old rails of the line through Ibadan, which has been relaid. Some of the old rails from the Eastern Railway will also be utilised. These latter are 45 lb. and 50 lb. rails.

The survey for this branch line has been a most unusual one for Nigeria. There was a careful traffic survey by officers, who went through the area to be served, calculating what the traffic possibilities would be. The line, beginning from Zaria, will go through Funtua, probably through Kowrkoshi, ending at Gusau, which is roughly half-way to Sokoto. All material additional to that available in Nigeria will be bought in England. Not for years has anything of the sort been bought by the Nigerian Government outside this country, and then it has been some speciality. The work will be carried out by the Nigerian Government without contractors here. It is not possible to give the date when construction will begin, but it is understood that as sections are finished on the Eastern Railway working gangs will be transferred to this new feeder line.

One estimate is that, when completed, the new line will treble the Northern Nigerian cotton exports, which last season were 21,000 bales.

Sir Hugh Clifford, during whose Governorship the construction was planned, remarked, when asked by WEST AFRICA for a comment upon the news:—"This feeder line for the main line will be built after a perfect traffic survey. It is mainly to open up a cotton area."

TO DEVELOP RUBBER INDUSTRY IN LIBERIA.

As a step toward the production of the raw material required for his product, Harvey S. Firestone, as president of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., is reported by the Associated Press as "preparing to spend $100,000,000 in remodeling a whole country" by establishing a rubber plantation in Liberia, west Africa. This move, as Mr. Firestone is said to see it, will increase United States control of the world's rubber production from 3 per cent to 50 per cent.

In all probability, Mr. Firestone in this step is actuated by two major ideas: To obtain freedom from the British control of that field, with resultant reduction of prevailing high prices; to absorb for his company any margin of profit in the transition of raw material into the finished product. On such reasons have great manufacturers in other lines adopted the same plan for ownership of their necessary raw materials.

Apparently the writer of the dispatch quoted is impressed by the prospect of Mr. Firestone "remodeling" Liberia. On that line the point, as we see it, is the "remodeling" of the United States—no part can be affected without the whole being affected, and industries requiring rubber are among the leading enterprises in America. So if Mr. Firestone succeeds in his plan, many industries in the United States probably will profit.

Investigators, says this dispatch, who have been studying the rubber situation for the Firestone Company for two years first considered the Philippine Islands, but found the natives inimical through their fear that their coveted "independence" might be retarded. Revolutions or labor conditions are said to have eliminated Central America and South America, and experiments in Mexico are still in progress.

If Mr. Firestone can make a success of his million-acre rubber plantation in Liberia, the first break in the line of British monopoly possibly may be accomplished.

Race Problem—1925.

Africa.

WHAT WILL HER ANSWER BE

AMERICAN business interests are soon to take a foothold in Africa. We have been reading in the papers that negotiations which have been in progress for some months have been virtually completed for the leasing of 1,000,000 acres of rubber plantation land in the Liberian Republic by the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. Over a long period American manufacturers have been waging strenuous opposition to British monopoly of the rubber producing industry. And finally now American dollars have purchased a foothold that will enable them to rival the prosperous interests of Great Britain.

And now it remains to be seen if American capital will exhibit any vastly different attitude to the natives in the conduct of profitable business than has England, Germany, France and Belgium. The rubber traffic in Africa is steeped in blood and the records of atrocities on the natives need no rehearsing. England in her greedy lust for gain reduced the natives to slavery to furnish a cheap supply of labor. Germany wrote her chapter into the history of these benighted people before her empire was divided among her foes. France, too, despite the popular notion that her policy toward "backward people" is a model to the world, has likewise been guilty of inflicting the misery of bondage. And finally Belgium outrages against the natives of the Congo find no parallel in history. Millions of lives, starvation, slavery and every kindred suffering, was the price that Africa and Africans paid under the cruel reign of Leopold. All the suffering that Belgium endured at the hands of invaders during the World War, trebled and quadrupled would be sufficient to atone for but a small portion of her sins against the natives of the Congo.

Little wonder that America's entry into partial control of Africa's resources disturbs us. Shall we believe that all "altruistic defenders of Democracy"—the American capitalists—will show a vastly different attitude than that which the history of European domination reveals?

We are reminded that Negroes in the South have already endured a bitter experience of slavery and exploitation at the hands of white capitalists from which the race has not fully recovered in the span of better than a half century. America can be of mutual benefit to Africa in her new business relationship. But will she, is the question. Liberia stands in need of such cultural inspiration as Americans can afford. The Little Republic can prosper much from the knowledge of the ways and methods of our modern civilization. American manufacturers now have the opportunity to set a splendid example for the rest of the world by proving the genuiness of American theories of Democracy and the rights of small nations. But should she fail, this country will have written its name along with the other European powers, which bear the shame of inflicting Africa with the misery of their greed and avarice.

What will be America's answer? We can but wait to see.

PORTUGAL AND AFRICAN SLAVES

Washington, D. C. Aug. 17 (ANP) There has been laid before the League of Nations a report, based on close investigation, of the most deplorable conditions of the Africans under the government of Portugal. The natives are forced to work at stipulated wages and frequently never received any pay. It also recalls the horrors of Belguim in the days of Leopold. It is something of the same thing practiced by the British in the Tropics and India.

Names Of Th Councillors Fo The Year 192

MASERU DIST:—

1. Paramount Chief Griffith
2. Ramaoanda Api
3. Leloko Lerotholi
4. Mapeshoane Moshoeshoe
5. Hlakanelo Moshoeshoe
6. Epraim Lebakeng
7. Josias Mopeli
8. Philip Moliso
9. Lekarapa Mokhafola
10. James Makhobalo
11. Patrick Lehloenya
12. Morena Sekhonyana Bereng
13. Malepa Thatisi
14. Sekubute Khechane
15. Makhobalo Tneko
16. Mpiti Khotso
17. Potso 'Nena
18. Letlatsa Matsoso
19. Morena Seeiso Maama
20. Molapo Maama
21. Lehlopa Moshoeshoe
22. Rampoetsi Mahlaha

MAFETENG DIST:—

1. Chief Lepolesa Letsie
2. Chief Moholobela Seeiso
3. Makoanyane Seeiso
4. Malealea Qaba
5. .....
6. Lerotholi Mojela
7. Solomon Maphathe
8. Ts'ephe Ramarothole
9. Sechache Molomo
10. Malebanye Ramahotetsa
11. Qamako Mafa
12. Matete Ramabilikoe
13. Mohlalefi Bereng
14. Sekoto Tsekana

QACHA'S NEK DIST:—

1. Chief Makhaola Lerotholi
2. Tautona Sehapa
3. Pitso Mpiti
4. Rapase Sefali
5. Elias Rafolatsane
6. Bennett Leshuta

LERIBE DIST:—

1. Motsarapane Jonathan
2. Setsomi Jonathan
3. Simon M. Phamotse
4. Thasi Moliboea
5. Khojane Molapo
6. Ralehlatsa Ramaisa
7. Morena Mots'oene
8. Joseph Molapo
9. Morena Mopeli Joel
10. Qhobela Joel
11. Lepekola Joel
12. Thaabe Matela
13. Dye Moruti
14. Alex. Mopeli
15. Lesiamo Molapo
16. Mojela Seshope
17. Potfol Letsoela
18. Morena Boshoane Peete.
19. .....

MOHALE'S-HOEK DIST;—

1. Lengau Letsie
2. Mabilikoe Matete
3. Soko Letsie
4. Nkhetheleng Molomo
5. Morena Mokhele
6. Mahlehle Monyake
7. Rets'elisitsoe Raboroko
8. .....
9. Malebanye Potsane
10. Bolokoe Potsane
11. Folatsane Koelela
12. Phakiso Lebona
13. Mothetho Lebona

QUTHING DIST:—

1. Morena Sempe Nkoebe
2. Solomon Nkoebe
3. Lebesele Letsie
4. Abel Matete
5. Mantsoepa Sekhonyana
6. Elia Mosehle
7. Molapo Koali
8. Lebeko Mots'oane
9. George Ntho

BEREA DIST:—

1. Morena Masopha
2. Koali Masopha
3. Fako Masopda
4. Letlatsa Thebe
5. Lereko Mapeshoane.
6. Lekhafola Selengoane
7. David Mokhehle
8. Morena Majara
9. Ts'epinare Majara
10. Thomas Ts'enoli
11. Nkoebe Peete
12. Sheli Sekhomo

GOVERNMENT NOMINEES

1. Rev. Edward Motsamai
2. Ts'epinare Letsie
3. Labane Chokobane
4. Peete Molapo
5. President Molapo

NO SLAVERY IN ANGOLA.

Natives Very Well Treated.

That the natives were well treated and that the allegations of slavery were unfounded as applied to the parts of the country that he knew, was the opinion expressed to the "Rand Daily Mail" by Mr. W. Neeser, who has recently been in Johannesburg on a business visit from Portuguese West Africa.

Mr. Neeser, who is a South African by birth, has been for 23 years in tropical Africa, and he was interviewed in Johannesburg just prior to his return to Angola after a brief trip to the Union.

He said he had read in the papers recently suggestions of something approaching slavery being prevalent in certain parts of the hinterland. "I have never seen anything like this," was his comment. "The Government of Angola protects the native in every way, at the same time giving every facility to those who want to employ native labour. They recruit the natives for us and at the same time fix rates of pay and lay down the conditions of service. The Government charges nothing for the recruiting, but employers must guarantee the payment of the Hut Tax. There is any amount of voluntary labour, especially for the construction of railways. The natives have their compounds, and before the boy is handed over to the

employer he must be clothed according to Government regulations."

Mr. Neeser, gave some interesting details of native life and conditions in Angola. The Mbumbu, he said, was a born trader. They have derived this trait from the Swahilis, who used to overrun the country in the old slave days. But when the Mbumbu forgot all about his trading and sought employment, he became, after training, a good worker.

"There is one race in the southern part of Angola," said Mr. Neeser, "which has never been called on to work. Some of them came to me this year, and they had not the slightest idea even of handling a shovel."

They had, Mr. Neeser added, no idea of work, and the result was that although well fed and clothed, they bolted.

"You are not allowed to touch a native," said Mr. Neeser. "If a native reports to the Government that he has been flogged, it means very serious trouble. Of course, the native will always try to get the better of the white man. The Government looks after him in every way. He is well treated and we rarely have any complaints of slavery or anything of the sort.

"Before a batch of natives is handed over to the employer, the Administrator of the district gives them particulars as to pay, conditions of service, clothing, and so on; and the boys are told that if they have any complaint they must not run away from their work but go to the Government officials and make a complaint."

Mr. Neeser indicated that beer and work do not mix. As soon as the natives began to brew beer, as they do when the new crop of rice and maize is ripe, they forget all about their work. The maize and rice crops often go neglected.

"I have even seen rice falling in the fields while natives sit and drink beer rather than come out and reap it," continued Mr. Neeser.

Turning to the country generally, Mr. Neeser said Angola was a place with a great future. He emphasised the interesting fact that it had about 24,000 kilometres of motor roads, most of them in good condition, although sandy in places. Indeed, he had been able to motor at 60 miles an hour on some of them. No other vehicular traffic was allowed on these motor roads.

The roads were first cut out by native labour, and gangers were subsequently stationed at various stages. An important part of their duty was to assist travellers on their way. Little rest-houses were put up at certain spots and the roads generally were well maintained.

The country had been largely opened up through the construction of these roads, but in addition there were important trunk railways.

The Benguella railway was being carried to the frontier of the Belgian Congo, and would in the future tap a large part of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

Native Progress

The Maseru Native Race Club which held its first race-meeting at Maseru on the 3rd August, were able to make an impressive achievement in their first start as the right class of sportsmen, as it will be seen from the following report which appeared in the "*Mochochonono*" of the 5th instant.

"These Basuto about forty in number raised a little fund by subscriptions of one guinea per man and some aid by some European and Native well wishers. Programmes having been sent to all corners of Basutoland and the border districts of the Orange Free State, race horses began to arrive in Maseru towards the end of July, ponies and galloways being measured and handicapped on the 31st. The lotteries were held on the 1st of August and very ably conducted by the Natives themselves The 2nd of August passed quietly excepting speculation as to winners of the following day. Then came the 3rd of August with its excitement of the sort found at all races The first race, a Native Police Race was taken by Corpl. Dyke Lebesa, who came from as far as the border between us and Natal. Trial Plate, always a race of wild guesses was won by "March Mallow" of Capt. Brown who is becoming a terror in the racing circles of this country. In the Maiden Ponies, "Peggie" owned by Sir. Edward Garraway came up with a big stride and got to the winning post without much difficulty. I understand this filly was bred by a Mosuto of the Maseru district and that it is by one of the Government stallions, progeny of which are known as far as Johannesburg and Durban. The big event of the day the Qoaling Handicap was wrested by Mr. Balfe's "Noble Laddie" while Mr. Petersen's "Wendy" as usual took the Pony Handicap in spite of its top weight. The Native race of catch weights was won by Sergt. Ts'uts'ulupa who came from a police camp about fifty miles away; and the £15 : 15s. of the Maseru Handicap open to Natives only went to "Moyeni" a chestnut filly bred and owned by old Sergt. Mohoma who lives about ninety miles away from Maseru. The glorious uncertainly of races was once more proved when chief Ntsane Maama's bay gelding

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

That human instrument for the peaceful assuagement of the many ills which humanity is heir to—the League of Nations is showing early signs of coming to grief. Started as it was after the Great War in which life and money was freely sacrificed—and the nations were heartily sick of the war—it was hoped and ever stated that it was the advent of the millenium—when nations shall no longer resort to the arbitrament of the sword for the settlement of their troubles—but will appeal to the League. Non Europeans were doubtful—knowing as they do the selfishness of humanity and the proneness to settle such questions on the public platform of the Golden Rule. First came the Italian-Grecian trouble, in which Italy knowing it was dealing with a weaker State refused to submit the whole question to the League thus stultifying the League of Nations. Then came the boundary dispute between Turkey and Iraq—the Labour Party in England to their credit submitted the dispute to the League, and it was settled amicably. Then came the assasination of the Sirdar in Egypt. Egypt wanted the matter placed before the League—but the Conservatives being in power sent an ultimatum at the same time threatening that the intervention by any power would be looked upon as an unfriendly action.

But the whole fabric of the League of Nations tumbled to pieces on that most hated phrase by subject nations "domestic or internal affairs." Natives in the Union have been debarred from appealing to their King—whom they look upon as the final Court of Appeal—by this almost damnable phrase—domestic affair. Now to put the final seal of doom to the efficacy of the League—Japan proposes what seemed to many as just and fair—that the action of any nation refusing nationals of another nation entering their country was a question that should be submitted to the League, as disturbing the peace of the world. That was vetoed by the League and the Powers as a domestic question. Thus it has become evident that the promised millenium is far from being realised. Might is still right, the weak must be coerced by force to submission. What puzzles many a thinking people is why the League does not offer its services to intervene in the trouble in Morocco? In the Russo-Japanese war some time back America offered its services and successfully terminated the war.

Race Problem — 1925.
Africa.

LIBERIAN MINISTER SAYS HIS, IS A LAND FOR THE YOUNG MEN

Will Have Nothing To Do With Garveyites. However; Here To Further Commercial Relations.

Edwin Barclay, Minister Plenipotentiary from Liberia, arrived in New York on the French Liner Paris last week and was met at quarantine by Henry Carter, special representative of the State Department.

Mr. Barclay let it be known that his visit had nothing to do with loan negotiations, but was here to further commercial relations between his country and the United States.

Mr. Barclay is forty-three years old and speaks English fluently. He said that Liberia was a country for young men and that if he were asked to speak to American Negro organizations relative to Negroes from the United States going to his country to settle he would be pleased to do so. Referring to Marcus Garvey, he said that neither Garvey nor any one identified with him would be welcome to Liberia.

Asked about rubber concessions, Mr. Barclay said:

"The Firestone Rubber Company has a concession, 1,000,000 acres, and can have as much more land as it desires. Rubber is thriving well in Liberia and there will be a good crop this season. Fifteen hundred acres, planted by the Firestone concern as an experiment, have turned out a success, and 20,000 acres are now under cultivation."

Correspondence.

BANTU HISTORY.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Dear Sir,

As you are doubtless aware, the late Mr. Kawa of Peddie left behind him a manuscript history of the Fingo people, which represented practically the life-long study of a very alert and capable mind enjoying some exceptional advantages for obtaining and sifting information from the positions that he filled. It was matter for regret that Mr. Kawa did not live to see his work published; but insufficiency of means stood in the way. Now, I am pleased to learn, a representative committee has been formed to carry the matter through, raising by subscriptions on both sides of the Kei, the initial sum needed for publication. This committee has done me the honour to ask me to cooperate with them, and to act as Treasurer, and I write to say that I am heartily agreeing to their request, and would commend to all you Fingo readers and their friends their pious duty to the late Mr. Kawa, to see that his great effort may not come to nought.

Yours, Etc.,
JAMES HENDERSON,
Lovedale,
4th July, 1925.

PORTUGAL AND AFRICAN SLAVES.

(Columbian Press Bureau.

Washington, D. C., August 19.—There has been placed before the League of Nations a report, based on close investigation, of the most deplorable conditions of the Africans under the government of Portugal. The natives are forced to work at stipulated wages and frequently never receive any. It all recalls the horrors of Belgium in the days of Leopold. It is something of the same thing practiced by the British in the

An Infamous Act.

Once more the Government of South Africa has besmirched its Statute book by recording a colour bar act to cover the whole Union. The measure has been an infamous one from its inception, because it was meant to be a piece of revenge against the judicial decision that had declared the colour bar at the mines *ultra vires*. When the bill was drafted it was purposely extended in scope so as to get beyond the Rand Mines and to cover other Provinces which never had such a law before. Mr. F. W. Beyers, supported by the whole Pact Government adopted an adamant attitude characteristic of the old-time Transvaal anti-Native brutality of the Paul Kruger republican regime. He refused to countenance any amendments suggested by the Opposition with the aim of meeting the susceptibilities of Cape Native citizens who had always been exempted by the Hofmeyr Act of 1887 against colour discriminating laws. He firmly declined to allow the Transkei Council Natives to give evidence in any shape or form. He mercilessly steam-rolled the debate, squashed the Opposition by the weight of the Pact majority, and finally forced the measure into the Statute book in the teeth of all warning. These are Prussian methods with a vengeance! Those Natives who had been deluded in to believing that the Pact ministry would be a greater friend to them than the Smuts Ministry have to-day been sadly disillusioned. Now they must admit that "the devil you know is better than the devil you do not know." Whatever may have been the faults of the S.A.P. in their time, it will now be acknowledged by any impartial observer that they were far greater protectors of native liberties than Hertzog's government. The new colour bar Act is a challenge to the Natives and English section of the Union, because the Pactities openly group the Dutch and Coloured as the only people worthy of citizenship opportunities in this land. Legislation is now made to repress the Native and keep him down at a level of ignorance and incompetence. The ambitious black is to suffer ignominy. General Hertzog and Mr. Beyers have made the fatal mistake of assuming that the intelligent Natives, being few as compared with the illiterate masses, may be flouted with impunity. These gentlemen forget that the progress of Natives is not downwards to barbarism, but upwards to civilised standards, and that the colour bar act is a mischievous legacy for the white posterity of this country as it will electrify the atmosphere of racial relations with a growing feeling of hatred which can only be arrested by a repeal of the Act or by a direct clash and conflict in the dark future. The passing of the Colour Bar Act is an ominous disservice to South Africa.

Farcical Government Conference

(By S. M. B. Ncwana)

The present government of the Union is of that kind of autocratic government which, disguising itself under the name of democratic and shouting "Liberty" for its motto, is more autocratic than the late government of the Tsar.

More and more has the tendency of recent years been unduly to praise the Annual Government Conference initiated under the Act of 1920, as though this farcical congress of government officials and the Native leaders was the ideal thing, the cure for all ills and the righter of all wrongs committed by the South African Government.

I challenge the Prime Minister; the personnel of the Native Affairs Commission; the Secretary of Native Affairs, to tell us, in plain words, what measure of good has been achieved through this consultation in the last three years of the conference's active life?

The government was prodigally devoting large sums of Native revenue for the maintenance of the "Passing Show" whilst Parliament on the other hand legislated no in accordance with the resolutions passed at this conference from time to time. The stock argument of the Native exploiter is that the conference existed "for the benefit of the Natives." Never was there an ideal which in theory seemed nearer to perfection than this; never was there a theory which in practice is always and inevitably, alas, more widely different from what it is in theory — more disappointingly different.

To take a few examples, when The Pass Laws, The Native Labour Regulations Act, The Native Land Act, The Native Affairs Act, The Native (Urban Areas Act Native Taxation Act, were introduced, the country was told these legislations were "for the benefit of the natives. For what then is the earthly use of supporting an institution such as this that cannot even influence parliament on any Native measure?

The Union Native leaders will meet the Government again on the 2nd of December when, I hope, our leaders will express their views frankly and freely on all proposals which the government will put before them. Our leaders know owing, as they do the grievances of the Native in the street; the Native peasants and the civilised, will have less difficulty in putting the position before the government.

I would further suggest that all the resolutions adopted by the Annual Government Conference should be laid before parliament by the Minister of Native Affairs before any considered Native legislation is introduced.

These conferences, as explained by General Smuts in 1920 are held in order that when there is an important proposal before parliament affecting Native interests, the Natives should not be in a position to say that they knew nothing about it. But more often than not the government violated the provisions of the Act of 1920. The Mines and Works Amendment Bill was steam-rollered through parliament without consultation of the Native members of the Government Conference. Another difficulty which our leaders should point out to the government is that they are invited to discuss seriatim the clauses of measures which they had not seen prior to the conference.

"Uncle Sam" Sets His Foot in Africa

By B. BORISOFF.

Two significant news items were reported by the capitalist press in the course of the last few days. One comes from Berlin and reads as follows:

"One of the biggest financial deals since the war is being negotiated. It is the sale to an Anglo-American syndicate, the names of whose members are kept secret, of the gigantic interests of the Mannesmann brothers in THE SPANISH ZONE IN MOROCCO AND THE RIFF TERRITORY. The property, vast in extent, includes harbor works at Alhucemas and other coastal ports, zinc, sulphur and other mines and large tracts of agricultural lands. The motive for the sale is said to be that THE MANNESMANNS SEE NO PROSPECT OF CARRYING ON ACTIVITIES IN MOROCCO WITHOUT POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS."

Imperialism Spreads Tentacles.

The other news is from Akron, Ohio, and brings the following information:

"News from Akron that the Firestone Tire and Rubber company has virtually concluded negotiations for the lease of 1,000,000 acres in Liberia, to be devoted to raising rubber, was the outstanding event in the business developments of the day.

"A rubber plantation of this size would be by far the largest one under single management in the world. The United States Rubber holdings in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, amounting to 110,000 acres, are now said to be the largest.

"An Associated Press dispatch from Akron said that, while no official announcement could be obtained from the Firestone company, it was learned from authoritative sources that a $100,000,000 CORPORATION WILL BE FORMED SHORTLY TO OPERATE THE VAST PLANTATIONS."

the party and again became the presidential nominee; this time against Wm. H. Taft. For the third time he waged a campaign designed to appeal to the petty bouregoisie, and again he met defeat at the polls.

Finance capital, under the leadership of the House of Morgan, was growing more powerful and was far from satisfied with the policy of the Taft government that was defending with all its might the interests of the industrialist group around Standard Oil. Between 1908 and 1910 the House of Morgan made a drive for control of the democratic party and in the congressional elections of 1910 the democratic party, for the first time since the elections of 1892, secured a majority in the house of congress and increased by a substantial number its representatives of the United States senate. Thus the party that since the civil war had held aloft the banner of the middle class capitulated to the wiles of finance capital. Thru a period of nearly thirty years the influence of that party had declined in inverse ratio to the growth of the great combinations of capital. The class from which it derived its support, the petty bouregoisie, was being sapped of its vitality, it did not have sufficient power and cohesion to maintain an independent political existence. Those elements of this class that survived became more and more dependent upon the large industrialist and financial groups.

Tiger Eats Out of Morgan's Palm.

When the 1912 convention opened at Baltimore the democratic party was the private property of the House of Morgan. Champ Clark of Missouri, was the candidate for Morgan. Tammany Hall was represented by a full delegation determined to put thru the nomination of Clark. But this plan was frustrated by Bryan and his sup-

Here indeed is a cause for great joy from the viewpoint of American capitalists. "Uncle Sam" is expanding his industry; "Uncle Sam" sets his foot in a new quarter of the world. "We" have scored again and "we" take what is due to "us" for "we" are the greatest, the richest, the most industrially developed nation in the world.

This is from the viewpoint of the American capitalists, of the American imperialists who always try to represent their gains, their grabs as an achievement of and a benefit to the "nation."

Carry Germs of War.

But shall the workers rejoice because of this news.

Do these developments promise them peace, prosperity, contentment, or do they carry the germs of war, suffering, death?

Let us examine the question.

What was the cause of the world war? The answer that it was a fight for "democracy" against "autocracy" does not satisfy any more. It is now clear to the broad masses of workers that this was a fight for world domination between two great imperialist powers—Germany and England. The struggle for the possession of Africa formed an important part of this world struggle. It was very bitter. German imperialism came late upon the scene.

Rivalry of Nations.

It found the African continent divided among other powers. Even little Belgium surpassed it in the number of its colonial population in Africa and almost equalled it in the area of its colonial possessions.

To this German imperialism could not reconcile itself. It was determined to establish itself on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, it was determined to get possession of the rich mineral resources of Morocco. The "Moroccan question" threatened several times to become the immediate cause of a world war, it was undoubtedly one of its main contributing factors.

German Plutes Give Up.

The world war crushed the hopes of German imperialism for the domination of the world. It has no power to defend its former claims in Morocco. The Mannesmann syndicate has to give up its rich concessions, for there is "no propect of carrying on activities in Morocco without political complications." Germany is powerless to meet such "complications."

U. S. Plays Game.

But who is the heir of German imperialist aspirations for world domination, who is the heir of German claims upon the mineral resources of Morocco?—It is "Uncle Sam," it is the American imperialism, the most powerful imperialism of the present epoch. It is powerful enough and is ready to meet the "political complications" connected with the Moroccan concessions, but it is just as powerless to avoid them as Germany was.

American imperialism at present occupies the same relative position as German imperialism occupied on the eve of the world war. The division of the world is complete. It comes late upon the scene to present its claims upon the sources of raw materials, territorial claims which are bound inseparably with the former. These claims cannot be settled peacefully. The formation of an international syndicate is but a temporary makeshift postponing the armed struggle, for the essence of imperialism is monopoly the striving for world dominations which can be settled only by force.

Fight for World Power.

"Uncle Sam," American imperialism in its aspiration for world domination is confronted with the same rivalism. Their interests are irreconcilable, and the two news items which

The Cape & Transkei Teachers' Union

Sir,—In your Imvo of the 20th October is a letter by Umfana on the above subject.

I had thought that when Umfana (who by the way is none other than Mr. Sotashe) made his second appearance in the press we would be nearer the truth than when he entered the lists in an attack on the above Union. If empty vessels make the most noise, then we may safely say and perhaps logically too, that empty letters are the most verbose. In vain have I looked through his letter for a single fact in support of what he says and I begin to wonder how long it is going to take us to hammer into Umfana's head that our "bone of contention" is the impracticability of the Union which he has the audacity to assert but has not the courage to support with facts. I have only to remind my honourable friend that we have gone past the age, if at all there ever was such, of taking things for granted. However his failure in this connection is not to be wondered at since he has been unfortunate enough to find himself up against a great flood, and, like all who find themselves in this predicament, he is now trying to catch at straw in order to save himself.

I for one do not at all expect Umfana to propose through the medium of the press any scheme having for its object the union of the C.N.T.A. and T.T.A. If he has such an idea he had better go to our conference next December and unfold his scheme there, and I can assure him he will be given every chance to expound it.

I am afraid, Mr. Editor, that I shall encroach too much into your hospitality if I venture to reply to all the idiosyncrasies of your correspondent's letter; indeed, some of his remarks are uncalled for and are but random shots. But such are the ways of verbosity!

In conclusion, I am very much indebted to Umfana to learn that Mr Dambusa and myself have enemies in the T.T.A. Their courage however must have failed them when the writer took the floor in support of Union at the last conference of the T.T.A.: but perhaps it was because General Umfana was not there to lead and command and, by his leave, to infuse and animate.

If General Umfana and army will attend the next conference of the T.T.A., Hermanus, and I have no doubt Dambuza as well, will quite enjoy exchanging a few shots with them. Thanking you for space.

I remain, yours etc.,
J. P. HERMANUS,

Magodlas,
P.O. Ndabakazi,
25/10/25

Correspondence.

NATIVE VOTE.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Sir,—With reference to the Native vote, your correspondent Rasonti seems to have offered no practical suggestion for his admirable article which seems to advocate for a conference. And what we would like to see is a convention with the old Cape statesmen for we could then be in a position to know what we ought to do in respect to segregation when adopted as a public policy in the Cape Province, the Native Vote devolving on this policy in the immediate future. Thanking you for your kind favour.

I am etc.
NIMROD CHAS MBONI,
East London,
29th October, 1925.

Race Problem—1925
Africa.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

FROM reports that come to hand the reception of His Royal Highness at Gambia by our brethren there was as hearty as in Sierra Leone and the other sister Colonies. The function at which the Prince received the leading personages of the community on his arrival is depicted in a beautiful photograph which was reproduced in the London *Times* Newspaper. The Sierra Leone papers that have come to hand also show with what enthusiasm the receptions there were marked; and we have already referred to the relief that is naturally felt at the opportunity that Nigeria had almost at the eleventh hour in joining in West Africa's welcome to the Heir Apparent.

Gold Coast Leader

On such an unique occasion as the Royal tour there was bound to be divergencies of opinion as to the arrangements and the method of procedure; and if this has given rise to discordant notes, though it may be regretted, it is not to be wondered at, since there is reason to believe that the same might occur in other parts of the continent and elsewhere in the Royal tour. Nevertheless, British West Africa is in a position to congratulate herself upon the warmth of feeling and the genuine affection that have been evoked as the result of the Prince's visit, and we cannot but trust that it will lead to better understanding and co-operation in the future.

At the same time it is but right to point out that the *Daily Mail* correspondence in ridicule of Africans at the Sierra Leone functions, which has given rise to letters of protest to *West Africa*, gives cause for complaint; and we do not think it wise to presume that sensible Africans will be satisfied by mere *ex cathedra* explanations. There is a deplorable tendency on the part of some of our European friends to consider that anything will go down with the African, and that even in these days his thinking must be done for him. It is distinctly to be preferred, therefore, the attitude of some of our London journalistic contemporaries who frankly admit a fault and endeavour to help correct it. Our contemporary the *African World* still persists in writing the word "Negro" with a small n, practice which has been discarded by all responsible Government circles in British West Africa. It is no good decrying prejudice when you cannot show ordinary civility to a race who are fellow-subjects of the King. British West African Governments have also, we notice, discarded the use of the word "Native" in favour of "African" as a proper generic term. We have pointed out these things before, and will continue to do so until all responsible public men take active part in small things as in great, in cementing the great work of racial co-operation inaugurated by the Empire's Greatest Ambassador and by the Governors and other responsible servants of the Crown in these Dependencies.

An American correspondent of the *African World*, writing upon Garvey and his doctrines, says:—"What Garvey—who is a West Indian Negro—means when he speaks glibly of "pride of race" we do not profess to know. Africa has many races many of which have grand traditions, and are rightly proud of them, but we fear that this garrulous agitator would indeed receive a rude shock if he vaunted his racial conceit before these peoples. It is almost to be regretted that he cannot expatiate upon his theories regarding Negro brotherhood and colour pride before an audience of Kroomen for example. As with most illiterates these latter have long memories, a fact of which some of Marcus Garvey's fellow-countrymen in Liberia have discovered to their sorrow."

And he concludes: 'On the whole, then, we incline to the belief that so far as Africa is concerned, Marcus Garvey will not only fail but that he has already been clearly analysed in the United States. Blind himself as he may to the past and discant as he may upon a free Africa it will—in our opinion not be from America that a leader will ever rise or to America that Africa will look for such. "Africa for the African" has an attractively alliterate sound especially to the tub-thumper, otherwise it is as likely of fulfilment and logical in conception as would an equally alliterative parrot cry of "Asia for the Asiatic or the Aryan." The problem of Garvey's future is not likely materially to disturb the administrations concerned who know exactly how to deal effectively with an individual of his type." Of course all this will not be lost upon the African.

Marcus Garvey is at present securely locked up in Atlanta jail; and this is what the *Cotton Farmer*, an American paper, of March 7 has to say upon his incarceration: "It is to be devoutly hoped and expected by all well-meaning Americans that no unusual or cruel punishment will be inflicted on Marcus Garvey during his stay in the Atlanta Penitentiary. In compliance with the desire or supposed desire of an element of our race in America that could have used their talents to a better purpose of rock foundation building of our race..... than to the hounding of Booker T. Washington to the open premature grave with a broken heart, and Garvey to the Atlanta Penitentiary and possibly the grave. It is also to be hoped that Garvey will prove an exemplary prisoner and bear his affliction with the resignmen of a man suffering for what he believes to be righteous cause. If, however, Garvey is permitte to live and forced to serve the entire sentenc and pay the fine it is the opinion of the edito of this cotton plantation paper that it will be very dark spot on the gown of America Injustice. The Powers that be could do no mor righteous act than the pardoning of Garvey, an they cannot hold themselves blameless by assumin the role of Pontius Pilate." This also will not b lost upon Africans generally.

Meanwhile, a case has been put up by Garvey's Counsel under the title of "Was Justice Defeated?" and Mrs. Marcus Garvey has also put up an appeal to the civilised world to have the facts surrounding the imprisonment of Marcus Garvey brought before the bar of public opinion. All this is somewhat conflicting. But one thing we know for certain is that with humanity as we know it, whether Marcus Garvey lives or dies, or his disciples succeed in perpetuating his doctrines, there are certain fundamental principles of justice, which, unless observed between man and man and between races, are sure to lead to trouble in the very distant future. Sensible men will not think it enough to jibe away world problems. Practical minds will go about carefully and prayerfully to seek those avenues of sympathetic co-operation which, under God, will heal the open wound of mankind. That is the task. That is the great work before practical men. Who is equal to it in this age of cant, hypocrisy, and make-believe?

THE PLACE OF NIGERIA.

THE place of Nigeria in the body politic of British West Africa cannot be mistaken. She forms the pivot upon which any advance movement at present turns. With a highly intelligent community with pronounced ideas as to the share its leaders, in their different camps, should take in affairs, it has been no easy job to reconcile conflicting opinions in the interest of the common good. We believe our esteemed correspondent, Mercurius, unerringly pointed to the source of the whole trouble when in a recent article he stressed the Eleko question. To our mind, however, that question should not be such an insoluable one as it is made to appear. We do not think any sane African in the four corners of British West Africa could be got to say that it was a good thing from the patriotic point of view for Government to have withdrawn recognition of the head of the house of King Docemo and to have stopped his paltry stipend. For what did that mean? It meant the breaking up of a fabric in the African constitution, which looked to the head of that house as the symbol of unity. To him, if we mistake not, the White Cap and the War Chiefs owed allegiance, and in any national function he would be their natural leader. How would any self-respecting community brook such a severance of the symbol of unity? We think it safe to say, therefore, that in the heart of hearts of every Nigerian the dearest wish would be the re-instatement of the Eleko. Why then all these conflicts all these years?

The act of withdrawal of recognition and of the stipend was Government act. At the head of the Government was a powerful

personality, the retired Governor, His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford. The peculiar circumstances of Nigerian politics would appear to have divided sentiment partly in favour of the Government attitude and partly in favour of the national and patriotic attitude; and, as diplomacy of a high type would appear to have been brought into play, this doubtful game has been kept up until now. But to what good? Palpably none. On the contrary, it has retarded the progress of Nigeria in a way those in the game have hardly realised. But for this conflict Nigeria must have secured a far more effective measure of Elective Representation than it actually did; and we know how perilously near this division went in fixing Nigeria with the stigma of not taking part in the recent British West African receptions of the Prince of Wales, other explanations notwithstanding.

To-day Nigeria is in a position to start with a clean slate and to write afresh its political and social destiny. She is in a position to make herself virile and effective in British West African progress. And that epoch starts, and should start right away, with the departure of Sir Hugh Clifford. We understand that at the last moment in Nigerian local affairs all sensible men were for burying the hatchet and approaching the Governor for the re-instatement of the Eleko. Whether His Excellency would have hearkened to the prayer or not we don't know, nor does it matter. All we know is that a new Administration would be disposed to view the matter from a more dispassionate standpoint. With Sir Hugh it may, or may not, have been a matter of personal pride or personal honour, no matter which. With a new Governor he can only view the matter from the angle of the public good, or even as a mere act of grace and clemency to mark a new era. The present, therefore, is the chance of patriotic Nigerians, a chance which we venture to suggest, should not be missed.

With the Eleko matter cleared up, Prince re-instated, the rest will follow. There is no reason why Nigeria, or the capital, Lagos, should not boast of more than one political party, and no one can find fault with each party endeavouring to make itself felt in local politics. Nor can we help individual ability and brain-power in effective organisation. But, when all that has been allowed, it boils itself down to this, that the good and the prosperity and the progress of Nigeria should be the common object, the common task of United Nigeria, and that to this end all should deprecate disintegrating forces past and present.

Unity is power. Division is weakness. These sociological and political axioms brought into being the National Congress of British West Africa which, so far, has achieved for British West Africa what no single and individual national movement had succeeded in achieving. The grant of the Franchise was the work of Congress. The raising of Africans to staff appointment was due to the Congress. The establishment of a British West African Appellate Court is again the work of Congress as well as higher and better education at public charges for the African throughout the four Colonies as an accepted policy, besides minor advantages not so easily discernible. In a word, through Congress the prestige of British West Africa has risen considerably, and how can Nigeria repay all these privileges and advantages other than by starting afresh and letting bygones be bygones, and thus become a tower of strength unto British West Africa rather than a source of weakness. We appeal, in all humility, to our friends in Nigeria of all parties and of all political beliefs to sink their differences and come unitedly to the help of the Lord against the Mighty—to the help of United West Africa against all that may retard her national advance and prosperity.

THE MISUNDERSTOOD CONTINENT.

The report of the African Education Commission, under the Chairmanship of Dr. THOMAS JESSE JONES, sent out to procure definite data as to the educational conditions and needs in the western, southern and equatorial parts of Africa, begins with the statement that Africa is not the "Great Dark Continent" but the "Continent of Great Misunderstandings." The first of these misunderstandings relates to its resources and natural scenery; the second to its healthfulness and possibilities of sanitary improvement; the third to the "improvability" of its people, and the fourth to the contribution made by the white people to Africa.

The summary of the survey made by this commission asserts that the immense and varied resources of Africa are virtually unknown and that the agricultural and forest possibilities have been hardly touched; that the beauty of the scenery is in striking contrast with the general conception of it as a place of dismal swamps, impenetrable jungles and arid deserts; that, while the tragic experiences of North American pioneers have been repeated there, and while certain regions are unsafe for people of the temperate zone, the continent as a whole will respond to modern methods of sanitation and hygiene; that the improvability of the African people has been clearly demonstrated by their reaction to the efforts of missions, Governments and commercial organizations; and, finally, that, while in some sections the natives have suffered at the hands of selfish white exploiters, and while many mistakes have been made by those who have gone to Africa with good intent, "the "gains that have come to Africa "through the white man are far "greater than the losses." To eliminate the white man from Africa would "reverse the most important lesson of history."

Last week announcement was made of the beginning of an education program in one little corner of Africa where America is generally assumed to have some special moral responsibilities. This is the republic of Liberia. It is about the size of Pennsylvania and has an estimated native population approximating that of Philadelphia. Its governing class, the "Americo-Liberians" are immigrants from America, or their descendants, who have reflected the social customs of the aristocracy of the South before the war in their own attitude toward the natives. The few tens of thousands that have attained to the standards of American or European life live in the scattered villages of a narrow coastal strip. Their schools, however, are concerned almost exclusively with preparation for clerical pursuits and Government service "of a literary character." No attention is given to the hygienic, agricultural, industrial and social needs of either the Americo-Liberians themselves or the native masses. It would give disappointment to the promoters of the colonization societies, back in the '20s of the last century, to learn that there are "but a negligible number of Americo-Liberians" who are successful farmers, mechanics or professional workers prepared to deal in any adequate way with the resources of the country.

Agencies that have been interested in the welfare and progress of the negro race in America are now planning to establish a useful type of education in Liberia through cooperation with the officials and the representatives of the mission schools. Mr. J. L. SIBLEY, who is about to go to Liberia to direct this work, has had experience not only in negro education throughout the South, particularly in agricultural extension, but in the training of natives in the Philippines. He goes at an especially opportune time, since Mr. FIRESTONE is about to begin his industrial development in the interior. It is a finely conceived and well-prepared bit of pioneer work out on one of the last frontiers. It should in time remove many misconceptions about the "Continent of

THE ZAMBESI BRIDGE.

One of the predominant questions throughout Africa to-day continues to be that of transport, and among the areas vitally affected in their progress and development through lack of means of rapid transport the great hinterland of the Zambesi Valley stands in the front rank. Here we have two important existing railways, the Central African Railway, which is the key-line for Nyasaland and the Great Lake environments, and the Trans-Zambesia line, which connects the great river with Beira, the key port for Southern and Northern Rhodesia. Whilst the development and reconstruction of Beira as a modern deep-water harbour will be started within a short time, the acknowledged main problem affecting the port and the two railroads mentioned is the earliest possible construction of the bridge across the Zambesi, which, for some inexplicable reason, appears to be hanging fire. At the annual meeting of the Trans-Zambesia Railway last Monday the chairman, Mr. Libert Oury, who has devoted a decade of his life to bringing this much-needed line into being, made a terse appeal for the urgent construction of the bridge. All engineering details having been settled, Lisbon having consented to all reasonable conditions protecting the mutual great interests involved in the respective colonies, there cannot now be any cause of importance preventing the financial conditions being agreed upon as

personality, the retired Governor, His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford. The peculiar circumstances of Nigerian politics would appear to have divided sentiment partly in favour of the Government and partly in favour of the national and patriotic attitude; and, as diplomacy of a high type would appear to have been brought into play, this doubtful game has been kept up until now. But to what good? Palpably none. On the contrary, it has retarded the progress of Nigeria in a way those in the game have hardly realised. But for this conflict Nigeria must have secured a far more effective measure of Representation than it actually did; and we know how perilously near this division went in fixing Nigeria with the stigma of not taking part in the recent British West African receptions of the Prince of Wales, and other explanations notwithstanding.

To-day Nigeria is in a position to start with a clean slate and to write afresh its political and social destiny. She is in a position to make herself virile and effective in British West African progress. And that epoch starts, and should start right away, with the departure of Sir Hugh Clifford. We understand that at the last moment in Nigerian local affairs all sensible men were for burying the hatchet and approaching the Governor for the re-instatement of the Eleko. Whether His Excellency would have hearkened to the prayer or not we don't know, nor does it matter. All we know is that a new Administration would be disposed to view the matter from a more dispassionate standpoint. With Sir Hugh it may, or may not, have been a matter of personal pride or personal honour, no matter which. With a new Governor he can only view the matter from the angle of the public good, or even as a mere act of grace and clemency to mark a new era. The present, therefore, is the chance of patriotic Nigerians, a chance which we venture to suggest, should not be missed.

With the Eleko matter cleared at Prince re-instated, the rest will follow. There is no reason why Nigeria, or the capital, Lagos, should not boast of more than one political party, and no one can find fault with each party endeavouring to make itself felt in local politics. Nor can we help individual ability and brain-power in effective organisation. But, when all that has been allowed, it boils itself down to this, that the good and the prosperity and the progress of Nigeria should be the common object, the common task of United Nigeria, and that to this end all should deprecate disintegrating forces

brought into being the National Congress of British West Africa which, so far, has achieved has been clearly demonstrated by their reaction to the efforts of missions, Governments and commercial organizations; and, finally, that, while in some sections the natives have suffered at the hands of selfish white exploiters, and while many mistakes have been made by those who have gone to Africa with good intent, "the gains that have come to Africa through the white man are far greater than the losses." To eliminate the white man from Africa would "reverse the most important lesson of history."

Last week announcement was made of the beginning of an education program in one little corner of Africa where America is generally assumed to have some special moral responsibilities. This is the republic of Liberia, which is about the size of Pennsylvania and has an estimated native population approximating that of Philadelphia. Its governing class, the "Americo-Liberians" are immigrants from America, or their descendants, who have reflected the social customs of the aristocracy of the South before the war in their own attitude toward the natives. The few tens of thousands that have attained to the standards of American or European life live in the scattered villages of a narrow coastal strip. Their schools, however, are concerned almost exclusively with preparation for clerical pursuits and Government service "of a literary character." No attention is given to the hygienic, agricultural, industrial and social needs of either the Americo-Liberians themselves or the native masses. It would give distinct appointment to the promoters of the colonization societies, back in the '20s of the last century, to learn that there are "but a negligible number of Americo-Liberians" who are successful farmers, mechanics or professional workers prepared to deal in any adequate way with the resources of the country.

Agencies that have been interested in the welfare and progress of the negro race in America are now planning to establish a useful type of education in Liberia through cooperation with the officials and the representatives of the mission schools. Mr. J. L. SIBLER, who is about to go to Liberia

THE MISUNDERSTOOD CONTINENT.

The report of the African Education Commission, under the Chairmanship of Dr. THOMAS JESSE JONES, sent out to procure definite data as to the educational conditions in the West African and equatorial parts of Africa, begins with the statement that Africa is not the Great Dark Continent" but the Continent of Great Misunderstandings." The first of these misunderstandings relates to its resources and natural scenery, the second to its healthfulness and possibilities of sanitary improvement; the third to the "improvability" of its people, and the fourth to the contribution made by the white people to Africa.

The summary of the survey made by this commission asserts that the immense and varied resources of Africa are virtually unknown and that the agricultural and forest possibilities have been hardly touched; that the beauty of the scenery is in striking contrast with the general conception of it as a place of dismal swamps, impenetrable jungles and arid deserts; that, while the tragic experiences of North American pioneers have been repeated there, and while certain regions are unsafe for people of the temperate zone, the continent as a whole will respond to modern methods of sanitation and hygiene; that the improvability of the African people has been clearly demonstrated by their reaction to the efforts of missions, Governments and commercial organizations; and, finally, that, while in some sections the natives have suffered at the hands of selfish white exploiters, and while many mistakes have been made by those who have gone to Africa with good intent, "the gains that have come to Africa through the white man are far greater than the losses." To eliminate the white man from Africa would reverse the most important lesson of history."

Last week announcement was made of the beginning of an education program in one little corner of Africa where America is generally assumed to have some special moral responsibilities. This is the republic of Liberia, which is about the size of Pennsylvania and has an estimated native population approximating that of Philadelphia. Its governing class, the "Americo-Liberians" are immigrants from America, or their descendants, who have reflected the social customs of the aristocracy of the South before the war in their own attitude toward the natives. The few tens of thousands that have attained to the standards of American or European life live in the scattered villages of a narrow coastal strip. Their schools, however, are concerned almost exclusively with preparation for clerical pursuits and Government service "of a literary character." No attention is given to the hygienic, agricultural, industrial and social needs of either the Americo-Liberians themselves or the native masses. It would give distinct appointment to the promoters of the colonization societies, back in the '20s of the last century, to learn that there are "but a negligible number of Americo-Liberians" who are successful farmers, mechanics or professional workers prepared to deal in any adequate way with the resources of the country.

Agencies that have been interested in the welfare and progress of the negro race in America are now planning to establish a useful type of education in Liberia through cooperation with the officials and the representatives of the mission schools. Mr. J. L. SIBLER, who is about to go to Liberia to direct this work, has had experience not only in negro education throughout the South, particularly in agricultural extension, but in the training of natives in the Philippines. He goes at an especially opportune time, since Mr. FIRESTONE is about to begin his industrial development in the interior. It is a finely conceived and well-prepared bit of pioneer work out on one of the last frontiers. It should in time remove many misconceptions about the "Continent of

THE ZAMBESI BRIDGE.

One of the predominant questions throughout Africa to-day continues to be that of transport, and among the areas vitally affected in their progress and development through lack of means of rapid transport the great hinterland of the Zambesi Valley stands in the front rank. Here we have two important existing railways, the Central African Railway, which is the key-line for Nyasaland and the Great Lakes environments, and the Trans-Zambesia line, which connects the great river with Beira, the key port for Southern and Northern Rhodesia. Whilst the development and reconstruction of Beira as a modern deep-water harbour will be started within a short time, the acknowledged main problem affecting the port and the two railroads mentioned is the earliest possible construction of the bridge across the Zambesi, which, for some inexplicable reason, appears to be hanging fire. At the annual meeting of the Trans-Zambesia Railway last Monday the chairman, Mr. Libert Oury, who has devoted a decade of his life to bringing this much-needed line into being, made a terse appeal for the urgent construction of the bridge. All engineering details having been settled, Lisbon having consented to all reasonable conditions protecting the mutual great interests involved in the respective colonies, there cannot now be any cause of importance preventing the financial conditions being agreed upon as far as our Government is concerned. The authoritative conclusion arrived at recently after detailed personal examination on the spot by the Ormsby-Gore Commission—viz., that the resources of Southern Nyasaland cannot be developed until this bridge is constructed and, further, that unless the present hopelessly inadequate communications to and from Nyasaland are ameliorated, the economic outlook for this potentially rich Protectorate is most serious, speak for themselves. Such definite statements are rarely made by a British Imperial Government Commission, and must be taken as being of gravest import. We would even go further and say that not only is Nyasaland's future seriously threatened by the undue delay in fixing up what is after all a comparatively small contingent charge on the Imperial Budget, but besides Nyasaland there is the whole of the Southern Tanganyika Territory and North-Eastern Rhodesia, even the South-Eastern Congo areas, involved in this vitally needed link for quick access to the sea. Valuable time is being wasted, and we sincerely trust that after Mr. Oury's forcible but reasonably phrased appeal early this week the authorities concerned will see their way clear to conclude the necessary financial arrangements by which another link between the coast and the rich Southern Equatorial regions of the African continent can be completed within the next few years and thereby open the gates to a greatly increased era of prosperity for all of them.

Race Problem – 1925.
Africa.

SIERRA LEONE LETTER.

Sierra Leoneans at Bathurst.

The visit to Bathurst of the Sierra Leone delegates of the National Congress, which had promised to be abortive, seems to have been turned to good purpose by their energy, for, although the Congress had been postponed, they carried out a campaign in the few days that they were waiting for a return boat. In an interview with the Governor regarding the aims of the Congress, they received a very sympathetic hearing, Captain Armitage expressing himself in favour of the broad principles of the movement, although he will probably continue in his opinion that it is not at present representative of the whole people. In their capacity of elected members of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council, the three delegates were enabled through the hospitality of the Governor to meet the Legislative Councillors of the Gambia, and also to see something of the efforts made by the local Administration for the agricultural progress of a people, who, situated on a great waterway, have a similar temptation to that of the Sierra Leone Creole, to adopt the business of middleman to producers less fortunately situated.

Scouting in Sierra Leone.

The Scout Movement in Sierra Leone, according to the 1924 report of the Commissioner, Mr. H. Blackmore, is steadily making headway, although it has not yet spread far from the centres of education. This is a pity, although the lack of suitable leaders makes it difficult to introduce Scout ideals into the "bush" and among the illiterate. Thanks largely to the interest of Mr. H. Ross, the Commissioner of the Southern Province, troops have been started at Bonthe and three rural schools, and at the end of the year Sierra Leone boasted 858 Scouts, 56 Rovers, 34 Sea Scouts, and 18 Cubs. The public services they have rendered have been described from time to time in WEST AFRICA, but the future value to racial understanding of a new point of contact between African boys and medical, military, official and civilian Europeans, cannot be gauged, especially if proper touch be maintained with the senior, or "Rover," sections.

Police and Money-lenders.

The dismissal of a sergeant of the Sierra Leone police for acting as agent to a money-lender has two sides—it may merely represent the power an individual money-lender has gained over an individual policeman, or it may be part of a widespread condition of affairs liable to impair the general efficiency of the force. The Chief Justice made some caustic remarks on the subject in the Civil Court, and the "West African Mail" considers that a large majority of the force are in debt in various directions. It seems surprising that the method applicable to troops is not adopted, with modifications, say, by making an order that a policeman cannot be held responsible for any debt in excess of some small limit. The police would then have less direct temptation to extravagance put in their way, and there would be less danger of members of the force coming within the power of outside influences in the way mentioned above. One does not like to think that the "West African Mail" is right, especially on the evidence of one or two cases, but, as one finds in England or any other country, the official on a small fixed salary is peculiarly the prey of money-lenders and credit-granting sharks.

A Scholarship for Girls.

The Ex-pupils' Association of the Annie Walsh Memorial School for Girls has taken a praiseworthy step in founding a scholarship to enable one or two deserving girls from rural districts to obtain higher education. The action sets a lead in the promotion of feminine education which wealthy individuals or associations of ladies might follow, with great advantage to the West African Colonies, where private enterprise in this direction has been surprisingly small, considering the newspaper interest that exists in education. Old Boys' scholarships are not unknown, but feminine education is still so much in its infancy that such an effort at self-help is worthy of special record.

"Black Magic" at Freetown.

In a town where the population is constantly being added to by more primitive peoples, it is not surprising that old fables die hard, and that ideas of magic, which England gave up several centuries ago, should still flourish. Thus from time to time one hears of "medicine" being placed outside the houses of residents who have made enemies, and in the latest case, in Kissy Road, a woman came out in the morning to find a small coffin on her steps, with the effigy of a baby. Except for the obvious probability that it represents very definite illwill on the part of someone, the very absence of any clear purpose in such a happening is sufficient seriously to frighten a believer in "magic," and one is not surprised to hear that at first the neighbours held themselves aloof. Much of the fear of these images or meaningless collections of leaves might be removed by incorporating an historical account of them in the earliest school primers, as was done years ago, in Lagos.

NATIVE FRANCHISE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The natural, legitimate aspirations, principally political, of the native races of South Africa cannot be indefinitely ignored. The Union Government, fully alive to the gravity of this problem, whose satisfactory solution is essential to the future well-being of the white population and the country, are apparently determined to grapple with it immediately. It is proposed at the next Parliamentary session to introduce a Bill dealing with native franchise, the chief object of which is to give the black population some measure of representation in the Union House of Assembly. The representation will, of course, be through Europeans, the selection of whom will presumably be left to the natives in the various provinces. Here we discern an undoubted element of danger, for it is well known that certain of the white men, particularly in the Transvaal, who exercise considerable influence among the black community, possess many undesirable qualities and are openly Bolshevistic and revolutionary in outlook. Were such men elected to Parliament, only ill and disaffection among their native "constituents" could result. The Government are equally alive to this possibility, but are confident of their ability to forestall it by making certain positive reservations regarding the European Members, though the Minister of Mines, to whom the task was deputed of giving a brief outline of the Government's intentions, has not disclosed the nature of the safeguards that will be taken. Numercus other difficulties occur to us which will have to be surmounted before the scheme can be made practicable and carried out in the admirable spirit in which it is intended: but there is no call to dwell on them at this stage, because the Bill, before any attempt will be made to pass it, will be exhaustively discussed in the House of Assembly, and we can safely look to General Hertzog and the Opposition, whose co-operation is earnestly sought, to avoid taking any step that, to say the least, might prove to be precipitate.

Recreation in Education.

AMERICAN educationists have a great deal to teach us on the right place of recreation in education. They hold that instruction in music should draw upon the best of Native folk lore and song as well as upon the simple forms of Western music, and may one day utilise the inspiring musical achievements of civilisation. Pupils should be taught to sing at work and at play very much on the lines of Zulu spontaneous singing all over Natal. Songs of service, faith, victory and joy should be selected. The natural outburst of the Native in innocent and playful folk dances should be encouraged. This, of course, suggests the importance of training the Native youth to differentiate very clearly the debasing from the innocent and joyful elements of their songs and dances. It is notable that Native ministers are often the most emphatic in their opposition to Native amusements. This is true not only in Africa but among the leaders of primitive people in other parts of the world. Their convictions are sometimes the result of their intimate knowledge of the degenerating influences of Native amusements, but often have their source in a narrow conception of recreation imparted to them by the missionaries. Whatever the reason of their views, there can be no question as to the importance of teaching them to distinguish between the good and the bad so that the best may be conserved.

The communal life of Africa affords ample opportunity for the extension of community games and pleasures.

We may supplement these expressions by saying that the elimination of healthy amusements in our mission stations has been responsible for much alarm, because it has created the false impression that the ideal Christian is one who wears a lugubrious face and is not amused. European social life always amply povides for the natural release of the pent up energy of the young and this is regularly paralleled in the life of primitive people. Therefore those who frown on systematic games are working against the course of natural psychology, and if the young are debarred from one kind of games then they will surely invent another kind which will be debasing. This mistake is answerable for the common nocturnal orgies introduced into our locations by the young labourers from the Rand mines.

What the Phelps-Stokes Fund Education report has to say on this subject is worth the attention of all missionaries and all those who have to do with the social life of the Bantu.

URBAN AREAS ACT.

AS AFFECTING NATIVES OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.

This town has been proclaimed under the above Act for several months now. No benefit or improvement so far has manifested itself in the administration of the Natives in the town or locations by the local authority, though the Act contains clauses which, if adopted and put into practice would considerably enhance the happiness and progress of its Native inhabitants. Our grievances against the local Town Council in not endeavouring to carry out the distinct aims and intentions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act are as follows:

(1) No attempt has been made to allow Natives to acquire the lease of lots for the erection thereon of houses or huts for their own occupation, as sub-section I (b) of the Act lays down.

(2) No Advisory Board has been established by the urban local authority as provided by sub-section 10 (1) of the Act. Though this was promised for 1st January this year, nothing has been heard of it since. The non-existence of such Advisory Board precludes the Native residents from benefits endowed by sub-section (2) of Section 10 viz., that of having a voice in the framing of regulations governing their location.

(3) Permission has been refused by the local urban authority to Natives to have sites let to them within the location for trading purposes. This is provided for in Section 22 (a) of the Act.

(4) The time prescribed in town for Natives to carry night passes is from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m., whereas formerly the

hours were from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. This Act permits the local authority to lay down by regulation the hour as from 10 p.m., but the Council have not availed themselves of this; but prefer to enforce an old Act of 1895 which requires passes to be carried by Natives as from 9 p.m. This, we submit sir, apart from being questionable from a legal point of view, is a distinct hardship to the Native servants of the town, most of whom are free from domestic engagements only at 8 p.m., and cannot find enough time to attend religious, social and various other functions in the evening.

We humbly put forward, sir, these grievances with the hope that you, as Minister for Native Affairs will exercise your influence and authority with our city fathers to have them remedied.

EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF HISTORY OF AFRICA

CONSTANTINE, Algeria, Oct. 21.—The Franco-American expedition seeking to uncover hidden chapters on ancient and pre-historic Africa assembled here Tuesday on the eve of starting on a 1,500-mile dash through the Sahara to Hoggar, with the object of tracing ancient trader routes and determining the origin of the strange white race of Tauregs in Central Africa.

Count De Prorok and Bradley Tyrrell, a trustee of Beloit college, arrived from Tunis, where Count De Prorok reviewed last spring's excavations at Carthage and Utica. Here they met Maurice Reygase, the North African archaeologist, Archibald Pond, the Beloit college anthropologist, Baron D'Erlanger, Andre Chapuis, Caid Belaid, the Taureg interpreter and others.

The 6-wheeled cars which will carry the explorers through the most dreaded Sahara region arrived today by train.

COTTON IN AFRICA.

Sir Geoffrey Archer Entertained at Manchester.

The British Cotton Growing Association entertained Sir Geoffrey Archer, Governor-General of the Sudan, and Mr. R. Hewison, Director of Agriculture and Forests (Sudan), to luncheon at the Midland Hotel, Manchester, on Tuesday.

Sir Geoffrey Archer, who was introduced by the Chairman, Mr. J. A. Hutton, as a good friend to cotton-growing, on the strength of his record since 1922 as the Governor of Uganda, expressed his pleasure at coming to Manchester for the first time after two and a-half years spent in the most promising cottonfields of the Empire. For those whose duty it was to promote the production of the raw material overseas it was, he said, of the utmost value to pay such a visit to Manchester. In his opinion there never had been an industry which was so mutually beneficial to two sets of people—to the workers in the mills of Lancashire and to the native producers overseas.

In a brief reference to the conditions of cotton production in Africa Sir Geoffrey said that there might be some misconception in Africa as elsewhere, on the question of native cotton-growing. He wished to make it clear, therefore, that his conception of the duty of the Administration was that the interest of the native in his own country was its first concern. He was glad to be able to testify that cotton production had probably done more for the welfare of the native cultivator than any other factor in recent times. In his experience the gains from the cotton industry in Africa had raised the whole standard of native life, and its development had brought in its train nothing but contentment in the native mind, as well as material prosperity.

Uganda and the Sudan.

Coming to the details of cotton production in Africa in recent years, Sir Geoffrey dealt first with Uganda, and in Uganda, he said, it was incontestable that cotton production had so far been more remarkable than anywhere else. In 1920 Uganda exported 52,000 bales of cotton; this year 200,000 bales would be reached, and probably exceeded. And in the process it had been possible to organise the labour of a whole people, and to employ the proceeds to their own enrichment and their social development. By way of prophecy, he added that Uganda would shortly be producing half a million bales of cotton.

As to the Sudan, and dealing first of all with the southern provinces, Sir Geoffrey said he thought that what had been done in Uganda could also be accomplished there. There was a vast region waiting for development, where success in the same measure could be attained. A beginning had already been made with experimental growing, and when he got back he intended to make a long visit to the district with his technical advisers to investigate the results.

In Northern Sudan the Gezira scheme, with the completion of the new dam and the great system of canalisation, opened up a new era of economic activity. Straightaway 80,000 acres had been brought under cultivation. Next year they hoped to increase this to 100,000 acres, and without in any way conflicting with the water rights of Egypt they hoped to go on to 150,000 acres. This year the outlook was a crop of 800,000 bales, of which 65,000 would be high-class Egyptian cotton. It was a great enterprise to which they had set their hands, in which they looked to the goodwill not only of the Lanchashire trade, but of everyone else.

The European Press.

It is making a serious and far reaching statement for us to suggest that the European Press in the Eastern districts of the Cape Province is causing grave anxiety among the Native section of the population in its dealings with correspondence sent to it for publication by native contributors, and reports of activities of Native organisations, which affect the country as a whole. This is particularly marked because of a controversy in inquests concerning Europeans as against Natives. Latitude is given to all sections of the public to a certain point in the controversy, beyond which an astute discretionary boundary is drawn at a critical time when the contending parties are on the point of deciding their issue. Invariably this boundary is drawn in a manner to make the black man's cause suffer, by suppressing his contributions and allowing the white man's contributions to continue *ad libitum*. Naturally to the public it conveys the idea that the black man has failed to establish his case, and that is the end of it.

As a native press, we are of opinion that at this critical time in the history of Native evolution in Africa, when it is desirable that the clash of interests between the two races be avoided, it is a most dangerous practice for the European press to attempt to stiffle the expressions of opinion from an overwhelming section of the population. Really speaking it is impossible to stiffle these expressions. An attempt made in this direction by the white press will only lead to vent being given to these expressions in some other shape or form probably with unpleasant experiences. The press is the most legitimate and popular form of voicing the feelings of a people; and once this is denied to a certain section in any way, there is no way left of ascertaining their feelings and aspirations. The "Native Problem" will be all the more insoluble if the white press believes that to save the white population it is necessary to curb the liberty of the Natives in the European press, not to mention the innuendo of timidity to face a square polemic on its merits.

The KING'S MESSAGE.

From the High Commissioner for SOUTH AFRICA. TO Resident Commissioner BASUTOLAND.

10th October.

Secretary of State has transmitted to me the following Message sent by command of His Majesty the King for publication to-day:—

"On the occasion of the Prince of Wales' return I desire to express my deep appreciation of the warm-hearted hospitality which was accorded to him throughout his tour in South Africa and Rhodesia. The Queen and I have received with pride and gratitude the accounts of the enthusiastic and inspiring welcome which he received every day and everywhere and we know that our son will have and keep the most happy memories of his travels.

I am confident that knowledge mutually gained as a result of his visit will serve to increase and strengthen the spirit of comradeship and co-operation between the nations and peoples of the British Empire."

Reviewing the migration figures for the five months ended May 31, 1925, the "South African Labour Gazette," points out that there were 2,046 Europeans who stated their intention of taking up permanent residence and 2,085 European South Africans who declared their intention of leaving the Union permanently—a net loss of 39 persons to the population. From overseas there was an actual gain of 326 persons, but a loss via the land borders of 367 persons. During this period the Union received 1,350 British immigrants and 694 foreign immigrants, 23 per cent. of all immigrants were Hebrews and 14 per cent. were Lithuanians. Of the foreign immigrants, 65 per cent. came from Southern and Eastern Europe. This figure included the Lithuanians, who accounted for 42 per cent. of all foreign immigrants. Of those who relinquished domicile, 1,843 were British subjects and 242 were foreign subjects. Slightly more than 1 per cent. of the departures were Hebrews and 0.02 per cent. were Lithuanians.

General Hertzog's Native Policy

We have not had to wait until the reassembling of Parliament to learn about the proposals of the Prime Minister on his long awaited statement on Native Affairs. He has published his scheme to the Nationalist Congress, which has handed it over to the public press. The manner, in which the statement has been divulged is far from being propitious; because it has been made a party matter, and we frankly entertain no faith in the Nationalist party as a party, although we equally trust General Hertzog as a personality. Our view is that the Premier himself is an honest gentleman likely to keep his word, but that the party he leads is mostly composed of the traditional Krugerian Dutchmen whose creed is the denial of the franchise to the Native. The Orange Free Staters and Transvaalers of the Nationalist party are out to eliminate the Cape Native Vote by a systematic process of attrition. The Cape Natives to-day are practically responsible for fourteen members in Parliament, as Mr. Minnik correctly says. Now, these fourteen men fight the battle of all the Natives in the Union, not merely that of the Cape. We are satisfied with that, whatever be the theoretical objections advanced by the Premier to the system. Northern Province Natives, we believe, are satisfied too in so far as they do not desire to see the franchise whittled down. The Natives have nothing to gain by the substitution of seven members elected in the whole Union but sitting in Parliament with curtailed privileges and acting only in an advisory capacity. They will lose everything they have now. This is a cunning political strategy aimed at two objects: [1] to outwit the Natives, and [2] to destroy the power of the South African Party once and for all. With the latter object we are not

hours were from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. This Act permits the local authority to lay down by regulation the hour as from 10 p.m., but the Council have not availed themselves of this; but prefer to enforce an old Act of 1895 which requires passes to be carried by Natives as from 9 p.m. This, we submit sir, apart from being questionable from a legal point of view, is a distinct hardship to the Native servants of the town, most of whom are free from domestic engagements only at 8 p.m., and cannot find enough time to attend religious, social and various other functions in the evening.

We humbly put forward, sir, these grievances with the hope that you, as Minister for Native Affairs will exercise your influence and authority with our city fathers to have them remedied.

EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF HISTORY OF AFRICA

CONSTANTINE, Algeria, Oct. 21.—The Franco-American expedition seeking to uncover hidden chapters on ancient and pre-historic Africa assembled here Tuesday on the eve of starting on a 1,500-mile dash through the Sahara to Hoggar, with the object of tracing ancient trader routes and determining the origin of the strange white race of Tauregs in Central Africa.

Count De Prorok and Bradley Tyrrell, a trustee of Beloit college, arrived from Tunis, where Count De Prorok reviewed last spring's excavations at Carthage and Utica. Here they met Maurice Reygase, the North African archaeologist, Archibald Pond, the Beloit college anthropologist, Baron D'Erlanger, Andre Chapuis, Caid Belaid, the Taureg interpreter and others.

The 6-wheeled cars which will carry the explorers through the most dreaded Sahara region arrived today by train.

COTTON IN AFRICA.

Sir Geoffrey Archer Entertained at Manchester.

The British Cotton Growing Association entertained Sir Geoffrey Archer, Governor-General of the Sudan, and Mr. R. Hewison, Director of Agriculture and Forests (Sudan), to luncheon at the Midland Hotel, Manchester, on Tuesday.

Sir Geoffrey Archer, who was introduced by the Chairman, Mr. J. A. Hutton, as a good friend to cotton-growing, on the strength of his record since 1922 as the Governor of Uganda, expressed his pleasure at coming to Manchester for the first time after two and a-half years spent in the most promising cottonfields of the Empire. For those whose duty it was to promote the production of the raw material overseas it was, he said, of the utmost value to pay such a visit to Manchester. In his opinion there never had been an industry which was so mutually beneficial to two sets of people—to the workers in the mills of Lancashire and to the native producers overseas.

In a brief reference to the conditions of cotton production in Africa Sir Geoffrey said that there might be some misconception in Africa as elsewhere, on the question of native cotton-growing. He wished to make it clear, therefore, that his conception of the duty of the Administration was that the interest of the native in his own country was its first concern. He was glad to be able to testify that cotton production had probably done more for the welfare of the native cultivator than any other factor in recent times. In his experience the gains from the cotton industry in Africa had raised the whole standard of native life, and its development had brought in its train nothing but contentment in the native mind, as well as material prosperity.

Uganda and the Sudan.

Coming to the details of cotton production in Africa in recent years, Sir Geoffrey dealt first with Uganda, and in Uganda, he said, it was incontestable that cotton production had so far been more remarkable than anywhere else. In 1920 Uganda exported 52,000 bales of cotton; this year 200,000 bales would be reached, and probably exceeded. And in the process it had been possible to organise the labour of a whole people, and to employ the proceeds to their own enrichment and their social development. By way of prophecy, he added that Uganda would shortly be producing half a million bales of cotton.

As to the Sudan, and dealing first of all with the southern provinces, Sir Geoffrey said he thought that what had been done in Uganda could also be accomplished there. There was a vast region waiting for development, where success in the same measure could be attained. A beginning had already been made with experimental growing, and when he got back he intended to make a long visit to the district with his technical advisers to investigate the results.

In Northern Sudan the Gezira scheme, with the completion of the new dam and the great system of canalisation, opened up a new era of economic activity. Straightaway 80,000 acres had been brought under cultivation. Next year they hoped to increase this to 100,000 acres, and without in any way conflicting with the water rights of Egypt they hoped to go on to 150,000 acres. This year the outlook was a crop of 800,000 bales, of which 65,000 would be high-class Egyptian cotton. It was a great enterprise to which they had set their hands, in which they looked to the goodwill not only of the Lanchashire trade, but of everyone else.

The European Press.

It is making a serious and far reaching statement for us to suggest that the European Press in the Eastern districts of the Cape Province is causing grave anxiety among the Native section of the population in its dealings with correspondence sent to it for publication by Native contributors, and reports of activities of Native organisations, which affect the country as a whole. This is particularly marked in cases of a controversy in issue as concerning Europeans as against Natives. Latitude is given to all sections of the public to a certain point in the controversy, beyond which an astute discretionary boundary is drawn at a critical time when the contending parties are on the point of deciding their issue. Invariably this boundary is drawn in a manner to make the black man's cause suffer, by suppressing his contributions and allowing the white man's contributions to continue *ad libitum*. Naturally to the public it conveys the idea that the black man has failed to establish his case, and that is the end of it.

As a native press, we are of opinion that at this critical time in the history of Native evolution in Africa, when it is desirable that the clash of interests between the two races be avoided, it is a most dangerous practice for the European press to attempt to stiffle the expressions of opinion from an overwhelming section of the population. Really speaking it is impossible to stiffle these expressions. An attempt made in this direction by the white press will only lead to vent being given to these expressions in some other shape or form probably with unpleasant experiences. The press is the most legitimate and popular form of voicing the feelings of a people; and once this is denied to a certain section in any way, there is no way left of ascertaining their feelings and aspirations. The "Native Problem" will be all the more insoluble if the white press believes that to save the white population it is necessary to curb the liberty of the Natives in the European press, not to mention the innuendo of timidity to face a square polemic on its merits.

The KING'S MESSAGE.

From... High Commissioner for SOUTH AFRICA.
TO
Resident Commissioner BASUTOLAND.

10th October.

Secretary of State has transmitted to me the following Message sent by command of His Majesty the King for publication to-day:—

"On the occasion of the Prince of Wales' return I desire to express my deep appreciation of the warm-hearted hospitality which was accorded to him throughout his tour in South Africa and Rhodesia. The Queen and I have received with pride and gratitude the accounts of the enthusiastic and inspiring welcome which he received every day and everywhere and we know that our son will have and keep the most happy memories of his travels.

I am confident that knowledge mutually gained as a result of his visit will serve to increase and strengthen the spirit of comradeship and co-operation between the nations and peoples of the British Empire."

Reviewing the migration figures for the five months ended May 31, 1925, the "South African Labour Gazette," points out that there were 2,045 Europeans who stated their intention of taking up permanent residence and 2,085 European South Africans who declared their intention of leaving the Union permanently—a net loss of 40 persons to the population. From overseas there was an actual gain of 326 persons, but a loss via the land borders of 367 persons. During this period the Union received 1,350 British immigrants and 694 foreign immigrants, 23 per cent. of all immigrants were Hebrews and 14 per cent. were Lithuanians. Of the foreign immigrants, 65 per cent. came from Southern and Eastern Europe. This figure included the Lithuanians, who accounted for 42 per cent. of all foreign immigrants. Of those who relinquished domicile, 1,843 were British subjects and 242 were foreign subjects. Slightly more than 1 per cent. of the departures were Hebrews and 0.02 per cent. were Lithuanians.

General Hertzog's Native Policy

We have not had to wait until the reassembling of Parliament to learn about the proposals of the Prime Minister on his long awaited statement on Native Affairs. He has published his scheme to the Nationalist Congress, who have handed it over to the public press. The manner, in which the statement has been divulged is far from being propitious; because it has been made a party matter, and we frankly entertain no faith in the Nationalist party as a party, although we equally trust General Hertzog as a personality. Our view is that the Premier himself is an honest gentleman likely to keep his word, but that the party he leads is mostly composed of the traditional Krugerian Dutchmen whose creed is the denial of the franchise to the Native. The Orange Free Staters and Transvaalers of the Nationalist party are out to eliminate the Cape Native Vote by a systematic process of attrition. The Cape Natives to-day are practically responsible for fourteen members in Parliament, as Mr. Mannik correctly says. Now, these fourteen men fight the battle of all the Natives in the Union, not merely that of the Cape. We are satisfied with that, whatever be the theoretical objections advanced by the Premier to the system. We do not desire to see the franchise have been long tried as suggested. We stand or fall by that suggestion in both in the Cape and in the North. believe, are satisfied too in so far as they do not desire to see the whittled down. The Natives have nothing to gain by the substitution of seven members elected in the whole Union but sitting in Parliament with curtailed privileges and acting only in an advisory capacity. They will lose everything they have now. This is a cunning political strategy aimed at two objects: [1] to outwit the Natives, and [2] to destroy the power of the South African Party once and for all.

With the latter object we are not

Race Problem - 1925.

Africa.

MR. J. H. HARRIS ON SOME PROBLEMS OF AFRICA.

Mr. John H. Harris, speaking at the mid-day gathering of Liberals at Manchester on Thursday, said :—The opinion is widely held that the next war will be waged for raw materials or upon the racial war of colour. In the great tropical world to-day a mighty struggle was gathering momentum, namely, the struggle for the right to produce raw material, the contending forces being peasant proprietors versus plantation owners. The world requires 450,000 tons of rubber, £200,000,000 worth of cane sugar, 25,000,000 bags of coffee, £20,000,000 worth of raw cocoa, whilst Lancashire must have 1,600,000,000 lbs. of raw cotton. The first essential fact is that this colossal volume of raw material can only be produced by coloured labour, and the second fact, the enormous industrial implications for white labour in the manufacturing and marketing processes between the rubber or cocoa trees of the tropics and the shop-counters of civilisation. If, for example, the whole of the 450,000 tons of rubber, worth £75,000,000 ex plantations, were turned into Dunlop rubber motor tyres fitted to a Morris car, the manufacturing result would be 100,000,000 tyres, worth £365,000,000—the difference between the £75,000,000 and the £365,000,000 being industry taxation and marketing. The £20,000,000 worth of cocoa beans, translated into domestic cocoa and chocolate, would become £100,000,000.

West Africa

The success or failure of the two conflicting systems can be seen all over the tropical world, and there is increasing evidence that under white advice the Native is the best and most economic producer, and that the greatest measure of advantage to the white races is to be found in "handling" the raw produce—ginning, preparing for market, transport, etc. The plantation systems run by white overseers are inevitably costly; they involve great labour difficulties, and not infrequently lead to serious abuses. The peasant proprietor system, where it can be adopted, avoids all the overhead charges, renders unnecessary the unsavoury details of "recruiting" forced labour, and so forth, and is capable of putting the raw material on the market at the lowest price.

4-18-25

The economic success of peasant proprietorship is beyond question. In the Gold Coast every pound of cocoa is produced under this system, which began with an export of 80 lbs. weight, worth £4, in 1891, rising in 1924 to 500,000,000 lbs. worth £8,000,000. According to the report of the Department of Overseas Trade, the Native peasant proprietors in Java have smashed the white policy of rubber restriction, and have increased their native exports of raw rubber from 7.7 per cent. to 37.9 per cent., with consequent economic advantage to the Natives of Java, and, incidentally, to the white motor industry, in that, in official language, "Natives who a few years ago had not a rag to their backs, can now be seen driving from village to village in Ford cars." In the Waterloo sugar estates of Trinidad, the abandonment of the plantation system in favour of peasant proprietorship led to an increase of sugar cane to the mills from 3,500 to 15,000 tons, and an urgent order to British engineers for another sugar mill to cope with the flow of cane. In Kenya, where the fight is waxing hottest in favour of a plantation system reposing upon white control of lands coupled with compulsory labour, the production of cotton is negligible, whereas just across the border, in Uganda, under peasant proprietorship (dubbed by Kenya settlers "Manchester slavery"!), the Natives in 10 years have increased their output of raw cotton from £350,000 to nearly £4,000,000!

Britain's Cotton Capacity.

The capacity of Great Britain to produce all the raw cotton she requires is only beginning to dawn upon us. The United States produce their 12,000,000 bales within 10 States, with a coloured population of about 10,000,000, and upon an actual acreage of 40,000,000. If we compare the potential African cotton States with America, we find Great Britain has an advantage of a most striking nature, for, taking the East African territories alone, from Uganda to Natal, the total area is 800,000,000 acres, with a population of 14,000,000 of people. If to these figures are added the three cotton producing territories of West Africa, we get a grand combined total of: British acreage 1,083,000,000, British coloured population 24,000,000; American acreage 499,000,000 American coloured population 10,000,000.

Is it too extravagant (Mr. Harris asked) to hope that if America can find 40,000,000 acres of land suitable for cotton growing, within an area of 500,000,000 acres, Great Britain can find 10,000,000 (which is more than is needed to produce 3,000,000 bales of cotton) within an area exceeding 1,000,000,000 acres, whilst in the still more vital factor, namely, suitable labour, Great Britain can call upon a population of 24,000,000, or 14,000,000 more than are available to the United States?

Lord Leverhulme recently urged the break-up of our African land systems, in order to permit of a more rapid spread of the plantation system for the purpose of cotton production. This would be a fatal step, for it would damn British cotton enterprise. Experience has shown that in tropical or semi-tropical countries, the break-up of Native land ownership and the substitution of the plantation system has invariably led to demands for administrative compulsion in order to obtain labour. Kenya, for example, has introduced a registration Ordinance with finger-print clues, compulsory labour Ordinance, Native Authority Ordinance, and so forth. But even these are insufficient in the opinion of the settlers, and Kenya has come back for more, and demands in the latest "report" and resolutions new forms of Government compulsion, in order to force the Natives to accept the wage inducements offered by white settlers—the whole system proving not merely indefensible morally, but unsound economically, whilst all the most experienced British Adminstrators have held that any form of compulsory labour in private interests is slavery.

But it is equally clear that adequate measures should be taken to inspire the inhabitants with a desire to produce a greater volume of raw material—the first step should be to give to the Natives a secure title to their own lands, then they will plant the cotton we need; the next urgent step is that Administrations should wake up to the need of a scientific schedule of potential cotton areas, and in those areas undertake to educate and assist the Natives to produce suitable grades of raw cotton; the third urgent step is to increase cheap and rapid transit—what could be more disheartening to a great Native population than to find it impossible to transport £150,000 worth of cotton seed, and then to witness bonfires made of this gigantic cargo, which represented months of labour? From the settler and merchant point of view, what can be more damaging to British commercial ventures than to find British transport facilities dearer than those of almost every other territory in Africa?

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA.

Copies of the following correspondence appear in the current issue of the quarterly report of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society :—

TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

January 27th, 1925.

Sir,—I am requested by the Committee of this Society to write to you to ask whether we may be informed if his Majesty's Government propose to inquire into the allegations made in the "National Review" for December last by Captain J. F. J. Fitzpatrick, in regard to the Native Administration of Nigeria. My Committee would esteem it a favour if they may be allowed to know whether these allegations are proved to be in any degree well founded.

I am, etc.,
TRAVERS BUXTON,
Secretary.

Downing Street,
February 10th, 1925.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Amery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 27th with regard to the article by Captain J. F. J. Fitzpatrick which appeared in the "National Review" for December last.

The Secretary of State attaches no importance to the sweeping and unsubstantiated charges which Captain Fitzpatrick has brought against the system of indirect rule in Nigeria and sees no reason to institute any inquiry into them. The attention of the Governor has been drawn to the article and to the debate which took place in the House of Lords on December 17th; and Sir Hugh Clifford can be relied upon to take suitable notice of Captain Fitzpatrick's charges if he deems it necessary to do so.

I am, etc.,
G. GRINDLE.

The Secretary, The Anti-Slavery
and Aborigines Protection Society.

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, April 13.

The General Elections.

Here are the official results of the general elections :

African World 4/18/25

Chamber of Representatives :
Socialists, 79 (11 more)
Catholics, 78 (2 less)
Liberals, 22 (11 less)
Frontits, 6 (2 more)
Communists, 2 (none before)

The three former Colonial Ministers, Messrs. Renkin (Catholic), Franck (Liberal) and Carton (Catholic) have also been re-elected, as have also Messrs. Mathieu and Wauters, two Socialist M.P.s who take a special interest in Colonial matters.

Senate :
Catholics, 71 (1 less)
Socialists, 59 (6 more)
Liberals, 23 (5 less).

Amongst the Senators elected is Mr. Lippens, the former Governor-General of the Colony, whom the Ghent Liberals have sent to the Senate as their representative.

Up to now, no Cabinet has yet been constituted and the formation of the new ministry does not appear to be quite easy, the Liberals having decided not to accept seats in the Cabinet.

Governor-General Rutten.

Reports of the impending resignation of Governor-General Rutten being again circulated, I am glad to be able to contradict this report. The Governor-General has, by the latest mail to hand, however, informed our Colonial Office he is shortly to return on leave, intending to go back to the Congo in the autumn.

The Forminiere Diamonds.

Herewith, according to official figures, I give the Forminière production since the beginning of operations and the value recovered.

This production is only that secured by the Forminière company, and does not include that of the other companies working the Kasai diamond fields; one of these companies, by the way—the Société Minière du Bélèka—has already exceeded by far the Forminière production.

The value given is that of the raw stones :—

Year.	Carats worth	Frs.
1913	15 000	562,500
1914	23,887	895,750
1915	48,934	1,835,025
1916	53,940	2,022,750
1917	99,997	4,124 876
918	164,188	6,772 755
1919	215,489	10,414 585
1920	213,092	16 033,040
1921	150 058	16,881,525
1922	192,264	24 677,080
1923	233,688	31,387,472
1924	204,807 (approx.)	26,625 910

The Copper Situation.

Copper being now, and in every respect the Congo chief export and the copper quotations having (contrarily to every expectation) fallen since the first days of the year, I think it interesting to report that, on the 3rd inst., the "Boston News Bureau" published a detailed statement by Mr. John D. Ryan, chairman of Anaconda, on the copper situation, which concluded as follows:—"I believe 1925 is to prove a record year for copper consumption both here and abroad."

In these conditions, better quotations may be relied upon.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

Beira and the Congo.

The Paris Agence Economique et Financière announces to-day that the value of the imports and exports through Beira last year did amount to £12,712,000 sterling, and that the share of the Congo in this total reached £2,674,000 sterling (the imports in the Congo are valued to £648,000 sterling, and the exports from the Congo to £2,026,000 sterling.

It is stated that Lord Leverhulme, during his recent visit, ordered the construction of no less than 800 small dwellings for the workpeople of the "Huileries," which are to be erected near the offices of the Wireless Telegraph.

EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

LONDON, April 16.

A Zaghlulist Revolution?

Occasional hints are still appearing in the Press, both in this country and in Egypt, about the possibility of a Zaghlulist revolution.

The revolution of 1919 succeeded simply because there was general discontent with the administration of the country during the war. The people as a whole, including the fellaheen, were—rightly or wrongly—under the belief that they had genuine grievances of a serious kind; moreover, the country at that time formed one camp against British rule. To-day the fight is one between two Egyptian sections, each desiring to govern the country. Zaghlul would have been able to stir up the people against the present administration had not his own administration committed serious abuses of various kinds, to the extent that it demoralised the Wafd followers, and only those who were deprived of the power to do mischief miss the Zaghlulist administration.

Public Order in Egypt.

According to "Al Mokattam," the Egyptian Government is fighting hard against an agitation to stir the public against law and order, and the governors of the provinces are seriously occupied in explaining to the masses that the Government is doing its best for their welfare. The same newspaper states that Sidki Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, had several conferences with the District Governors to discuss methods of counteracting Zaghlulist

propaganda in the provinces.

Egyptian Press Activities.

I hear that the Egyptian newspapers are now selling much better than before, and that the number of people who read papers with different views is increasing. Only a year ago there was one Egyptian paper represented in London; now there are four represented here, and practically every word of interest in the British Press is being cabled daily to Egypt.

An Egyptian Railway Strike?

It is also stated in the latest Egyptian newspapers that the Egyptian Government anticipates serious trouble amongst Egyptian Railway employees in Alexandria, Tantah, Zagazig, and other important junctions. It is alleged that there is a secret movement for promoting railway strikes. High Government officials went from Cairo to Alexandria, where the trouble is said to be of a serious nature, to investigate the matter fully.

"Long Live King Fuad."

The Egyptian Ministry of War has issued orders to the effect that the various units of the Egyptian Army are to parade daily, just before sunset, and shout three times: "Long live his Majesty the King."

LORD BALFOUR AT ALEXANDRIA.

ALEXANDRIA, April 13.

On his arrival here today Lord Balfour landed in a launch and, accompanied by the British Consul-General, inspected the Victoria College and then took tea at the British Consulate-General.

Lord Balfour spoke for twenty minutes at a banquet given in the evening by the British community. First of all, he humorously deplored the exaggeration of the stories of the protection afforded him by the authorities in Palestine. He declared that it was not the first time that he had been protected. He then dwelt upon the geographical and material insignificance of Palestine as compared with its importance as the seeding ground of three great religions. Zionism, he declared, was a great experiment which was only affecting a very small proportion of the Arabs in Palestine, and it was necessary that the Jews and Arabs should work together to add Palestinian civilisation to the world's progress. To talk of universal citizenship, he observed, was fantastic.—

The Carthaginians in West Africa.

Two interesting papers on West Africa were read before the Royal Anthropological Society, recently, one on "The Carthaginians in West Africa and the Nmoli Statuettes," by Mr. H. P. Fitzgerald Marriott; and the other, on "The Less-known Tribes of the Northern Provinces," by Mr. A. E. Cadell, of the Administrative Service of Nigeria. Mr. Marriott, showing a little statuette from Sierra Leone, known as Nomori, or Nomoli, said that these statuettes had for an unknown period been dug up in the plantations, and were much revered by the Natives. There were only two in the British Museum with the arms extended in the same way. He considered them a proof that the Carthaginians had been to West Africa. The specimen was nearly four inches high, with a head like that of a dog-faced baboon. The arms were extended in the same way as those of the great statue of Moloch at Carthage. The name 'Nmoli was evidently a negroid corruption of Moloch, he thought. Mr. Cadell spoke of the Yagba and Igbona peoples, and described some of their interesting beliefs. The Igbona tribe belonged to the Yoruba nation, he said, and they were keen agriculturists. They had a peculiar form of oath. Mr. Cadell also spoke of the Nupe people, and he gave a description of stock-farming and the type of houses used by the different tribes mentioned in his paper.

The Colour Bar.

GEN. SMUT'S WARNING.

[*Continued.*]

A DANGEROUS ROAD.

No, I ask the House and I ask the Government to consider very seriously the road on which we are embarking now with the very best intentions. I know the Minister is in a difficulty owing to the position which has arisen through the judgment in the Courts, but I say that with this Bill we are on a new departure, with this Bill, we are beginning a new record in South Africa, and I would very seriously implore the Government and the House and the country to think and pause before we make this new start in the relations of the races of South Africa.

What will the natives say about this? I see the Prime Minister pondering deeply over this issue. And he must. He is not only the Prime Minister of this country, but he is also the Minister of Native Affairs. Have the natives been consulted over a Bill like this?

How is native opinion going to be affected by this? It is not a case any longer of maintaining the old practice which has been existing in the Transvaal. This is a new law on the Statute Book of the Union, and how is it going to affect native opinion? We have several times given the natives what amounts to a pledge that as they are not represented in this House, whenever large questions affecting them are brought forward, they will be consulted.

HAVE NATIVES BEEN CONSULTED?

We have constituted special machinery in order to provide for the consultation of the natives. I would ask the Prime Minister, have the natives been consulted, have the Native Affairs Commission been consulted, and what is their opinion over a question like this?

I am afraid we are going to raise enormous difficulties, and the position of the Prime Minister after this Bill is through will be very unenviable in his relations with the natives in this country.

An hon. member has asked what about the connection of this with the segregation policy. The Prime Minister has said to the natives of this country: "Our policy is to give you areas where you can develop yourselves. We do not wish you to be mixed up with the whites. We will give you full scope in your own areas." That scope has not been given; the segregation policy has not yet been put in force, and it will probably take a long time before it is put in force.

Then read the proceedings of the Native Affairs Commission which has been travelling about the country, and has been trying to get the views of people on the segregation policy and suitable areas for natives. We have seen everywhere objection raised by the agricultural community against setting aside ground for natives. We are left with this position, that, before there is segregation, before any scope is given to the natives to develop in their own areas and have any definite prospect that such areas will ever be given them, they are here by the law of the land pressed down into the depths. You here, by the law of the land, tell them that this country, this country of theirs just as much as ours, has no place for them. I do not wish to attack the Government for this; I only wish to bring home to all of us the extreme gravity of the situation.

"NOT HONEST DEALING"

The Minister of the Interior has brought a Bill into this House by which the natives of this country are going to be declared South Africans. Every British subject, every person who has been born in this country will henceforth be a South African, not only the whites, but the natives just as well. While the Minister of the Interior is declaring every South African nationals his colleague is bringing in a Bill under which we are going to declare to the natives: "You shall in future be debarred from rising above the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water."

I am all for the white man, but there is something in my breast that cannot stand this. I feel that this is not honest dealing. I feel that we are not even ensuring our own position. We are not securing our own position by making a provision as this.

We read to-day a great deal about the question of security. What is the fear at the heart of Europe? One nation against the other. And have thousands and tens of thousands of people in South Africa who are actuated by similar feelings of fear.

We also want security. (Hear, hear.) My deliberate opinion is, there is only one way and that is honest, plain dealing and justice between man and man in this country. Nothing else will give us security. There is no doubt about that. I know that is the intention of all of us, and I do not say this in criticism of any party or of the Government, but I do say that this Bill which we are asked to sanction on the present occasion lays down a precedent in the history of South Africa, establishes a precedent of injustice, of inequality and unfair dealing that will recoil upon the white races more than upon anyone else in this country. (Opposition cheers.)

If there is any other way of meeting the difficulty in which the Minister and the Government find themselves, let us explore it. Do not let us look upon this as a Bill that we are going to force through at all costs, but let us pool our wisdom and intelligence to see whether we cannot overcome this trouble without putting this blot on the Statute Book of South Africa.

ASIATICS.

I regret profoundly that the Minister has increased the difficulty by putting the Asiatic here, too. In the old days when I was negotiating with Mr. Gandhi I found the position he took up was cast a stigma upon us in the ou doing this we are gathering on our heads the hatred of Asia from one side to another. Every Asiatic people is branded here in this Bill. If it becomes the law of the land, take it from me we shall feel the weight of that in years to come.

propaganda in the provinces.

Egyptian Press Activities.

I hear that the Egyptian newspapers are now selling much better than before, and that the number of people who read papers with different views is increasing. Only a year ago there was one Egyptian paper represented in London; now there are four represented here, and practically every word of interest in the British Press is being cabled daily to Egypt.

An Egyptian Railway Strike?

It is also stated in the latest Egyptian newspapers that the Egyptian Government anticipates serious trouble amongst Egyptian Railway employees in Alexandria, Tantah, Zagazig, and other important junctions. It is alleged that there is a secret movement for promoting railway strikes. High Government officials went from Cairo to Alexandria, where the trouble is said to be of a serious nature, to investigate the matter fully.

"Long Live King Fuad."

The Egyptian Ministry of War has issued orders to the effect that the various units of the Egyptian Army are to parade daily, just before sunset, and shout three times: "Long live his Majesty the King."

LORD BALFOUR AT ALEXANDRIA.

ALEXANDRIA, April 13.

On his arrival here to-day Lord Balfour landed in a launch and, accompanied by the British Consul-General, inspected the Victoria College and then took tea at the British Consulate-General.

Lord Balfour spoke for twenty minutes at a banquet given in the evening by the British community. First of all, he humorously deplored the exaggeration of the stories of the protection afforded him by the authorities in Palestine. He declared that it was not the first time that he had been protected. He then dwelt upon the geographical and material insignificance of Palestine as compared with its importance as the seed ing ground of three great religions. Zionism, he declared, was a great experiment which was only affecting a very small proportion of the Arabs in Palestine, and it was necessary that the Jews and Arabs should work together to add Palestinian civilisation to the world's progress. To talk of universal citizenship, he observed, was fantastic.—

The Carthaginians in West Africa.

Two interesting papers on West Africa were read before the Royal Anthropological Society, recently, one on "The Carthaginians in West Africa and the Nmoli Statuettes," by Mr. H. P. Fitzgerald Marriott; and the other, on "The Less-known Tribes of the Northern Provinces," by Mr. A. E. Cadell, of the Administrative Service of Nigeria. Mr. Marriott, showing a little statuette from Sierra Leone, known as Nomori, or Nomoli, said that these statuettes had for an unknown period been dug up in the plantations, and were much revered by the Natives. There were only two in the British Museum with the arms extended in the same way. He considered them a proof that the Carthaginians had been to West Africa. The specimen was nearly four inches high, with a head like that of a dog-faced baboon. The arms were extended in the same way as those of the great statue of Moloch at Carthage. The name 'Nmoli was evidently a negroid corruption of Moloch, he thought. Mr. Cadell spoke of the Yagba and Igbona peoples, and described some of their interesting beliefs. The Igbona tribe belonged to the Yoruba nation, he said, and they were keen agriculturists. They had a peculiar form of oath. Mr. Cadell also spoke of the Nupe people, and he gave a description of stock-farming and the type of houses used by the different tribes mentioned in his paper.

The Colour Bar.

GEN. SMUT'S WARNING.

[*Continued.*]

A DANGEROUS ROAD.

No, I ask the House and I ask the Government to consider very seriously the road on which we are embarking now with the very best intentions. I know the Minister is in a difficulty owing to the position which has arisen through the judgment in the Courts, but I say that with this Bill we are on a new departure, with this Bill, we are beginning a new record in South Africa, and I would very seriously implore the Government and the House and the country to think and pause before we make this new start in the relations of the races of South Africa.

What will the natives say about this? I see the Prime Minister pondering deeply over this issue. And he must. He is not only the Prime Minister of this country, but he is also the Minister of Native Affairs. Have the natives been consulted over a Bill like this?

How is native opinion going to be affected by this? It is not a case any longer of maintaining the old practice which has been existing in the Transvaal. This is a new law on the Statute Book of the Union, and how is it going to affect native opinion? We have several times given the natives what amounts to a pledge that as they are not represented in this House, whenever large questions affecting them are brought forward, they will be consulted.

HAVE NATIVES BEEN CONSULTED?

We have constituted special machinery in order to provide for the consultation of the natives. I would ask the Prime Minister, have the natives been consulted, have the Native Affairs Commission been consulted, and what is their opinion over a question like this?

I am afraid we are going to raise enormous difficulties, and the position of the Prime Minister after this Bill is through will be very unenviable in his relations with the natives in this country.

An hon. member has asked what about the connection of this with the segregation policy. The Prime Minister has said to the natives of this country: "Our policy is to give you areas where you can develop yourselves. We do not wish you to be mixed up with the whites. We will give you full scope in your own areas." That scope has not been given; the segregation policy has not yet been put in force, and it will probably take a long time before it is put in force.

Then read the proceedings of the Native Affairs Commission which has been travelling about the country, and has been trying to get the views of people on the segregation policy and suitable areas for natives. We have seen everywhere objection raised by the agricultural community against setting aside ground for natives. We are left with this position, that, before there is segregation, before any scope is given to the natives to develop in their own areas and have any definite prospect that such areas will ever be given them, they are here by the law of the land pressed down into the depths. You here, by the law of the land, tell them that this country, this country of theirs just as much as ours, has no place for them. I do not wish to attack the Government for this; I only wish to bring home to all of us the extreme gravity of the situation.

"NOT HONEST DEALING"

The Minister of the Interior has brought a Bill into this House by which the natives of this country are going to be declared South Africans. Every British subject, every person who has been born in this country will henceforth be a South African, not only the whites, but the natives just as well. While the Minister of the Interior is declaring every South African nationals his colleague is bringing in a Bill under which we are going to declare to the natives: "You shall in future be debarred from rising above the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water."

I am all for the white man, but there is something in my breast that cannot stand this. I feel that this is not honest dealing. I feel that we are not even ensuring our own position. We are not securing our own position by making a provision as this.

We read to-day a great deal about the question of security. What is the fear at the heart of Europe? One nation against the other. And have thousands and tens of thousands of people in South Africa who are actuated by similar feelings of fear.

We also want security. (Hear, hear.) My deliberate opinion is, there is only one way and that is honest, plain dealing and justice between man and man in this country. Nothing else will give us security. There is no doubt about that. I know that is the intention of all of us, and I do not say this in criticism of any party or of the Government, but I do say that this Bill which we are asked to sanction on the present occasion lays down a precedent in the history of South Africa, establishes a precedent of injustice, of inequality and unfair dealing that will recoil upon the white races more than upon anyone else in this country. (Opposition cheers.)

If there is any other way of meeting the difficulty in which the Minister and the Government find themselves, let us explore it. Do not let us look upon this as a Bill that we are going to force through at all costs, but let us pool our wisdom and intelligence to see whether we cannot overcome this trouble without putting this blot on the Statute Book of South Africa.

ASIATICS.

I regret profoundly that the Minister has increased the difficulty by putting the Asiatic here, too. In the old days when I was negotiating with Mr. Gandhi I

Race Problem - 1925

Africa.

African Customary Law.

Mr. Ladipo Solanke recently won a certificate of merit at the University of London, University College, in an essay on African customary laws. In the Department of the Faculty of Law there is a special class for research work under the lectureship and supervision of Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency. Each student is required to undertake a specific piece of customary law research as part of a scheme of research. Mr. Solanke, one of the members of this class since 1924-25 session, submitted, with the rest, an essay on (a) African land tenure, (b) African marriage system, and the result shows that his essay is one of the best by merit. The following are official remarks of the professor in distinguishing Mr. Solanke's from the rest and as contained in the certificate :—

Mr. Ladipo Solanke's essay is meritorious and shows signs of considerable reading and local knowledge . . . . I think that his papers might well make the basis of a price of research . . . . they show promise and all enable him to go on collecting material.

The subject for the new session is " The Field of Customary Law," but Mr. Solanke was asked to continue his research in the African customary laws and submit another essay next January.

Tragic Death of two West Africans.

Two of the Gold Coast Salvation Army missionaries who came to this country for additional experience, met their deaths in tragic circumstances at West Hartlepool on Tuesday night. Their names were Kwesi Morgan Awumai and Kwesi Essar Awumai, but they were known in the Salvation Army as Captain and Mrs. Ellis. They were two of a party of eight West African converts. After addressing a crowded meeting on Tuesday evening at West Hartlepool they retired for the night at the house of Captain Shaw. There was a small gas jet burning in their bedroom and the theory is that they were unaccustomed to gas lighting and had blown out the light instead of turning it off by the tap. Both Captain and Mrs. Ellis were found dead when their host called them in the morning. A pathetic note is that in their repertoire there was a song called, " Groping in Darkness," in which they as representing West Africa were seen groping towards the light of a candle held by one of their European officers.

Miami, Fla., Herald

NOV 15 1925

AFRICA MISSION FIELD

Berlin Professor Points To Opportunity of Service, Education In Land.

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 14.—Africa offers illimitable opportunities for influence and usefulness to well trained American negroes, capable of leadership, according to Dr. D. Westermann, professor of African languages in the University of Berlin, who is in America studying the status of the race in this country. As missionaries, educators, and agricultural and industrial leaders, they could render the greatest service to the natives, who are still immeasurably below the standards attained by the colored people of America.

As an illustration, Dr. Westermann mentioned the very valuable work done some years ago in German Togoland by five graduates of Tuskegee Institute who were employed by the German government to instruct the natives in the production of cotton. Partly as a result of their work, Africa is fast becoming one of the great cotton-growing countries of the world, and the native growers are profiting accordingly. In the field of religious effort, the work of Max Yergen, an American negro sent out to Africa some years ago by the Y. M. C. A., is exercising a very wide influence and is favorably known on three continents. Dr. Westermann, a former missionary to Africa and in close touch with conditions, believes that there are similar opportunities for great usefulness in many lines, and that well-trained American negroes, desirous of going to Africa in the spirit of service, would be welcomed both by the natives and by the colonial governments.

Dr. Westermann expressed great gratification at the high degree of education, character, and material prosperity attained by many American Negroes. He was particularly struck by the ability manifest in the efficient management of Tuskegee Institute and of the great Tuskegee Hospital, which he recently visited.

"Whatever else may be done to bring about a better relationship between the races and whatever constructive measures or plans may be considered, it is a fundamental necessity that violence or lawlessness of any kind should be prevented. This is not simply a question that involves the Negro race but the entire structure of human society and civilization."—Dr. Edwin Mims, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

SOUTH AFRICA AIDS RURAL POOR WHITES

Government Is Trying Out Comprehensive Scheme to Meet Unemployment Evils.

HAS A TWO-FOLD OBJECT

Plan Provides for More White Labor on Public Works and Great Farming Camps.

Special Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PRETORIA, Oct. 21.—The most comprehensive scheme yet planned to remedy the evils of unemployment and poor-whiteism in South Africa now is being put into operation by the Union Government. The effort is two-fold.

First, all the Government departments, including the railways, are making a systematic attempt to employ more whites, and about 10,000 persons have been absorbed in this way into the activities of the State. There have been no actual dismissals of native workers, but the wastage in the colored labor force is made good by whites, and when additional workers are needed Europeans are engaged where possible, except in the case of railways operating in native territories. The line of action the Government terms its "civilized labor" policy, and it is being applied in all State activties, though considerable extra expense is involved, not only in higher wages, but in providing housing accommodation suitable for white families.

Secondly, the newly formed Ministry of Labor has inaugurated an experiment for dealing with the rural unemployed, or "poor whites," by more scientific methods than have been tried in the past.

These direct measures will be supplemented by a native policy based on the principle of "differentiation," or modified segregation, the effect of which will be to give blacks and whites alike more scope in their own particular areas and so reduce the economic competition which reveals a growing tendency to force Europeans down into the poor white class. The combined effort, it is hoped, will do much to strengthen the white race in South Africa and check the rapidly increasing preponderance of the colored peoples, which was made plain in the 1921 census report.

Attempts Made in Past.

Many attempts have been made in the past to deal effectively with the evil of poor-whiteism, which is almost as old as the European occupation of the country. It is difficult to estimate the extent of the trouble, but the figure of 106,000 poor whites was given in 1916, and the total today is put as high as 160,000, which means that every tenth European in the Union must be included in that doleful category. Impartial students of social conditions in South Africa admit that unless the canker of poor-whiteism can be eradicated, the European race ultimately will be found to have lost control of the sub-continent.

The Ministry of Labor now is striving to put into operation the recommendation of the Transvaal Indigency Commission made nearly twenty years ago, that in the treatment of the problem "relief should not stop short of providing the indigents with the necessaries of life; its object should also be their moral and economic regeneration." To act upon this advice involves the sorting out and classifying of an army of helpless and poverty-stricken people, in the ranks of which are to be found a mixture of aged poor, physically or mentally incapable, able-bodied unemployed who need only a fresh start, and sheer won't-works. Relief works in the past have been flooded by men from all these classes, rendering operations on scientific or economic lines almost impossible.

The Ministry of Labor now discourages the ordinary relief work, which is generally a dead-end affair, except when there is special local reasons for its establishment or continuance. It insists that the able-bodied unemployed must perform the labor which it offers as a preliminary test of fitness and willingness and from which the men who make good are passed on to activities offering them a chance of re-establishing themselves as self-supporting citizens.

The Government has prepared a testing ground on its own land in the Brits district, thirty miles north of Pretoria. There it owns farms irrigable from the great £2,000,000 Haartebeestpoort Dam. In this district the Ministry of Labor holds the Losperfontein estate of about 30,000 acres, of which 8,000 acres are arable, while the Land Department has an area of good wheat and tobacco country which it is cutting up into ready-made farms of 16 to 20 acres, each complete with house and agricultural implements.

Work for Manual Labor.

In the same district the Irrigation Department is cutting furrows from the two main canals which carry the water of the Haartebeestpoort Dam, and the Transvaal Provincial Council is building a main road. A twenty-eight mile railway from Brits northward has been approved by Parliament, while the Ministry of Labor has mapped out thirty-six miles of road to develop the Losperfontein estate. Thus there is plenty of use for manual labor to be done as a test of the genuineness of the desire to "make good."

Unemployed whites able to work are drafted with their families into this Brits area and established in three main camps. They are employed in one phase or another of this development work at a wage of 5s 6d ($1.35) a day, with free housing, fuel and medical attendance. One camp contains over 1,100 white persons, and in all about 4,000 whites are living under the supervision of the Government. No native labor is employed and no alcoholic liquor is allowed. There are schools for the children, and the attendance of the women at classes for hygiene, cooking, dressmaking and so on, is compulsory.

The camps are under the supervision of an official welfare officer in the person of the Rev. E. J. Van der Horst, an ex-Member of Parliament, who occupied the pulpit at Wolmaransstad for twenty-two years, and always has taken a keen practical interes tin the poor-white problem.

From the men working on the roads or farms, the more promising are picked for another stage in the regeneration process. Some are sent to the Losper-

fontein farm to be trained for resettlement on the land. They may be placed on a twenty-acre ready-made farm on a probationary lease, or be started as "tenant farmers" under a Government arrangement by which land on a private farm can be worked "on shares," the Government providing for the erection of a rough house, the supplying of oxen and equipment, and so on, and granting a subsidy for food until the first crop is reaped. Other men may be given a chance in the Forestry Department, or some other State activity, though in the main settlement on the land is the ultimate end aimed at.

Villages for Aged Poor.

Two alms villages are to be built on Losperfontein in which it is proposed to settle several of the aged poor and the less physically fit who still are able to do a little light work on the soil. The scheme includes the opening of a Labor Colony for the hardened won't-works, and the necessary legislation may be brought before Parliament next year.

The new methods are not confined to the Brits area. The tenant farmer plan is being introduced in the other provinces, and forestry is being utilized to give a fresh start to several rural unemployed. But the main experiment in classifying and training poor whites is being carried on around Brits, where a wide stretch of country presents scenes of activity of a pleasing constructive character. The bush land is being turned into wheat fields, tobacco plots and vegetable gardens, and the cultivators have the benefit of advice from experts of the Irrigation and Agricultural Departments.

On the results achieved will depend the extension of the effort. So far the officials are well satisfied with the attitude of the bulk of the unemployed handled, and estimate that 60 per cent. of them will make good. The scheme is regarded as valuable because it lifts relief out of the doles rut, and promises to yield permanent results.

SOUTH AFRICA LAUNCHES 3 WAY SEGREGATION

Cape Town, S. A.—Three way segregation will be recommended in the South African parliament by Prime Minister Hertzog when it meets this winter, the African World reports.

The premier's proposals are as follows:

They include the general extension throughout the Union of the franchise to the colored population as distinct from natives, on the same basis as European franchise, including the right to sit in Parliament. For natives there is to be industrial segregation on the lines of the Colour Bar Bill, territorial segregation by means of reserved areas, and political segregation through the gradual extinction of the Cape native franchise.

No native now possessing a vote will be deprived thereof but no native not possessing a vote will be allowed to acquire it. Thus in the course of a generation or two it will disappear.

A native congress is to be established with the right to elect seven Europeans to represent the natives in Parliament. Cape natives will be given the option of surrendering their vote immediately and coming into the new scheme, or waiting to be deprived of the vote by extinction.

The Rand Native Wages.

Our attention has been called to the fact that several important European newspapers in the Union joyfully quote our contemporary "Umteteli wa Bantu" as voicing Native opinion by saying that the plea for higher wages on the ground that present wages are inadequate leaves us entirely unmoved. Most Native labourers are content to work only one half of their time, and it must therefore be assumed that the wages paid to them during their term of mine work are not only sufficient for that period but that they also cover their ordinary expenses for a holiday spell of like duration. It is farcical to ask for additional benefit until full advantage is taken of present facilities; and it is improper for Native labourers to apply for higher wages until they have made the best of wages at the present rate."

Cape Town offers the best wages for Native labour in the Cape Province, we are informed; and the supply of Native workers to that centre is so great that authorities have actually instructed the magistrates to dissuade our people from going thither. We can say almost the same with regard to Port Elizabeth Speaking for the Cape Province we can unhesitatingly state that if the mines in the Rand were to offer higher wages than they do now the supply would be greater and more regular correspondingly. Umteteli's assumption that when Natives return from the mines to their homes they are out on a holiday spell discloses lack of knowledge of conditions obtaining at their homes. It must be borne in mind that the same young man who works on the mines at intervals, is expected to be at home during the ploughing season to cultivate the lands, the production of which goes to assist in supplementing his meagre earnings on the mines If he depended on his earnings in the mines at the present rate he would never make ends meet. We therefore cannot see the impropriety "Umteteli" sees in the request for an increase in wages by Native labourers; much less making the best of wages at the present rate. The point for our contemporary to study is not what Native labourers make of their wages, as this is their own business, but the fullest compensation they get for the energy they supply. Mr. Van Niekerk's remarks appearing in this impression are relevant to the issue, and have our full support. Even in behalf of the Natives of the Northern Provinces we venture to affirm that our worthy contemporary "Umteteli" reflects NOT the opinions of the Natives in this matter but those of the Native Recruiting bodies, its masters and owners, whose financial interests are naturally best served by the keeping down of Native wages. We therefore do not blame "Umteteli" for its attitude, but are in duty bound to correct the error that is misleading the "Natal Mercury," "The Friend" "The Cape Times" and "The Cape Argus" into being satisfied that this Johannesburg organ that styles itself by a Native name necessarily and correctly voices Native opinion in this matter of Native wages in the mines. Native opinion is just the opposite.

Republic of Liberia.

LIBERIA TO-DAY.

An interesting summary of present-day conditions and future prospects in Liberia is contained in a report by Mr. R. E. Durrant, Special Commissioner in West Africa for the African International Corporation, which has been engaged in the development of the Republic's economic resources for a number of years. As a description of Liberia from the trader's point of view and an estimate of its potentialities, the report cannot fail to be of value to all interested in this rich but yet undeveloped part of West Africa, and the publishers' statement that "the trader, explorer, naturalist, and big-game hunter may with exceptional advantage turn their attention to this part of the Dark Continent" is certainly justified.

Mr. Durrant outlines the agricultural resources, living conditions, and financial position of the Republic, and shows a sound grasp of the administrative difficulties in his chapter on "Population," where he points out that "the natives in bulk, more especially those far back, are still insensible of any very direct influence of a central administration. This is quite natural, and forms one of the major problems of the Government." He pays a deserved tribute to the energy and foresight of President King, "the pioneer road-building President," and in discussing railway possibilities considers that it will be time for these when the roads have raised the productivity of the country to where it will carry the initial cost of railway construction and equipment.

Summing up his impressions in a chapter entitled "Is Liberia Worth While?" Mr. Durrant says: "My conviction is that Liberia is entering on a new phase, and a good one. Whoever goes there will discover that its problems — transport, population, health, trade, finance—are in no way local ones, to be settled in the local atmosphere alone. They are the problems of the African Continent itself. Hence the vigorous enterprise of the Americans—whose sprightly energy and optimism make light of difficulties which the slower and older observer finds a trouble to him—will, if they come here, have the best wishes of all those who are trading in West Africa or who in the colonial offices are seeking a solution, wise and fair to all, of the "problems of the twentieth century."

The booklet is well illustrated, and has been produced by Messrs. Raphael Tuck and Sons in their usual high-class manner Copies may be obtained from the African International Corporation at 3s. 6d., post free.

The Kaffrarian Missionary Conference.

THE resuscitation of the old missionary conference has been [illegible] for the good work [illegible] none too soon; aries of settling [illegible] of those old mission. establishing [illegible] Natives on land and being seri[illegible] missions has been and is old m[illegible] undermined. Those tage [illegible] sionaries had the great advan- for [illegible] in their schemes and advice [illegible] the betterment of the Natives had the ready ear of the Governmen s of their time. Perhaps it may not be generally known that the whole of the Umnqgesha Valley and those small allotments adjoining the ama Jama Location Jafta's) Rabula Emyeni and Keiskama Hoek and also Kat River Settlement were purely Native settlements, this being brought about by the influence of the missionaries which bore on the Government. Rev. John Brownlee was responsible for the Umnqgesha and Rabula settlements, and the Umyeni settlement may be traced to the Rosses of Pirie, the Kat River settlement to the Reeds: the Glen Grey to the Warners, and Thaba 'Nchu is also said to have been the work of the old missionaries who were stationed there. It is also an open secret that after the last Gaika war Government decided on removing the Gaika across the Kei and their lands were put up to auction —Rev. Mr. Rein of Stutterheim did all in his power to influence the Natives on Bethel, Wartburg, and Stutterheim to avail themselves of these lands—and formulated a scheme which was advantageous had it been accepted but to no avail, and only one Native - the late Mr. Herman Myoli availed himself by the advice of his old missionary and bought a farm adjoining the Emgwali Mission Station with results that were beneficial, and was one of the most well-to-do Natives in the Eastern Province Our people may well yearn for the days of those old missionaries —and that the revived Kaffrarian Conference may go in the steps of the old conference in solving what may be rightly termed 'The Native Question' —that of settling Natives on land and that of securely holding what little land they now hold In the projected segregation policy of Gen Hertzog it may be taken for granted that conference will exert all its power in that the allocation of Native areas should be sufficient for the present and coming generations or otherwise have the 1913 Act repealed and Natives be allowed to buy land anywhere In this great coming struggle it is to be hoped that all Native leaders and associations will come together and sink their petty differences and evolve schemes to combat this segregation mania which is the child of fear and self-preservation and ignoring the fact that Natives also must live and prosper. It may not be out of place in this article to tender the advice that Native leaders start a campaign and have round table talks with Farmers' Associations all over the Union as to the inadequacy of land alloted to Natives; such meetings may result in the Native viewpoint being brought home to the farmers—who are the real obstacles and power behind the Government in passing the legislation which may aptly be described as "sowing the wind the whirlwind of which will be reaped by the coming generations" General Byron speaking recently at a Komgha Farmers' Association asked the farmers to think broadly as to their relations with the Natives.

Race Problem - 1925

Africa

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—We crave your indulgence to give us leave to reply to points arising out of a report of a meeting of the West African Students' Union published in your issue of August 8 last. We do this because we think we owe it as a duty to the parents, friends, and well-wishers of such West African students in London as are members of the U.S.A.D., and to such of our overseas members as may have read your report, and we feel we ought to make it clear that the attacks upon us are untenable. We should have done so long since but that we have only recently resumed after our summer vacation.

One of the main grounds of criticism urged was that the U.S.A.D. is incompetent for discussing West African aspirations. If this charge were true, then it must be either that the discussion of such aspirations does not come under the aims and objects of the Union, or that the Union boasts a purpose which for some reason it is incapable of fulfilling. Now, if anyone takes the trouble to look at the constitution of the Union, he will read that "the U.S.A.D. was founded in 1917 expressly with the aim of providing the young men and women of African race and heritage, resident in London for educational purposes, with opportunities of social and intellectual contact. It aims also at serving as the vehicle of co-operation between the younger and older generations of progressive Africans: further, at serving as an instrument for improving the relations between other races and our own by removing the misunderstanding that has hitherto obscured them." We fail to see that such a definition of our aims is not comprehensive enough to include within its ambit any subject of West African interest, *a fortiori*, the discussion of any West African aspiration. For this reason, therefore, we discount without further ado the first of the two alternatives we have suggested as being the ground for our alleged incompetency.

We turn, then, to the view that we boast a programme too ambitious for us, and this seems to be the real ground of our alleged incompetency: for, as we read the report, we see, first, an objection taken to the European membership of the Union, and, next, an allegation that we exist for social purposes only, and, it seems, especially for dancing. We propose, Mr. Editor, with your leave, to deal with each of these points separately.

First, our European membership: We are told that Englishmen do not summon Frenchmen and Germans to help them govern their empire—is not this criticism puerile? West Africa to-day is a subject unit of the British Empire; hence, although Africans must look to the maintenance of their individuality and outlook, they must, if they are to improve at all that status of subjection, improve first "the relations between other races and our own by removing the misunderstanding that has hitherto obscured them." Besides, just as the leaders of English thought and opinion seek, in their training to their leaders, opportunities of contact with leaders of other peoples and with exponents of other thought and opinion, so West Africans in London, who ought to be the future leaders of West African thought and opinion, ought to seek rather than avoid opportunities for contact with exponents of European thought and opinion. Africa cannot march on its way to salvation alone: no nation or people ever did this; why, civilisation means merely the contact of one people with other peoples and the consequent fruits growing therefrom. If anyone disputes the disastrous effect of any nation seeking to march along alone and unaided, let him witness and observe the contrast between the positions Japan and China occupy in the world to-day.

Again, we are told that Africans cannot express themselves freely and frankly in the presence of Europeans. Why? What pernicious doctrines are those which are to be enunciated that they must needs be expressed behind locked doors and under a strict pledge of secrecy? What terrible threats are to be uttered and what fearsome plots conceived that there must be no risk of divulgence to those who from patriotic motives may give the game away? What halting hesitation needs there hang upon the tongues and utterances of such as boast themselves free members of a free community? To those who say the African cannot speak freely and fearlessly before any number of Europeans, we say in our turn: "Go, learn a lesson from the orators of Marble Arch, realise that views must be set forth candidly and courageously to those we would convince, perceive that no principle of faith, be it political, religious, or racial, can burn with a steady, consistent and vibrant ardour unless the adherents to, and advocates of, that principle are prepared to face and overcome any opposition or lukewarmness on the part of those who dissent from it."

Next, we turn to the second complaint: that we exist for social purposes only, or, as one gentleman expressed it, only for dancing. You may be surprised, Mr. Editor, to learn that during the 10 months of activity during our last session, we had three dances and four "socials" as compared with fortnightly meetings at which we had addresses or debates, at nearly all of which the subjects were of West African interest, and at which any member present was at liberty to express his views, however *outré* these might be. Yet the average attendance of the African members of the Club at the dances has been at least thrice as great as the average attendance of such members at meetings of a non-social nature.

But what will be your surprise, Sir, when you learn that the very energetic secretary, pro tem., of the West African Students' Union, who hurried to you the notes of the meeting where the U.S.A.D. came under the ban of virulent criticism, was himself a member of the executive committee of the U.S.A.D. during last session, and yet attended none of the executive committee meetings throughout the year of the session! And he has sent no excuse; nor has he resigned! Surely this worthy gentleman should have been more zealous to influence the executive and so bring about a reformation which he thinks we need, rather than to shout "Hurrah!" when others criticised us and our activities!

And these others—are they justified in their attack? We would remind them that, even were the executive committee unanimous on all matters arising within the committee, and so on, the nature and character of our meetings should take, it is open to any member, at any time, if he disagrees with the policy of the executive, to table a motion of censure against the committee as a whole or any particular members thereof, or to propose that certain directions be laid down for the guidance of the executive: for, though it may not be generally recognised, the executive committee is the servant, not the ruler, of an association. Why, then, do those who desire to discuss West African aspirations prefer to vent their spleen against the U.S.A.D. at a meeting where we were officially unrepresented, rather than to act like men and utilise their privileges as members of the U.S.A.D., to influence its conduct and activities? No wonder that they cannot express themselves upon their aspirations in the presence of Europeans!

Finally, we would draw attention to this: Dr. Bankole-Bright, the chairman of that inaugural meeting of the West African Students' Union, urged Nigerians to develop race consciousness and unity; quite a laudable plea, indeed! West Africans might well applaud him for seeking to give breadth of vision to the Nigerian. But we would remind him that the U.S.A.D. has an even greater breadth of vision; and, in purposing to provide "the young men and women of African race and heritage, resident in London for educational purposes, with opportunities of social and intellectual contact," realises that with the unity of the Negro, and not merely of the West African, the purpose which every Negro aims at or ought to aim at, in whatever part of the world he may reside—the purpose of freeing our race the world over from the shackles which at present retard its progress—will be considerably advanced and will come appreciably nearer to its fruition. The U.S.A.D. has its purpose—it may need a direction—it is to point every Negro's eyes to Africa, to teach him the true history, the present state of development, and the future prospects of that land whence is his origin, and so to awaken within him an active interest in his Home and an intelligent unity as a Race.

R. S. BLAY, *President*,
E. B. RHODES, *Secretary*,
of the U.S.A.D.

The Premier's Butterworth Speech.

The address made by the Prime Minister at Butterworth last month has been universally acclaimed as his *piece de resistance*, because it revealed his true mind on the essentials of his Native policy.

Out of a number of points made in it we propose to comment upon a few. The first is: "It had taken the European two thousand years to become civilised, and he did not think it fair to expect the Native to become civilised in two hundred years." This is a common platitude so often uttered that many people do not realise the fallacy that lies hidden under it. It assumes that the Native is developing exactly under identical conditions as when Julius Cæsar first brought the ancient Britons in contact with civilisation in 55 B.C. This is a palpable mistake almost too obvious to require a laboured refutation.

One example will suffice for our purpose to dispose of this common but mistaken dogma: Anyone familiar with the Negroes of the north in the United States of America will readily admit that the one million who form their advanced section is at least equal to the first million Dutch of South Africa in educational achievement and economic substance. True enough, they have failed to change their black colour into white, but they have accomplished all civilised standards within sixty years of their emancipation from slavery and illiteracy. The Bantu may take longer on account of their difference of environment in certain particulars, but the advance they are making and have made since coming under European influence is not going to be checked by artificial legislation nor will it take two thousand years.

General Hertzog regarded the Native intellectuals as a source of friction between white and black because of their trying to fight a way into the phalanx of the European community, being ashamed of being Natives, and trying to lay claim to everything to which the European is entitled. Yes, the intellectuals will always be a source of alarm to the whites so long as they are denied the elementary justice commensurate with their intelligence in the opportunities for an ample education, for reasonable economic liberty and for adequate self-expression in legislative matters affecting their occupation of land and appropriation of tax revenues. The intellectuals are not professional agitators. The greatest agitator is injustice. The Cape Colony never had Native agitators under its pre-Union regime which was characterised by British justice that knew no colour discrimination. But the Union Act brought about a curtailment of privilege after privilege under the influence of the northern provinces whose tradition had always been the economic and political repression of the Bantu people. Hence the rise of the dissatisfied intellectual class who think about these affairs while the illiterate majority are inarticulate and asleep. The intellectuals are not fighting a way into the phalanx of the European community, but are trying to fight their way out of injustice and repression into justice and freedom just as the Roman plebs did against the oppressive patricians with the ultimate result that we all know. It is an error to imagine that these intellectuals are ashamed of being Natives, for they are the leaders of the silent crowd that does not enjoy press advertisement. They are directly in touch with the masses organising all kinds of associations for their uplift and advance often, of course, to the annoyance of those Europeans who would rather let sleeping dogs lie and batten on their exploitation of the ignorant Bantu masses. They are not wrong in laying claim to rights conferred by European political institutions because they have been deliberately transferred by the Europeans out of their tribal life into so-called demo

cratic systems. The best educated Native takes pride in his race, identifies himself therewith but rightly aspires to full growth and manhood in all the institutions that the white man's regime has brought into frica. And he will not be satisfied until he obtains all the privileges to which he is morally entitled

MORE SCHOOLS, LESS DISEASE, FOR AFRICANS

Plan to Clean Up Dark Continent

Movements looking toward closer co-operation between missionary, government, scientific and and commercial agencies interested in the development of Africa, of African culture and of a higher civilization founded upon the values in that culture were inaugurated at the recent Africa Conference held in Hartford, Conn.

The gathering at the Kennedy School of Missions resolved upon a concerted effort to wipe out the sleeping sickness in Central Africa, an effort toward applying African an effort toward applying to African experience gained in the education of Negroes in southern United States, and towards a central bureau for the study of African languages and assisting in the production of a suitable literature in these tongues.

The conference was held under the auspices of the committee of reference and counsel of the Foreign Missions conference of North America. More than one hundred African missionaries, board officers and educational authorities from the United States were in attendance. Dr. Thomas S. Donohugh, chairman of the African committee and associate secretary of the board of foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal church, presided.

CAN ERADICATE SLEEPING SICKNESS

Perhaps for Africa the most important and far-reaching feature of those three days was the announcement by Dr. Mable Pierce of the Rockefeller foundation that after six years of experimentation the foundation is ready to pronounce the success of its new cure for sleeping sickness. "Tryparsamide," the only known effective remedy for the disease, is now on the market.

This pronouncement is all the more significant at this time when Europe is turning its attention to the deveopment of Africa, pouring its capital into mines and industries, and when Harvey Firestone announces his plan for a huge American rubber development in Liberia. According to Dr. Pierce, no colony in Central Africa is free from the disease and the white men in these settlements are not exempt from its effects.

Mr. Odham pointed out that the pouring of European and American capital into Africa since the World war for the development of her industry and commerce has given rise on a gigantic scale to all the capitalistic problems of the West, all the political, racial, educational, social and cultural problems, which have for generations been awaiting solution in America and in Europe. "We are living in a fool's paradise," he said, "if we think that missionaries are to maintain their present influence in Africa.

"Missions are now, relatively speaking, at a standstill, compared with other influences—economic, political, governmental—which are changing the whole life of Africa. Industrial, commercial and government forces are now having a great influence, and there ought to be a greater co-operation between these agencies of civiliation and the missionary and educational bodies working on the continent."

One of the most important questions raised at the conference was, "What kind of an education should we give the native African?" Several speakers pointed out that the purpose of schooling should not be to make "pale copies of western peoples," but to give the African a knowledge which would enable him to live better in his native village, to understand and to use the mineral and vegetable resources of his own neighborhood, to improve the home and family life, and all the while to preserve those values which are to be found in his own civiliation, such as music, Negro history, art.

This, it was pointed out, required the development of a new method of teaching, based on conditions and experiences in the native village, rather than book lessons based on European experiences and of little if any value when the boy or girl returns from school to take up life in his own community.

The Basutoland COUNCIL.

The Twentieth Session.

DEBATE ON EDUCATION TAX

This most important subject was contained in the High Commissioner's opening message, and the opportunity of laying the proposals before the Council tested with the Resident Commissioner, and his speech on the matter has already been published for the information of the public. It is very interesting to see how the Council tackled this most knotty and embarrassing question in Basutoland. We had not expected so much reasoning and foresightedness from the greater majority of the Councillors, because as far as education is concerned in Basutoland there is not a Mosuto, no matter what his station is, who can speak with authority on education. Neither a native minister supervising over schools nor a teacher can be able to make out the head and the tail of it. It was simply surprising that the members of the Council so secluded from the run of schools, should so ably deal with the question in the manner that throw so much light on the subject. In their debates they were able to link together the depleted systems of running schools in Basutoland, based on the different creeds of the churches in the territory.

Before tackling the subject many interesting questions were put to the Resident Commissioner which helped to throw some light on the subject. In many cases the Resident Commissioner gave straight answers to the questions, and so this leavened up the debate and the Councillors became very enthusiastic.

From the statement of the revenue given £38,265 was paid on education and it was proposed to raise this sum to £43,750, by the levy of additional tax of 2/- per head. This additional tax of 2/- together with one-fourth of the estimated tax was going to be assigned to education only, and be known as Education Fund

The 1st. speaker on the proposal was Cr. Josias Mopeli. He appreciated the improvement of the standard of the education of their children in Basutoland and that they were gratified with the work already done by the missionaries, because they were what they are through their great efforts But he felt that time was not ripe enough for the Basuto to be taxed for education. Owing to the past drought the country was not yet restored to its normal condition and the market for their stock and wool was still tardy There was nothing promising. He felt that it was time the government of Basutoland took control of schools. There should be erected public schools where the poor Basuto would educate their children, as they were not able to pay for the education of their children in the present private schools. The nation had urged the government through the Council to provide public schools, and that was what he felt the government should do before taxing the nation for education. At least, there should be one public school in each district.

Chief Sekhonyana was ruled out proposing the postponement of the debate until next session when they shall have had time to consider the matter and sounded the nation on it, a rather democratic view.

Cr. Alex. Mopeli was not satisfied in the way education was run in the territory. He wished the Resident Commissioner to draw the attention of the missionaries to that, as many of their children were leaving schools here and going out of the territory for better education.

Cr. Phamotse asked the President if the government was prepared this time to take over the schools from the missionaries under their control. The reply was in the contrary He further wanted to know if the government was going to employ certificated teachers only and if inspectors would be employed to inspect schools? The Resident Commissioner said the fund was not proposed necessarily for employing certificated teachers only, and in reply to the second part of the question he said there were inspectors already. Cr Phamotse remarked that the inspection was not carried to its fullest extent in the territory, to which the Resident Commissioner replied that there was not enough money to employ sufficient number of inspectors. He mentioned that the proposed Education Fund would be controlled by the Education Advisory Board.

Cr Lerapa did not see the necessity for increasing the present number of their schools, as through the inspection of schools, as through the work which should be done by students from Industrial Schools was not enough to further felt that education served no good purpose in Basutoland as boys paid towards the defraying of the educational expenditure has been changed in education since an increase of 5/- on hut-tax has been effected? The Resident Commissioner said the Director of Education could answer that question.

Cr. Mabilitoe asked if the government was doing anything towards paying for the education of the sons of government officials.

The President said there was small amount paid towards the

Cr. Joseph asked if there

MORE SCHOOLS, LESS DISEASE, FOR AFRICANS

Plan to Clean Up Dark Continent

Movements looking toward closer co-operation between missionary, government, scientific and commercial agencies interested in the development of Africa, of African culture and of a higher civilization upon the values in that continent were inaugurated at the round table conference held in Hartford, Conn.

The Rev. Ethelred Kennedy of Mission Rebuilt upon a School of Missions, a concerted effort to wipe out the sleeping sickness in Central Africa, an effort toward applying African experience gained in the education of Negroes in southern United States, and towards a central bureau for the study of African languages and assistance in the production of a suitable literature in these tongues.

The conference was held under the auspices of the committee of reference and counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. More than one hundred African missionary leaders, educators and government officers from the United States were in attendance. Dr. Thomas S. Donohugh, chairman of the African committee and associate secretary of the board of foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal church, presided.

CAN ERADICATE SLEEPING SICKNESS

Perhaps for Africa the most important and far-reaching feature of those three days was the announcement by Dr. Mable Pierce of the Rockefeller foundation that after six years of experimentation the foundation is ready to pronounce the success of its new cure for sleeping sickness. "Tryparsamide," the only known effective remedy for the disease, is now on the market.

This pronouncement is more significant at this time when Europe is turning its attention to the development of Africa, pouring its capital into mines and industries, and when Harvey Firestone announces his plan for a huge American rubber development in Liberia. According to Dr. Pierce, no colony in Central Africa is free from the disease and the white men in these settlements are not exempt from its effects.

Mr. Odham pointed out that the pouring of European and American capital into Africa since the World war for the development of her industry and commerce has given rise on a gigantic scale to all the capitalistic problems of the West, all the political, racial, educational, social and cultural problems, which have for generations been awaiting solution in America and in Europe. "We are living in a fool's paradise," he said, "if we think that missionaries are to maintain their present influence in Africa.

"Missions are now, relatively speaking, at a standstill, compared with other influences—economic, political, governmental—which are changing the whole life of Africa. Industrial, commercial and government forces are now having a great influence, and there ought to be a greater co-operation between these agencies of civilization and the missionary and educational bodies working on the continent."

One of the most important questions raised at the conference was, "What kind of an education should we give the native African?" Several speakers pointed out that the purpose of schooling should not be to make "pale copies of western peoples," but to give the African a knowledge which would enable him to live better in his native village, to understand and to use the mineral and vegetable resources of his own neighborhood, to improve the home and family life, and all the while to preserve those values which are to be found in his own civilization, such as music, Negro history, art.

This, it was pointed out, required the development of a new method of teaching, based on conditions and experiences in the native village, rather than book lessons based on European experiences and of little if any value when the boy or girl returns from school to take up life in his own community.

The Basutoland COUNCIL.

The Twentieth Session.

DEBATE ON EDUCATION TAX

Education Fund

The 1st. speaker on the proposal was Cr. Josias Mopeli. He appreciated Resident Commissioner said the opening of their children in the standard of

This most important subject was contained in the High Commis- sion Proclamation, and that they were only and in reply to the second part of the question he said there were inspectors already. Cr Phamotse remarked that the inspection was not carried to its fullest extent in the territory, to which the Resident Commissioner replied that there was not enough money to employ sufficient number of inspectors. He mentioned that the proposed Education Fund would be controlled by the Education Advisory Board.

Cr. Phamotse asked the President if the government was prepared this time to take over the schools from the missionaries under their control. The reply was in the contrary. He further wanted to know if the government was going to be assigned to and be known as and if inspectors would be employed to inspect schools? The proposal was put to the Council which unanimously approved of the principle of the proposal before Basutoland and that the Council

gratified with the work already done by the missionaries, because they were what they are through their great efforts But he felt that the time was not ripe enough for the Basuto to be taxed for education. Owing to the past drought the country was not yet restored to its normal condition and the market for their stock and wool was still tardy There was nothing promising. He felt that it was time the government of Basutoland took control of schools. There should be erected public schools where the poor Basuto would educate their children, as they were not able to pay for the education of their children in the present private schools. The nation had urged the government through the Council to provide public schools, and that was what he felt the government should do before taxing the nation for education. At least, there should be one public school in each district.

Chief Sekhonyana was ruled out proposing the postponement of the debate until next session when they shall have had time to consider the matter and sounded the nation on it, a rather democratic view.

Cr. Alex. Mopeli was not satisfied in the way education was run in the territory. He wished the Resident Commissioner to draw the attention of the missionaries to that, as many of their children were leaving schools here and going out Cr Lesarapi did not see the need for increasing the present number of schools, as through their concessure it has already been decided to limit the distance between them to fifteen miles. He further felt that education served no good purpose in Basutoland as work which should be done by students from Industrial Schools was taken over by prisoners.

Cr. Joseph asked if there has been change in education since an increase of 5/- on hut-tax has been effected? The Resident Commissioner said the Director of Education could answer that question.

Cr. Mabilikoe asked if the government was doing anything towards paying for the education of the sons of the government officials.

The President said there was small sum paid towards the defraying of the educational expen-

Race Problem — 1925

Africa

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

DELAGOA BAY AND THE UNION.

Portuguese Railway Claims.

("Times" Correspondent.)

JOHANNESBURG, October 15.

The negotiations at Lourenço Marques between the Portuguese authorities and representatives of the Union of South Africa are proceeding in a friendly atmosphere, and a compromise is thought to be likely. It is predicted with some confidence that the old free trade in colonial products on the Transvaal-Mozambique frontier will be replaced by an arrangement allowing of modest duties in certain cases.

Agreement reached 10-17-25

Any danger of the Conference failing is said to lie in the railway issue rather than the Customs question or the recruitment of native labour for the Rand mines. The completion of a direct railway to the Rand across Swaziland, promised by Lord Milner, is being pressed by the Portuguese, who, according to the Johannesburg "Star," are making suggestions for modifying the original scheme with the object of removing the Union Government's objections to constructing a line across Swaziland while the political position of that country remains as it is. (Swaziland is now under the Imperial Government.) Probably, however, the Portuguese would allow their claim to stand over conditionally on railway rates on the existing line being readjusted in order to give Delagoa Bay more of the traffic which would, if no restrictions existed, naturally fall to it.

THE DELAGOA BAY STRIKE.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LOURENCO MARQUES.

As I have kept you informed by cable of the strike of the employees of the Delagoa Bay Development Corporation, and of how it ended last Friday, it needs only a few remarks now. But it should be noted that the strike was the first of its kind that has happened in Lourenço Marques. Seeing that the corporation holds concessions for the supply of water, light and power, and tramway transport, the strike was of a very serious nature. However, it did not affect the water supply, as the men took care that those employed at the pumping station should not be interfered with. The light and power were the most serious, for, had it not been for the action of the authorities, the town would have remained in darkness and all industries would have been stopped. The Government showed great forbearance, as, being a private company, it did not desire to interfere between it and its employees, but when days passed and a deadlock continued, it was forced to take over the corporation's power station and continue from its plant the services of light and power. Moreover, it gave notice that if the tram service was not resumed soon it would also take over that service. The fact that the Government had given notice brought matters to a head, and manager and men came to an agreement. The agreement which ended the strike was that all men receiving up to £40 per month should get an additional payment of 10 per cent. as long as the present rate of exchange lasted, but should it come down by 20 per cent. then the additional payment should come to an end. As for the thirteen days of the strike, Mr. Main agreed that the corporation should bear half of the payment during that period, but as the men were in necessitous circumstances, Mr. Main agreed that the whole pay during the strike be paid.

X. X. X.

THE BENGUELLA RAILWAY.

Commission of Inquiry.

LISBON, October 3.

The Cabinet to-day received the Government Commissioner and Administrator of the Benguella Railway Company, who made an exhaustive report on the company's position.

The Government is appointing a Commission to inquire into the matter, in accordance with the desires of the High Commissioner of Angola.—Reuter.

Extension of Concession for Completion.

LISBON, October 14.

Important negotiations are now proceeding here for an extension of the concession for the construction of the Benguella Railway, the period originally fixed for the completion of the line having expired. It is believed that an agreement will be reached for the renewal of the concession, and it is the conditions for such a renewal which are now under discussion. Mr. Robert Williams has come specially to Lisbon to represent the shareholders.—Reuter.

NOTE.—On inquiry of Mesrs. Robert Williams and Co., Reuter's Agency was informed that arrangements for the completion of the Benguella Railway and the necessary extension of time are now being discussed between representatives of the company and the Lisbon Government, the matter having been referred from the High Commissioner for Angola for convenience. No anxiety is felt at the offices of the company, as an extension of time for the completion of the railway is considered to be certain.—Reuter.

ENGLISH CREDIT TO PORTUGAL.

LISBON (by mail).

It is announced that the High Commissioner of Mozambique has already remitted two sums of £6,145 and £10,408 respectively in repayment of the portion allotted to Mozambique of the credit of £3,000,000 granted some time ago to Portugal under the Trade Facilities Act, and will shortly send a further payment of £10,000.—Reuter.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

BEIRA'S NEED OF NEW PORT WORKS.

Katanga Copper Exports.

It was recently announced that for a period of six months 3,000 tons of Katanga copper would be diverted monthly from Beira to Port Elizabeth. To prevent possible misconceptions, it should be explained that owing to the seasonal increase of the down traffic to Beira, the temporary shortage of heavy engines, and the necessity for releasing as rapidly as possible a proportion of the trucks engaged in the long haul of copper from Katanga, it was mutually arranged that 3,000 of the 8,000 tons of copper which have hitherto been shipped monthly via Beira should be transferred to Port Elizabeth for a period of six months. This arrangement was made as it was believed that Southern Rhodesia would have 80,000 or 90,000 tons of maize to export through Beira this season. Moreover, the import traffic through Beira has been growing rapidly of late, the increase during the first seven months of this year over the corresponding period of last year being 44,000 tons.

It is hoped that the first instalment of the new port improvement works will be in readiness for the maize and cotton export season next year. Much extended port facilities are badly needed, and the cranes on the railway piers are now working for twelve hours daily. The diversion of copper to Port Elizabeth may be regarded as a purely temporary expedient to enable the port of Beira to cope with the heavy traffic offering during the maize export season pending the provision of additional cargo handling facilities.

NATIVE LABOUR IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES.

LISBON, October 8.

The Government representative in charge of the work of recruiting natives in Mozambique for agricultural work in the islands of Sao Thome and Principe has obtained the sanction of the Legislative Council of Delagoa Bay to enlist several thousands of these natives.—Reuter.

The Premier and the Natives.

DURING his visit to Lady Frere, General Hertzog urged the Natives to imitate the white man "in his better endeavours in the field of business. This is welcome advice from one who is *in loco parentis* to the Natives of the Union, but it is meaningless when the Government supports the policy of Divisional Councils who regularly block the way to aspiring Natives from establishing their own trading stores among their location people. It is a notorious fact that Natives are virtually not allowed to trade among their own kith and kin in the "King" area except after hard agitation and heavy expenses on lawyers to fight their cases. The Transvaal Natives are much better off in this respect We therefore hope the Prime Minister will stand by us when we bring concrete cases of injustice to aspirant Native traders before him.

The Government Land and Agricultural Bank which now disburses nearly ten million pounds sterling to help European farmers has a colour bar clause to the effect that loans can be granted only to a white man who has married a white wife. To this fund the Natives also are contributors, but are debarred by a repressive law that stigmatises their black skin. It was therefore welcome news when General Hertzog was reported to have said "he quite understood the necessity for having a Native land bank" and that it was only by showing a desire for improvement in cultivation and stock-breeding that the Natives could expect profitable assistance from the Government. Amen, say we, and we trust such expressions will not end in mere words as they have previously done with our rulers for many a long year.

The Premier then said "the great majority of educated Natives looked down upon uneducated Natives as beneath them, instead of assisting them as brothers, as was their greatest duty"—a remarkably serious statement. Given in his first address and first visit to the Eastern Province, this statement could not possibly have been founded on local observation but on previous experience in the Northern Provinces. Even there, it is warmly repudiated by such leaders as Messrs Msimang and Thema who know their own areas. While there are everywhere individual Natives who are supercilious and conceited with their small smattering of education over against their lower fellowmen, we can not understand the Premier branding the great majority of educated Natives as coming under this unenviable category. For to our knowledge the intellectuals who lead congresses like the African National Congress, Native Labour nions, Associations of Teachers, Farmers and Religions propaganda lead their people only by being in close contact with their lower uneducated ten. The Premier must have been either ill-informed or off his guard, for we cannot imagine he has deliberately insincere when he made this bold criticism

This is but one proof that legislators should make use of the 1920 Native Affairs Act by holding consultation conferences with Natives before proclaiming their policy in Parliament, in order to be correct in their information.

RULERS OF BLACK REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA MADE SUICIDAL DEAL WHEN THEY LEASED LANDS TO FIRESTONE CO. FOR 99 YEARS

THIS IS THE CRUX OF AN ARTICLE BY GOLD COAST LEADER, WHICH LAMENTS THE PRESENCE OF SO MANY UNSEEING NEGROES WITHIN THE RACE

Refers to the Despicable Coup of the Narrow-Minded of Both Races in Causing Help Proffered by the Universal Negro Improvement Association to Be Refused

SAYS IT SAW THE HAND OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM IN THE DEFEAT OF GARVEY'S PROJECT

The Gold Coast Leader, in its issue of November 14, makes the following trite comments on the pernicious bartering to white capitalists of the fertile lands of Liberia, while Negroes under the auspices of the Universal Negro mprovement Association, which had excellent plans for helping the Black Republic industrially and economically, were turned away by President King and his coterie of shortsighted advisers:

We referred some time ago in these columns to the promotion of an American syndicate, known as the Firestone Tire Rubber Company, for the purpose of acquiring large areas in Liberia for the purposes of rubber plantations. According to Reuter's News an agreement has now been signed with the Republic of Liberia whereby the company has obtained a ninety-nine years' lease on 1,000,000 acres of land for rubber growing and a 2,000-acre rubber plantation said to be fully matured and bearing rubber. It is stated that it is intended to spend $100,000,000 in developing the property. The proposition is sufficiently indicative of the dangers to African proprietory rights when such long-term leases are granted to European capitalists over huge areas upon which fabulous sums are to be spent for development purposes. Such a proposition naturally makes the government whose subjects are the promoters of the scheme involved in the protection of their rights. And for all practical purposes it may be taken for granted that for the next ninety-nine years Liberian soil will be fairly in the grasp of the tentacles of the "Stars and Strpes."

In the protection of African rights far-seeing statesmen have advocated short-term leases, where absolutely necessary to grant plantation leases, and in the British West African colonies it is certain that such a lease as the one we are consdering would not be possible, since it practically converts the holding into a freehold. And that is probably what is intended by the thin end of the wedge in the shape of long-term leases. We wonder whether the Liberian Government realizes the danger it has introduced into its territory and what future she has prepared for herself? For it follows that if the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company has acquired 1,000,000 acres of Liberian territory there will be no reason to refuse either English or French concession hunters who would come along pleading for similar grants. And by the time a few more million acres of the country have been let in like manner the republc will be but a mere shadow and the President thereof a figurehead.

We may be pardoned for dealing with this matter but really no apology is needed from us. The integrity of Liberia is a matter of paramount importance to the African in every part of the world. Liberians describe their Government as the "Lone Star," and from the African point of view it is but last hope of rising to nationhood under modern conditions of the African. The whole of Africa has been partitioned between the European nations. America has deprived Haiti of her independence and the Philippines are smarting under the yoke of the great Republic across the Atlantic. Wherever you turn the black man is being driven to the wall, and it looked like a forlorn hope that at least one or two spots on the African continent would be left free where the African might develop his onw nationhood. But it would seem that European and American capitalism would not suffer this to be.

We know what hue and cry was raised when a short while ago the Universal Negro Improvement Association ventured to gain a footing on Liberian soil with a view to helping the development of the Republic. It was almost considered seditious for the black man to try and help his fellow black man on the African continent, and narrow-minded ones of both races helped to defeat the project. But it occurred to us all the while that American capitalism was at the bottom of it. It was a question whether the Liberian plum should go down the American or the African throat. Apparently the enemies of the race within and without have made it possible for America to fatten on African milk and honey while Africans themselves go empty away. It has got to be realized more and more that the struggle of the future is mainly economic, and that if the African does not put away petty jealousies and personal gain in the interests of a common African patriotism, we shall continue, as a people, to remain the economic slaves of European capitalism.

We have dealt with this Liberian deal, as we said, from the general African standpoint, and we trust it will appeal to President King and his cabinet the grave situation that must arise if Liberia continues to give doles of its territory to European and American capitalists upon long term leases of millions of acres holdings. As for British West Africa our advice to our people is grant no agricultural leases if possible. It is a dangerous experiment which may reduce us in the long run to the position of serfs upon our own soil. For any sensible man must realize that, given the principle of these long term leases all our industries must gradually pass out of our hands, since you cannot reasonably discriminate between one sort of cultivation and another.

Of course we know that what the European and American capitalists want is the land of the people, and we know also from bitter experience what the white man sets his heart upon, unless there is constant vigilance, he is sure to secure in the end.

We in British West Africa have striven for the security of our proprietary rights all these years, and we must be understood if we insist upon their protection and conservation in the future and for all time. For it means either our continuing to strive for a place in the world affairs, or giving up the struggle and remaining slaves both in soul and body. We have endeavored all these years to sound the alarm from the housetops and to make the position clear that the African's salvation is with himself. The African has up till now shown plenty of brain power and has caused himself to be recognized as a factor in the intellectual world. But that is not enough. In the world as at present constituted and under modern conditions the power that counts is money. That is the white man's god. That is the only thing that he respects. Therefore the African must get money, not only to be respected, but to be independent. That is the clear issue. It is to the interest of European and American capitalism to defeat the Africans. It is to the interest of the African to show such a fight metaphorically in the economic sphere that Europeans will take count of him. For the foregoing reasons and in the last analysis do not listen to those advocates within or without the race who preach subserviency and inaction where common sense and reason dictate constant struggle, the only condition which insures the survival of the fittest. For the day is coming and is now at hand when those of our race who blow neither hot nor cold in the solution of racial problems must give place to men of sterner stuff.

NATIVE FARMERS'

The thirty-fifth quarterly meeting of the Keiskama River Valley Native Farmers' Association took place at Burnshill on the 28th November last when there was a handsome attenda ce of about eighty men and women. The chairman in his opening remarks commented upon the fact that some years ago that district was so productive in crops that it supplied distant people with grain, while that today it had to be fed on maize imported from the Transvaal on account of congestion of population and antiquated agricultural methods

The chief speaker of the day was Mr. P Germond, Lecturer on Agriculture at Fort Hare Native College He dwelt at length on the formation of an Agricultural Society for the purpose of holding Shows. His second address was on Poultry, from the standpoints of egg export, local consumption, feeding, breeding and variety of species. Both lectures proved highly instructive and were warmly appreciated

The Secretary Mr. D D. T. Jabavu) reported on the association's request to the Premier for an Agricultural College and said General Hertzog favoured the request but said such a school should be founded by a Native Council under Act 23 of 1920 but did not grant any such council Such was the inconsistency of politicians.

The subscriptions realised £3/10/- bringing the balance at bank to £40, the roll now standing at 126 members Next meeting was fixed for Amatole Basin on the 27th February, 1926.

Race Problem - 1925.

Africa.

OUR MESSAGE TO THE MEN OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

MEN, the future holds in store for our race incalculable benefits, but it is only in proportion as we bestir ourselves in intelligent action that we shall come to any good. The age in which we live is a practical one, and you cannot get the good things of life by merely possessing the philosopher's stone. You must dig the mountains low into the bowels of the earth by the use of sinew and brain, if you expect to thrive as others have thriven. You must cut the virgin forest and apply scientific means, if you wish the earth to yield her increase. This is not a mere figure of speech, but a cold, stubborn fact which you must take into account, or be left out in the cold. To-day men of British West Africa are being outstripped in every field of endeavour. Once upon a time our merchantmen vied with Europeans in the hold upon the trade of the country. To-day we end in broken purposes, broken purses, and, sad to tell, we are so sunk in despair as to indulge in vain, querulous complaint of the Syrian and others within our gates, who have the brains to use their wit and time to good purpose. When God said to the men of Israel to go over to the land of Canaan and possess it, it did not mean they were to have whatever they wished for the mere asking, but it meant hard work, hard thinking against the forces of nature and the machinations of men.

And it is here exactly that we make our worst mistake. We have spent so much time in thinking how to get to Heaven that we have clean forgotten that the Kingdom of Heaven itself suffereth violence and that the violent taketh it by force. In the stern realities of to-day we must learn the lessons of the future. And the most striking lesson of the age is that mankind is on the move, and you shall be clean left, if you continue the dollard and the lethargic subject that the world is growing to regard you. Men, do you see what it has come to? It has come to this, that although you possess the richest country on the face of God's earth, yet you are likely to continue merely the tools of others for getting away with its riches and being fed with its honey and milk. It is the fate of Tantalus, the defeat of desire, the very hell of broken purposes, forgotten hopes and vain anticipations. We shall make our meaning clearer. In the same way that our education of late has tended to be smattering, in the same way has a sort of inertia overtaken all our energies. We seem to have been indulging in business soporifics which send us off to sleep while others rise early and retire late in the hard and earnest struggle for existence. Men, wake up, or give up the game for lost.

We wish we had some direct, positive panacea to place before you. We have not. All we can tell you is you must use your God-given intelligence in your particular avocation and drop your bucket just where you are; and if you do your part with might and main, there is no reason why you should not have as big a haul as any. Instead of whining against the "Combine", against the "Syrian", why not for your very life study their methods and go and do likewise amid conditions in your own country where you should be capable of beating them at their own game? When Lord Leverhulme tells you that you are not organisers, pray do not stop to argue, but go to and apply your mind and your energies, and convince the world that the African is no fool. Why, it can be done; it must be done. We must make an effort to possess this continent of ours, and we in West Africa must play our part right here. The trouble is with our training, with our ideas, with our outlook. We must go back to the outlook of the Grants, the Seys, the Seyble Boyles, the Thomases of our mercantile life and to the Davises and others in shipping enterprise. The reply to that is easy. Who can stand the Combine, who can stand Elder Dempster? No, we do not say you can cope with them. What we do say is that if you get the correct outlook, in the same way that the Seys and others successfully competed with the Swanzys and Millers of a former day, in the same way can means be devised in these latter days in meeting the situation. Attempt after attempt has been made by members of our race to own ships and to take an active part in the commerce and the carrying trade of the world. Each attempt has been defeated by groups whose business and interest it was to defeat it. Shall we therefore give up in despair and swallow down the taunt that we are not organisers. No, a thousand times no. But that does not solve the problem, and we must set to work and evolve means of making a beginning.

We have to remember that all our talk of political advancement evaporates into thin air, if we cannot back up by substantial individual and national industrial progress, and it therefore becomes necessary to invite into the field of our public life energetic industrial thinkers and workers who can show us a way out, and that is the paramount call of the immediate future. We have indulged in a good deal of talk in the past. Let us cease talking and proceed to action, and only stay to listen when some active brain has something useful to say as to the way out. For the sake of our country, for the sake of race, for the sake of our homes, we must make an effort in the year 1925 as we have never done before in setting our industrial house in order. With the spread of education and of enlightenment will come the desire for greater comfort, greater facilities to see the world for ourselves, for our wives, and for our children; and if these incentives do not stir us up to compass earth and heaven in getting a foothold in the universal struggle for existence, then, indeed, must we make up our minds to yield the place to others, and continue forever hewers of wood and drawers of water, which God forbid. But that certainly will be our fate unless we bestir ourselves betimes. That is our message

Black Labour and Wages.

(By S. M. B. Ncwana)

In South Africa, as well as in other parts of the great continent, black labour is unquestionably the most precious asset Through the docile labour of the African peoples, the cunning whiteman succeeded in making the homeland of the Hamitic, Semitic, Bantu, Fingo and Nuba, Hottentot, Malayo-Polynesian families the banking house of the European world.

It is not denied that black labour in the continent is treated as a commodity, and bought and sold with regard only to the advantage of the purchaser and the economic need of the seller. African Capitalism buys in the cheapest and sells in the dearest market, and it buys its abundant supply of black labour on exactly the same terms as its non-human commodities

The present wage system, as it is not, in most cases, based on the economic need and service of the black man, must be abolished in the sense that it must be made impossible merely to buy black labour as cheaply as possible irrespective of its need or service; instead black labour must share fairly in what the community produces, on a basis partly of service, but never of market price.

COLOUR BAR

According to the Census figures taken in 1921 and published 1924, out of a black population of five millions, hardly a million of these people are engaged in the various forms of occupation as the figures here prove to show:—

Domestic 360,000, Mining 350,000, Farm Labour 60,000, Railway Labour 34,019, Municipal Labour 26,540, Shop Assistance 11,968, Professional 9,758, Skilled Labour 6,729, Police and Defence 5,139, Interpreters 1,634

The admitted colour bar policy of South Africa in relation to the employment of black labour is that the African and coloured workmen will perform those classes of portion of the work for which skilled is necessary fall generally within the sphere of white labour and is regarded as being his special preserve. The assertion that the blacks are competing or invading the sphere of white labour is, according to the above information, not supported by facts The scope of employment of black labour has always been limited to performance of rough manual work such as the handling and carrying of materials. There is, however, a good number of the black workers engaged in skilled and semi-skilled jobs for which they are not paid whitemen's wages; as for example, School Masters, Court Clerk Interpreters, Mine Clerks, Motor Mechanics Carpenters, Masons, Pumpers and Motor Drivers

The report of the Native Grievances Inquiry Commission, stated in paragraph 280:-

> "The real grievance of the Native on this point is the colour bar which blocks practically all his opportunities of promotion. He argues, and I see no flaw in his reasoning, that if he can do the same work as white men, there is no reason why he should not receive the same remuneration that in many instances he can do it, and in some instance actually doing it, a fact of no doubt"

The Transvaal Indigency Commission, 1906-8, in its report paragraph 52 said:-

"It has been clearly proved to us that the restriction of the Native to sphere of unskilled work cannot be permanent

His intense desire for education is everywhere the subject of comment." The Relief and Grants-in-aid Commissio , 9 6, in paragraph 73 of its report, stated : —

"We also agree with the Indigency Commission in rejecting the proposal that Government should assist to improve whitemen's positions : —

a The establishment of a minimum wage for whites and coloured

(b Fixing the ratio between the number of white and coloured labourers in all employments ; and we agree with the reasons given by that Commission for rejecting these proposals."

The Economic Commission, 1914, paragraph 57 of its report, said : —

"While holding the view that in the future a natural outlet for the talents of skilled and educated Natives will be furnished by the development of his own people, your Commissioners are of opinion that there should be no legal barriers to prevent Natives or others of non white population, from engaging in any work above the grade of unskilled."

APATHY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

In other countries, i.e. England and Australia the government takes up a strong attitude to prevent sweating wages being paid by cunning employers by legislation making it illegal to pay wages below a certain amount, and thus establishing a general minimum wage for adult male workers irrespective of the colour of their skin

In this country the position is altogether different. The laws that are intended to safeguard the interests of the workers generally do not include, in their scope of operation, the black workers of Africa This state of affairs being allowed to exist by succeeding governments has, as a matter of course, forced black workers wages to sink below his subsistence level and thereby causing poverty, disease and crime among the ever increasing black proletariat.

Of the many problems confronting the black workers of South Africa, and which urgently press for immediate settlement is the burning question of work and wages. Since the last Great War while prices have been soaring no adequate relief has been offered the native races of this country in the way of a substantial increase on the basis of the cost of living. To avoid the catastrophe which threatens our very national existence and of the subjection of the black workers to a sunken proletariat the government should step in and prevent by legislation the payment of sweating wages by employers.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

"AFRICAN WORLD" AND REUTER CABLES.

GENERAL HERTZOG'S NATIVE POLICY.

CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE TO BE REMOVED.

FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS.

THE PREMIER'S PROPOSALS.

SMITHFIELD, November 14.

General Hertzog, who had an enthusiastic reception on visiting his constituents for the first time since assuming office, addressed a meeting in the Town Hall to-night, when he fulfilled his promise to outline his native policy.

African World

He asserted that there had never been a stronger determination to effect a change in native policy than to-day, and both whites and natives insisted on a change. It was clear that the other provinces could not permit the native franchise to be extended on the Cape basis. For the native to vote with the white man for a member of Parliament would mean the ruin of European civilisation. Within fifty years, according to expert judgment, the enfranchised native voters in the Cape would outnumber the white voters, and before then few Cape members would dare to oppose the extension of the Cape native franchise to the rest of the Union. Already a feeling was growing in influential European circles in favour of extending the franchise to the northern natives.

Principal Points.

General Hertzog's proposals comprised :

(1) The native to be provided with the additional land promised him under the Act of 1913.

(2) The native must be trained in self-administration.

(3) This is to be done by carrying out the law of 1920, for the establishment of native councils similar to those in the Transkei.

(4) The Cape native franchise to be taken away totally, and in place of it the right to be given to natives of the Union to elect seven Europeans to represent them in the Legislative Assembly, viz., two each from the Cape, Transvaal, and Natal, and one from the Free State. these to be additional to the quota provided in the Constitution.

Without a solution of the coloured problem, said the Premier, there could be no solution of the native problem, and the Nationalists had agreed that in the case of native segregation the Cape coloureds must economically, industrially, and politically be placed on an equal footing with Europeans, and the Northern Provinces ought to recognise their right to vote on the same basis as in the Cape.

In conclusion, General Hertzog said he foresaw opposition and difficulties, but he urged the white population not to shrink from the task of dealing with this great question. They dare not remain stationary any longer. The solution he proposed had the full approval of his colleagues.—Reuter.

NATIVE RESERVES.

DURBAN, November 18.

The Government is surveying some thousands of acres of native reserve lands between Amanzintoti and Umbogintwini, on the Southern Natal coast, with a view to European occupation.

SIR THOMAS CULLINAN'S ESTATES.

Sir Thomas Cullinan has been on a visit to his two Rhodesian estates, which have a total area of 100,000 acres. The one is situated in the Darwin district and the other in the Mtoko district. They are being used extensively for ranching purposes.

A representative of the "Chronicle," in the course of an interview gathered that Sir Thomas pins his faith very largely to Herefords and Sussex for his production of beef animals, and, needless to say, is breeding the high grade stock desired in this country, and advocated by the Government experts.

He has suffered some loss on account of the ravages of the tsetse fly among his herds. This loss was particularly marked among his pedigree bulls. Sir Thomas was somewhat unfortunate in that the areas near his estates were recently opened to game, with which the district abounds. The game, as is well known, are carriers of the fly, and the result was that his herds were brought into contact with the scourge. He has, however, tackled the problem, and is confident now that he has found the means of overcoming the pest. Destruction of the game will, he expects eventually free the districts of the fly. In the meantime his herds are becoming immune to the sickness, and he is inoculating freely with an antitoxin prepared by Mr. Beaven, the Government entomologist. New stock imported on the ranches are all being subjected to the treatment.

Sir Thomas has 1,000 acres under cotton. If this venture proves a success, and he firmly believes it will, he intends increasing his cotton acreage each year by 1,000 acres for a number of years. At the moment Sir Thomas has in mind the erection of a cotton ginnery on one of his estates. General development is proceeding apace on the estates, and there can be no doubt that Sir Thomas Cullinan's enterprise in this fertile area will do much to forward its prospects from an agricultural point of view.

Bulawayo Art Club.

A Bulawayo Art Club has been formed. The membership now numbers thirty, and includes both professional and amateur artists. A feature of the club's activities is made of outdoor classes

Thousand Guinea Trophy.

The suggestion has been made in Southern Rhodesia that a fund be raised for providing a Thousand Guinea Trophy for competition among cotton growers. The idea springs from the action of the cattle people there, inspired by Sir Bourchier Wrey, who have such a trophy of their own, which is in yearly competition.

Cotton Plans.

The cotton growers of Matabeleland are developing a proposal whereby Rhodesian cotton will be exhibited at all the shows in the Union this next year. The idea is to get a collection of samples from which a selection of six or seven lots will be made by the Government expert and fashioned into an attractive exhibit. The Government has promised to supply the personnel for touring the exhibit.

DIVIDED PRESS COMMENT.

CAPE TOWN, November 14.

Commenting on General Hertzog's speech outlining his native policy, the South African newspapers hesitate to go deeply into the matter owing to lack of details, and regard the Premier's proposals as merely a skeleton plan to be filled in later. All, however, recognise the statesmanlike spirit in which General Hertzog approached a great problem.

Attention is chiefly devoted to the proposals regarding the native franchise, and on this subject the "Cape Times" points out that while the Cape Province is asked to forego the system to which the majority of its leading statesmen have adhered as a great and worthy tradition, the Northern Provinces also are asked to make a concession which is peculiarly distasteful to them, viz., the extension of the coloured vote. The newspaper, however, considers that the sacrifice will be worth while if in the total result the Union gains.

The "Argus" maintains that it would be a very serious thing to deprive the Cape natives of the franchise rights which are now enjoyed, and demands further proof that this step is necessary.

Both the "Rand Mail" and the "Argus" express mystification at General Hertzog's declaration that his proposals are fully approved by his colleagues, pointing out that both the Transvaal Nationalists, led by Mr. Tielman Roos, and the Transvaal Labour Party had previously declared emphatically that they were not prepared to agree to direct native representation in Parliament, even in an advisory capacity.

The "Natal Adviser" considers that General Hertzog's proposals divide an South Africa, and adds : "It is policy of racial fear on the part of th minority ; it is not rule by a white aristocracy for which something might be said, it is defeatist measure, bad in ethics, wrong i equity, and saturated with despair."

The attitude of the Press generally, how ever, may be summed up as one expectancy awaiting fuller details of the fabric of whic only the skeleton has been presented.—**Reuter.**

Segregation.

The "Argus" deplores the entire lack o details in connection with the segregatio part of General Hertzog's policy, which says is the cardinal feature of the whol scheme, and on which hangs, in a great mea sure, the success of his political proposals.

Race Problem - 1925.

Africa.

CRUSADING FOR AFRICAN REDEMPTION — COMMENTS ON COOMASSIE

By Bishop C. C. Alleyne

Kumasi is the Capital of the new Ashanti. On entering it I fain would bridle the thoughts which force their way against the will. Since 1896 this country has been treated as conquered territory by the British. One must tread softly here for you are now within the zone of martial law.

We had no sooner set foot on "terra firma" than we heard the strains of a familiar New York song floating on the breeze. A black boy is singing: "Yes, we have no bananas, we have no bananas today." How incongruous it sounds in Africa, the home of the banana. But beside the incongruity I seem to feel the pathos of it. Truly, my black songster, "we have no bananas today." Yesterday we had that which is banned today.

And yet there are signs of progress visible everywhere. But at a great price secured the Ashantis this progress. When I called on the District Commissioner his face glowed as he told how the Ashanti people were taking to education. He declared that they absorbed the new culture with unprecedented enthusiasm. His characterization was that "they are a very progressive people."

Withal, the Ashanti people are not enjoying the freedom which should be theirs as subjects of an Empire which boasts that it can teach Republics how they may be free. They have been stripped of their ancient rights, but have not been clothed in the political habiliments of British subjects. Their present situation must be wormwood and gall to the spirit of a proud people, whose heads are bloody but unbowed. They have few rights which white men are bound to respect. Lawyers are not allowed residence in Ashanti; to say nothing of practicing in Courts of Justice. The principles of Blackstone are not in operation in this part of the Empire. Blindly men sing "Britons never, never shall be slaves."

The Black man is often told that his inferiority is evidenced by his failure to resist enslavement and injustice. His passive attitude toward these hydra-headed monsters forfeited him the respect of his captors. While his puerile and subservient demeanor proved him unworthy of chivalrous treatment.

On the other hand his resistance is eternally resented; and chains are forged about his wrists, lest he should forget the respect due his white masters. Hence on the horns of a dilemma the black man oscillates as between Scylla and Charybdis.

Courageous resistance when offered by white men is often repaid in terms of amnesty and political equality. It was thus Great Britain treated the Conquered Boers of South Africa. But in the case of Black man in the land of the Ashanti conditions are reversed.

When the English came this valiant people offered stubborn and successful resistance. The truth is they were never conquered. The old adage, "all is fair in love and war" prevents me applying the term treachery to the action which resulted in the capture and banishment of their King, Nana Prempeh. With him also went their gallant military genius, General Asafu Buakyi. Prempeh's mother decided to follow a forlorn hope, and fought against the inevitable for about two or three years after the downfall of her son.

Their lands have been distributed as it has pleased their white benefactors. There are restrictive, nay, prohibitive laws governing the erection of homes or other buildings. The natives are denied the privilege of cultivating a garden in what are designated "the City limits." Well might the boy sing: "yes we have no bananas today."

Kumasi is a beautiful city, built on an eminence and reposed amid attractive surroundings. Comparatively healthful its salubrity has fated it to become a white man's city. One wonders whether the native has sensed this, for he is industriously building up what is called "New Kumasi." In the segregated portions of Kumasi, we drove along shaded streets, and observed gardens of varied vegetation. Segregation here applies only to white folk. It is however, a voluntary segregation.

The girls in America who have adopted the style of wearing bobbed hair, and think of it as the latest Parisian fashion, should come to the country of the Ashanti. Bobbed hair is a sign of royalty. You know all the female members of the royal family because they display a typical "boy's bob."

By special engagement, we called on Nana Prempeh, the ex-King of Ashanti. He had just about attained his majority when he succeeded to the stool. There soon followed an official announcement that the gods had revealed to him the futility of offering armed resistance to the white men. Negotiations followed throughout which he carried himself like a knight-errant. Declaring that rather than see his people annihilated he would suffer any humiliation, he accepted cheerfully the fiat of expulsion from his native and much-loved Africa. An exile, he was sent in chains to the Scychelle Islands, in the Indian Ocean, and there kept for twenty-nine years.

In the closing days of the year 1924, he was permitted to return to his country, by the graciousness of His Britannic Majesty, King George. He was given a warm welcome by his people, who still love and idolize him. On being ushered into his presence, we found a typical African gentleman, of brown complexion, intelligent appearance, courteous demeanor and fine culture. Surrounded by courtiers, he received us with becoming dignity and unconcealed delight. He inquired feelingly of his kin-folk across the sea; wanted to know how they were faring in America, the land of their adoption. Had they developed any great leaders? And if so, who were they? Did they count any millionaires among their millions? Had they any inventions to their credit? What had they learned to do for themselves?

When I told him of Prof. Carver, he countered by asking whether he was an unmixed Negro. His face beamed when I called the names of such leaders as Booker T. Washington, Joseph Charles Price, Banneker, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, James Varick, John Walker Hood, Alexander Walters, Major Moton, Kelly Miller, Dean Pickens, Dr. DuBois, J. E. Kwegyir Aggrey, and others. "Then" said he, "why do they not come back in large numbers and aid in the development of their kith and kin in the home of our mutual ancestry?"

He asked that I convey his greetings to the Africans in America. He feels that their interest and prayers helped him in his efforts to return to his beloved Africa. He especially thanks the A. M. E. Zion Church for the efforts being made by her to aid his beloved people of West Africa.

We were also presented to General Asafu Buakyi, who planned the battles in which the English were many times defeated. He is now an old man of about ninety years. He shared the experience of exile with his Chief.

The following is an extract from my diary under date of February 13th: "Today I am treading on holy ground, amid scenes calculated to thrill and inspire me. In this land of Ashanti Black men gave full proof of their claims to that touch of humanity which makes the whole world kin. They demonstrated:

1st. That black men can stand together in a common bond of unity.

2nd. That they can guard a secret even unto death.

3rd. That they can reverence and follow Negro leadership.

The valor and fighting prowess of these Ashanti black men have never been questioned. But apart from being fighting demons, they have shown that they have souls of honor. They are game losers, respecting the rules of warfare and realizing that to the victors belong the spoils. They are now a peaceful, law-abiding people, who deserve well at the hands of those who were yesterday their opponents on many a blood-soaked battlefield; but who are now their peaceful neighbors, living in amity and friendship, though withal, not on terms of equality

All hail! proud Ashanti. Thy valor and courage shall be told in song and speech as long as men admire bravery and worship virtue. Thy brothers in black the world over salute thee. All hail!

Quittah, Gold Coast
West Africa
April 15, 1925.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE.

In an article entitled "Crusading for African Redemption" published in the Star of Zion, Bishop C. C. Alleyne had the following to say about the native policeman whom he styled "the bane of life at an African railway station:

He is clad in a suit of blue serge, thick enough to ensure comfort on Broadway, on a cold February day. Our African "cop" is a cross between a military and jungle man. He sports an Egyptian fez, and though shoeless his legs are covered with leather gaiters. Armed with a little brief authority he plays such tyrannical tricks before high heaven, as must make the bones of departed Omanhenes and Fias turn over in their graves. His emblem of power is a whip. This he applies briskly and frequently to the backs of black mothers of men surging, struggling, striving to catch the waiting train for the land of the valiant Ashanti.

Evidently these guardians of the law are not here to help, but hinder.

As this observation was made previous to the train leaving Sekondi, the policeman's conduct was presumably based on British models as followed in West Africa. It could not be much worse in Georgia or Mississippi.—N. Y. Age.

LEAGUE CHARGES SLAVERY.

Conditions in the Philippines Discussed by Commission.

GENEVA, July 20 (AP).—Peonage in the Philippine Islands and in Central American countries was the subject of discussion by the League of Nations temporary commission on slavery today in the course of the preparation of its report to the League Council.

The discussion tended toward the conclusion that the system of labor in some parts of these countries amounts to forced labor on the part of the victims, and therefore may be contrued as partial slavery.

TO THE EDITOR IMVO.

Sir,—Allow me space for a line or two to give the public to understand that a letter by Mr. Umfana alias Mr. J. Sotasha which appeared in your issue of the 9th inst. does not serve to voice the sentiment of the body of T.T.A. generally.

While thus writing I am not in a position to contradict the existence of antagonistic motives propagated by a self-conceited lot of teachers who choose for themselves to wreck rather than to build, for such must be found in the universe. Further comments on this matter, I reserve Mr. Editor pending the sitting of the C.N.T.A. and T.T.A. bodies, when the question of Union shall receive the attention of the said bodies once more, and be mooted to satisfy (if possible) their wits' ends.

Yours truly,
L. D. DAMBUZA,

Butterworth,
17th June, 1925.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Sir,—An article has appeared in the columns of your last issue under the signature of Mr. J. T. Sotasha, Blytheswood, Butterworth, dated 1st June, headed "The Cape and Transkei Teachers' Union".

From it one finds that the writer is not conversant with much of what transpired in connection with the subject of which he had the audacity to tackle.

His remarks are in the form of a summarised query. He afterwards proceeded to pass his comments, criticism and judgment, before anybody had time to reply.

I wonder how I am going to do it, for the question, notwithstanding the irregularity of the whole affair must be answered.

Many teachers, I presume, are expected by the writer to reply. "What think ye of this Union? I reply: I think it one of the best attempts possible."

Mr. Sotasha, the "Umfana", says "The Transkei Teachers' session will be on the 23rd June to discuss or condemn it." This is most prejudicial, because if they will discuss it, not with a view of approving of it but to condemn it after discussing on its merits or demerits, there is nothing else to infer.

It is clear that the question ought to have been deferred until after the Conference at Port Elizabeth, the teachers having already brought to light what they thought of last December, namely, to decide on "Union".

After God created each day what he thought of, "He saw that it was good".

"Umfana", says, "theoretically Union is good but practically, it wont work" I say, "Both theoretically and practically, Union is good. The world over a gigantic movement is made towards closer "Union". "Union" is so good that it is decorated with many names, such as League, Congress, Party, Marriage, Federation itself, etc. etc.; theoretically they are conveying a distinctive character, practically they are, each nothing else but "Union".

I agree fully with Mr. Umfana when he says his is an "unfortunate conclusion". It, however, may be converted into a "fortunate conclusion" if he will share unreservedly with the promoters of the "Teachers' Union".

But, my friend, Federation is applicable to different States If an attempt be made in the direction otherwise than that contained in the foregoing lines, then it at once ceases to be Federation

This must be clearly understood by Mr. Umfana; the promoters of the Union who included, in the last Convention at King, Officers of the T.T.A. are confident of much to be gained, hence their decision consequent upon weighing the pros. and cons. of their deliberations.

The legal terms "palpable perjury and subornation of perjury," have really no room in the question quoted in the letter.

Next time, beware of trespassing for trespassers are persecuted and prosecuted.

A. J. AYLIFF.
Bedford.

A CONTRAST IN AFRICAN POLICIES.

A Tribute to Mr. Gowers, of Uganda.

In a recent number of WEST AFRICA reference was made to an important speech by the new Governor of Uganda, Mr. W. F. Gowers, C.M.G. (formerly Lieut.-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria), in which he announced his policy there, remarking, in effect, that the Government had no intention of acting as labour agent for any set of employers whatsoever, and intended to encourage African independent production to the uttermost. A correspondent now forwards to us the appended editorial article from the "Manchester Guardian," on the same subject, which will be read with interest and appreciation in West Africa, in view of the widespread character of the issues involved. It is headed "A Contrast in Colonial Policy":—

The recent announcement of policy by the new Governor of Uganda affords refreshing evidence that economic virtue is its own reward. His predecessor, Sir Geoffrey Archer, had abolished, in that country, the last of those measures which in Kenya still put pressure on its inhabitants to leave home to work for Europeans. The results are that in 1924 exports from Uganda were valued at nearly double its imports and that the year ended with balances in the Protectorate treasury nearly as large as a year's revenue, a state of prosperity, in short, to which Kenya is still a stranger. We used to be told that the reason the Natives in British East Africa produce so much less wealth than the Natives of British West Africa is that they are so lazy. Now we know the true reason. Could any contrast between two neighbouring countries, controlled alike from Downing Street, be greater than is shown by the fact that, while in Kenya Native coffee-growing is forbidden, the Governor of Uganda looks to Native coffee plantations to make up for lower cotton prices? An ironic fate will have its jokes. In his admirably candid speech, Mr. Gowers warned his hearers of the dangers to prosperity that have already arisen from the rapacity of a Native landlord class in Uganda, the invention of a British Governor, a generation ago. The other joke is that the railways under construction in Kenya, for which as to both capital and interest the British taxpayer is paying in the belief that they will help cotton production, were designed to satisfy the demands of the European planters though as an afterthought one of them is being extended into cotton country. We learn that the Government is proposing to copy the Kenya policy in Tanganyika Territory, and alienate more land to Europeans. It is to be hoped that effective protests will be made in Parliament against so evident folly.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

THE RAILWAY YEAR.

Another Notable Advance.

(From a Correspondent.)

The business of the port of Beira, as reflected by the railway figures for the financial year ended September last, shows a notable advance over that for 1923-24, says the *Beira News*.

The tonnage landed at the railway wharf during the year to September 30 amounted to 110,241, an increase of 105,001 on the preceding twelve months, and 359,608 tons were shipped from the railway wharf. A decrease of 22,208 tons in shipments was accounted for by a reduction of 10,000 tons in sugar exports due to the Zambesi floods, and a decrease of maize shipments of 16,000 tons, also due to the abnormally wet season. But for these two items, which are carried at low rates, and for comparatively short distances, and do not, therefore, contribute greatly to railway revenue, there would have been a substantial increase in the total shipments.

In addition to the 110,241 tons of imports landed at the railway wharf 76,180 tons were landed at the Customs wharf and handed over to the railway for despatch to the hinterland so that the total amount of cargo arriving by sea and carried up country by rail was 186,421 tons.

Altogether the railway wharf handled 469,849 tons, which, added to the 76,180 tons landed at the Customs wharf, gives a total cargo movement, exclusive of transhipments in the port, of 546,029 tons in the railway year 1924-25.

The total traffic handled in the railway yard and at the railway wharf during the twelve months—dumped, sorted, and carried to and from the railway wharf—was 1,221,581 tons, an increase of 159,365 tons over the 1923-24 figures.

Passenger bookings between Beira and Uctali numbered 53,683, an increase of 7,376.

The month of October was a very busy period in the port. The railway wharf alone handled 12,427 tons of imports and 38,431 tons of exports, a total, exclusive of the Customs wharf and transhipments, of 50,858 tons, or only 6 tons less than the record month of September, 1924.

NO STUDENT COLOR LINE

ROW ENDED AT WORLD COURT MEET—ONE REPRESENTATIVE OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY RESIGNS

Princeton, N. J., Dec. 13, 1925—Gathering itself together after the storm which last night threw it into a turmoil when a colored girl student was elected to its executive committee, the National Student Federation, formed last night at the National Collegiate World Court conference, indicated today that it would continue to function despite withdrawal of one representative of a southern university.

One Withdrawal

The original executive committee of seven members met this afternoon with the four national officers, appointed seven other members and announced that the second conference would be held next fall at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. A letter was sent to K. K. Kizer, representative of the Louisiana State University, who last night withdrew from the conference asking him to reunite with the federation. Kizer's withdrawal came at the height of a storm which followed the election of Miss Mabel Halloway, Colored, representative of Howard University, of Washington, D. C., to represent the entire South on the executive committee.

Although protests from several other universities were made at last night's meeting, the executive committee announced today that no other withdrawal had been made. Before the conference adjourned last night it was voted to have two representatives from each of the seven districts of the country, and today Chas. Greaves of the University of Georgia was selected to represent the South along with Miss Halloway.

Race Problem — 1925.

Africa

The Boer treatment of the Native races in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State are events too fresh in the memory of the black people of this country to be forgotten. Boer proneness to enslave black men was manifested by the Sand River Convention, wherein a special clause was inserted to prevent this practice. All to no avail, and again in 1881, it was deemed imperative, in view of the infractions of the Sand River Convention relating to slavery, again to insert the declaration in the Convention of that date. Once more it was embodied in the Convention of 1884, Article 8 which runs thus: "The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic." No person who has not lived among natives in those days can form an adequate idea of the injustice done to them, or how often the rights granted them by the Convention have been disregarded, and by framing laws in direct opposition to the spirit of the agreement of 1884. Article XIX of the Convention of that date stipulates as clearly as words can express that:

"The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent.

1. As to the freedom of the native to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions.

2. As to the appointment of a Commission to mark out Native Location

3. As to the access of the Native to the courts of law, and

4. As to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under pass system."

It is a matter of notoriety that, with the exception of pass laws, none of the above regulations were fulfilled by the Boers.

They proceeded to make their own laws to oppress the natives. In the "Blue Book," C 1776, p. 9, presented to both Houses of Parliament in April, 1887, there appears graphic extract from the "Cape Argus," dated December 9, 1876, descriptive of atrocities committed on innocent native tribes by the Boers, both in 1868 and at that date. On more than one occasion a number of native children, who were too young to be removed, had been collected in a heap, covered with long grass and burnt alive by Boer Commandoes. The Native in these unhappy days could not employ a law agent to appear on his behalf before first obtaining the sanction of the Government. The necessary and farcical course to be followed by the native in such a case is to make application to the Native Commissioner, who in turn passes it on to the Superintendent of Natives, who refers the matter to the Executive Council, which, more often than not, refuses the application after due consideration.

By-law No. 24 of 1895, an extra personal Tax of £2 was imposed on each native, independent of the ordinary hut tax in existence at that time. This measure was made contrary to the assurances given by the Royal Commission to the Natives at the Pretoria Pitso. Again, By-law No. 21 of 1895, known as the Squatters Law, it provides that no person may have more than five natives on his farm, so that the native is not at liberty to live where he would likely obtain work, for no matter how willing the farmer may be to engage him, he cannot go against the law by having six native men on his farm. On the whole the native administration in the Boer Republics was radically bad. The notorious Abel Erasmus, who during these hard days was Native Commissioner under the Superintendent of natives. Commandant Cronje was playing the role sovereign lord of all the native tribes in the Zoutpansburg District, ravaged the country with his armed burghers, supplemented by a number of native traitors. They seized cattle, goats and sheep belonging to the attacked native tribes and shot down a number of black women who attempted to flee for their lives. Queen Regent, Toeramotsani mother of the famous chief Sikukuni, was ordered by the Government to pay a fine of £147/10/-. And all her headmen ordered to receive twenty-five lashes. We are informed that Erasmus and Schoeman administered flogging and the backs of the innocent victims were severely lacerated. Schoeman who flogged several of the headmen required each man to say "dank u baas" after his flogging, and those who refused received an extra lash. The Chief Nkaan and his headmen were also brought up to be flogged. During the Anglo-Boer war kinds of atrocities were committed on native men, women and children for their participation in the war on the side of the British. Such is the history of the people who rule the natives to-day and from whom we are told the natives will get a square deal. What I personally know of the Boer of this country is that you cannot make him keep his promise; and like the weather he changes his principles. The present government representing the type of the Boer sketched in this article, are making great efforts to revive the Voortrekker native policy. Dr. Malan, Minister of Interior and Education says, natives who at present were finding work in large centres must be gradually pressed into employment on farms.

The same people declare this is to be a land of liberty and of equality and of justice; are they truly striving to make it so when they are legislating against the advancement of the native races of South Africa? For all the hardships we are enduring I blame the British Imperial Parliament for allowing the insertion of the colour bar provision in the South Africa Act. The British Parliament sold the human rights of the black races to the Government of this country and have refused to hear the representatives of the South African native people more than once. They have not concealed from us long the fact that the British Government was a partner in the oppression of the black people of this country. Like the Boer they have dishonoured their pledges and openly violated all compacts. The British have thrown the baby out with the bath water and in South Africa they have adopted the instincts and characteristics of the Voortrekker and with discretion to the air they are openly working against the principles of their forefathers by antagonising the interests of the black races Salem British Democracy.

The Colour Bar.

(By E. Mdolomba.

The Bill that has now passed the House of Assembly, proposes to give the Minister power to practically exclude Native Africans and Asiatics through out the Union, from certain industries and trades and debar the Natives from work for which he believes himself perfectly fit. It is against the interest of the Black. And the speeches of those who supported it in the House are the main cause of uneasiness throughout the Union, and amply confirmed the worst fears of the Natives who regard the measure with uneasiness and suspicion. I am sure every Native is indebted to the Opposition who showed clear statesmanship in dealing with this subject. 8-11-25

Again I noticed with great satisfaction, that during the debate in the British Parliament a question was asked whether the British Government would inform the South African Government that on passing such Legislation the Imperial Parliament would withdraw the Native population from the jurisdiction of the Union. The reply was simply this: "South Africa is a Demin on and that the Colonial Office could not interfere in any way with its demestic legislation." This is to say Natives within the Union are outside the trusteeship of the Colonial Office. But we are satisfied to know that Colour Bar legislation is being carefully watched throughout the Empire, and that grave concern is being shown in Great Britain, for the interests of the Natives in South Africa, and that statesmen are watching every move of the game between British freedom and the Nationalist—Labour legislation. It is with pleasure to notice that even in South Africa clear minded and broad-minded statesmen are dead against this Colour Bar legislation from the Upper House down to the man in the street. Old Chief Jonathan of Basutoland was right and he spoke the truth before the Prince of Wales when he exalted British freedom, British fairplay to all the peoples under the British flag, and did not want to be under any other flag. Now the question may be asked what attitude the Minister for Native Affairs took in regard to this all important question, because the Minister for Native Affairs is under a moral obligation to foster Native interest. The Minister who is the Prime Minister has on many occasions emphasised his intention to deal justly with the black peoples. It seems to me that he lost the opportunity and utterly failed. He did not consider the justice or humanity of his policy. He has hastened to offer his support, to his Labour colleagues; he has subscribed to the sacrifice of the peopele he is pledged to protect. Such is life.

General Smuts was right when he said at Kalk Bay sometime ago: Among the Coloured and Native people of this country there is growing up the idea that they are not going to get a square deal from the ruling races

if this were to take root and gather force it would be an evil day for South Africa. We as Natives want no favours but a square deal which is the beginning and end of justice. It seems that the Minister for Native Affairs is subservient to Labour interests. Native welfare has been jettisoned because of the imperative need to conciliate white labour, an inveterate enemy of the Natives.

As things are, the minds of the Natives have been greatly perturbed by this Colour Bar Bill. It means good bye to Native aspirations. It is a selfish policy, a policy with a vengeance, we consider this Bill as one the most iniquitous, tyrranical and cruel piece of legislation that has ever defaced the statute book of any country, civilized or uncivilized. Protests had no effect on the government of the day.

One thing that Natives can now do is to saddle themselves with responsibility for their own future and for that of their children, if the Colour Bar Bill and discussions in Parliament will help concentrate the minds of thoughtful Natives upon the wider problem of Native life and greater interest in the majority of our people, then, nothing but good will come. We should try to help ourselves. Put not your trust in the Minister for Native Affairs!

British Government Commends Medical Work at Old Umtali, Africa

A commission appointed by the British government to inquire into the matter of native education in Southern Rhodesia has warm commendation for the medical training given in Old Umtali and in Mutambra by missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church. One of their recommendations is that government financial aid be given to work of this character.

This medical work—especially the training of native nurses—has been carried on for 15 years by Miss Ellen E. Bjorklund, of Sweden, a graduate nurse serving under the Board of Foreign Missions. It was to this same work that the late Dr. Samuel Gurney gave 20 years of service. The report of the Commission is in part as follows:

"At Mutambra and Old Umtali the work of the trained missionary nurses is hard to over-estimate. Although at the former station no definite training of nurses is undertaken, much useful knowledge is imparted. We were told of the daughter of a local chief who, in an emergency, set a broken arm without help. . . . .

"The training of native nurses at Old Umtali is an interesting feature. Five hundred confinements have taken place in the little hospital, and a native nurse was proficient enough to carry on uninterrupted work for six months during the European nurse's recent absence in Europe. The record of cases of all sorts runs into thousands. Eighteen girls are said to have had thorough training. One hundred and fifty have had partial training. At least two grave and deleterious native fallacies are shown to have been dissipated locally through demonstrations, and the general educative value of the work is undoubted.

"After a visit to this hospital the Chief Native Commissioner observed of the Matron, 'She is most sympathetic, with the result that a large number of native patients other than those connected with the Missions ask her aid. This is encouraging, and as an educative factor such hospitals will be of the greatest benefit.'

"In confirmation of the universal opinion of missionaries we would quote the words of the Medical Director: 'It is very desirable to teach native women midwifery and the care of children.'

"That it is best to train and use girls on missions is also the opinion of the Medical Director, who generally advises a wide use of missionaries.

"It is clear to us that the missionaries are willing to be made use of, but it is also clear that it is unreasonable to expect them to bear the whole expense of advancement on medical lines. Further, the missions are unable to find the money.

"It is clear that through ignorance and superstition there is grave and unnecessary suffering among the natives. It is equally clear that to place medical facilities within the reach of all is impracticable.

"There is no reason, however, why knowledge of hygiene, of causation of disease, of preventative and curative measures should not go hand in hand, educatively, with religious, moral, scholastic and industrial training.

"Not only will the imparting of such knowledge result in improved health and better conditions of life, but a highly efficient weapon will have been forged with which to combat witchcraft.

"We recommend that: (1) Missions be encouraged to employ qualified medical missionaries, and that grants in aid for the purpose should amount to at least $1,250 per annum for each medical man.

"(2). A grant of £100 per annum should be made in respect to each approved nurse. (3) The Mission should receive a grant of £10 per annum in respect of each native girl receiving approved training as a nurse. (4) Drugs and dressings should be supplied, or an allowance in lieu thereof, to missions at which a medical man or qualified nurse is posted. In addition, simple medical supplies should be given for use by partly-qualified or even unqualified missionaries. (5) Although the provision of buildings presents difficulties, we regard the matter as being of sufficient importance to recommend that the Government should contribute towards suitable hospital accommodations and equipment, particularly in the case of such approved institutions as the hospital at Old Umtali which is badly in need of such accommodation."

NEW YORK CITY SUN
DECEMBER 11, 1925

Men Who Will Not Work to Be Penalized.

LABOR COLONY TERM THREAT

Bill to Be Introduced in Parliament to Check Vagrancy.

CAPE TOWN, Dec. 11 (A. P.).—South Africans who will not work will be liable to deportation to a penal labor colony. This is provided for in a bill which the Minister of Labor has prepared for introduction at the next session of Parliament.

The measure confers vast powers on the Government and under its provisions any man who requests assistance from the State and refuses to accept work offered him will be subject to shipment to a labor colony for any period from one to five years. Men accepting work given them by the Government and not carrying out their part of the agreement also are liable to be sent to the colony. All vagrants or men who do not properly support their families will come within the terms of the proposed law.

The plan provides for rewards to men committed to a labor colony who make a genuine effort to reform. They will not alone be able to earn money but will be aided to secure land under one of several settlement projects inaugurated by the Labor Ministry.

The South African Government has recently decided that it would be impossible to extend the existing native parliamentary franchise in the Cape province to the rest of the Union, as it would mean the ruin of European civilization.

This decision of the South African Government was announced by Premier Barry Hertzog at Smithfield in an address to his constituents.

Outnumbered by Natives.

The Premier also stated that in the opinion of experts the native voters in the Cape province would outnumber the white voters within fifty years, which made a change imperative.

The decision of the Hertzog Government is, as far as South Africa is concerned, a most momentous one. In fact, the future of white civilization in South Africa is inextricably bound up in the new policy upon which Premier Hertzog is about to embark.

At present the natives (aborigines) in South Africa and the coloreds (negroes) possess the parliamentary franchise on a common register with Europeans in the Cape province. In the other provinces—that is, the Transvaal and Orange Free State—the natives and coloreds are excluded from the franchise, save that in the remaining province, Natal, a native may in very exceptional circumstances be granted the franchise.

There has always been a distinction drawn in South Africa between the natives (aborigines), whose civilization, as compared with the Europeans, is yet very primitive, and the coloreds, who are the descendants of slaves, whose ancestors came from Madagascar, Mozambique and the Malay Peninsula, and correspond to the negroes in the United States, and whose civilization in many respects corresponds to the European.

The new scheme of Premier Hertzog includes the general extension throughout the Union of the franchise to the colored population, as distinct from natives, on the same basis as the European franchise. As the colored voters only total a little over half a million, and are scattered over a wide area of the Union, their political influence would be almost a negligible factor. For the natives, according to Premier Hertzog, there is to be industrial segregation on the lines of the recent color-bar bill, territorial segregation by means of reserved areas, and political segregation through the gradual extinction of the Cape native franchise. No native now possessing a vote will be deprived thereof, but no native not possessing a vote will be allowed to acquire it. Thus, in the course of a generation or two it will disappear. A native congress is to be established, with the right to elect seven Europeans to represent the natives in the Union Parliament. Cape natives will be given the option of surrendering their vote immediately and coming into the new scheme, or waiting to be deprived of the vote by extinction.

Conferred With Smuts.

Premier Hertzog will embody the foregoing proposals in this new native franchise bill and lay it before the Union Parliament when it assembles in January. In order, however, to give the South African public—white, colored and native—ample opportunity to fully study and criticize the provisions of the bill the South African Government will not ask Parliament for its assent until the session of 1927. Premier Hertzog will also fully discuss the bill with Gen. Jan Smuts, the South African Opposition leader, and has made an impassioned appeal to the South African nation to approach the native problem "in a fair and non-partisan spirit." In a recent declaration to the South African press, Premier Hertzog said:

Race Problem - 1923.

Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

TANGANYIKA TO-DAY.

DIAMOND DISCOVERIES — THE STONES DESCRIBED —HISTORY OF THE CLAIMS — MAN WHO PEGGED THEM — PROSPECTORS BUSY.

DAR-ES-SALAAM, September 12.

The country is agog with news of the diamond discoveries in the Mwanza district, in the north-western portion of the Territory. Rumours of diamond-prospecting activity have been filtering through for some time, and statements, which have since been confirmed, were made of small parcels having been sent to Europe. Then came news of the flotation in Johannesburg of the Tanganyika Diamonds, Limited, having a registered capital of £75,000, and the arrival of Colonel Donaldson, one of the directors, who promptly made his way to the scene of the prospecting activity.

Since his return to Dar-es-Salaam I have had the pleasure of interviewing him, and was shown by him three small parcels of diamonds (totalling some 45 stones, mainly small), which Colonel Donaldson informs me are part of a yield of 136 carats, extracted from a washing of 350 loads from his company's claims. This seems indeed a good return. Two of the stones were over 5 carats each, both of splendid white colour, but one somewhat fractured, which, however, it is expected will cut well. The stones were divided into three distinct sorts—i.e., pure white, neutral tint, and a mixture of straw-shade and neutral. Colonel Donaldson informs me that the pipe has been located on his company's claims, as to its eastern and northern boundaries, revealing its extent over a considerable area. I hear that a 7-carat stone is now on its way down to Dar-es-Salaam from the same property.

The history of the claims on which the pipe is said to exist is interesting. They were pegged by one Van Rooyen in 1910, when the country was under German administration. It is said that he found a few small diamonds then (though I have not been able to verify this), but had not sufficient capital with which to carry on. After the war no prospecting was allowed until 1921, when Van Rooyen again pegged the claims—and once more had to relinquish them through lack of funds. Thereafter they were pegged by a Major Warwick who, suffering from the prevalent disease of cash shortage, obtained from the Controller of Mines a dispensation which enabled him to cease work for 28 days—it being a wise provision of the Mining Legislation that title imposes the obligation of labour.

Having omitted to apply for and obtain an extension of his exemption, after the period stipulated, Major Warwick's title automatically lapsed, and Van Rooyen, who was watching for the opportunity, jumped in and again pegged the same claims. Warwick brought an action against him in the High Court of Tanganyika, but the then Chief Justice, Sir William Morris Carter, upheld Van Rooyen's title. Van Rooyen subsequently produced two or three diamonds which he stated he had found on his claims, and endeavoured to raise capital for the exploitation of his property; but before he could accomplish much in this direction he died. His affairs went into the hands of the Administrator-General, who decided to keep the claims "alive," in the interests of Van Rooyen's estate, by paying licence dues, obtaining from the Controller of Mines a dispensation of the working clause. They were ultimately purchased from the Administrator-General on behalf of Tanganyika Diamonds, Limited. It looks as if Van Rooyen's confidence was not without foundation.

There is other (independent) prospecting activity being carried on in the neighbourhood, and though rumours of other "finds" are rife, they still lack official confirmation. However, diamond-prospecting in this country is as yet in its very early infancy, and there is no reason to deduce that the pipe now said to have been proved is necessarily an isolated one. South African activity generally reveals the existence of several pipes in relatively close proximity within a given diamondiferous area, and it is hoped that such repetition in the Mwanza district will be frequent.

The district was the scene of considerable gold mining activity before the war: many of the claims have again been taken up since prospecting was permitted in 1921. Included in them is the Kilimafeza gold mine, to exploit which, with adjacent claims, the Tanganyika Goldfields, Ltd., having a registered capital of £100,000, was recently floated in London, and over-subscribed.

Transport connection with Mwanza at present is effected via Mombasa and the Uganda Railway to Kisumu, thence by lake (Victoria) steamer. Railway extension from the Tanganyika Central Railway is now under construction from Tabora northwards, which, on completion, will bring Mwanza into direct rail connection with Dar-es-Salaam, its natural outlet.

Apart from its mineral resources, the district of Mwanza, one of the thickly populated areas of the Tanganyika Territory, is a prolific source of tropical produce, whose scope will be greatly enhanced on the completion of the railway extension now under construction.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR WEST AFRICANS.

An interesting discussion took place at the meeting of the Union of Students of African Descent held on Saturday, November 21. The subject was the introduction of scholarships in the West African Colonies.

Mr. Blay, the president, said the meeting had been convened to consider means whereby they could secure the introduction of scholarships, an advantage which their kinsmen of the West Indies had enjoyed for some time. West African members were fortunate in having Mr. Wooding, the vice-president, himself a scholar, to introduce the subject. He had the advantage of having seen the system in the West Indies at work. It was the duty of members from the West African Colonies to put before the meeting the conditions in their Colonies in order that the meeting might formulate a scheme for the consideration of the responsible authorities.

Mr. Wooding dwelt on the advantages of scholarship awards. He said scholarships benefited not only students who won them but all who competed. To compete for a scholarship, with hopes of success, a student must put all his energies into his work, a condition not necessary in ordinary school studies. It meant that those who competed for scholarships became better students than the ordinary student, and therefore better citizens. However, the chief advantage of scholarships was that they enabled poor but intelligent students to pursue higher studies otherwise beyond their reach. He cited his own case and said that were it not for the advantages which scholarships afforded he would be toiling behind a desk as a clerk. He recommended that a petition be sent to the responsible authorities, praying for the introduction of a system of scholarships similar to that existing in Barbados. There they had a two-fold award, one tenable at a local college affiliated to a British University, and the other tenable in a British University. As Achimota would be opened soon, it would afford opportunity for the working of such a system. One of these scholarships should be a science scholarship, as the African, in his opinion, needed education in science more than in anything else. The scholarship tenable abroad was especially necessary, as contact with other peoples was very much conducive to progress.

Mr. Roberts, who some time ago discussed the subject in letters to WEST AFRICA, said he had been moved to write those letters because he felt that much intelligence in West Africa was being wasted, through poor students not being able to pursue higher studies. He was glad to say that a scholar from the Gambia had been sent here to study. He pointed out that the award of scholarships need not depend on the opening of Achimota, as there existed at Freetown a college already affiliated to a British University. He urged that efforts should be made to secure private scholarships as well, in West Africa.

Mr. Danquah said he understood there would be scholarships for sons of schoolmasters and teachers tenable at Achimota. He did not see the reason why this privilege should be confined to this class of people only. Referring to private scholarships, he said the difficulty lay in collecting funds. It had been attempted at the Gold Coast, but with no visible success.

After speeches by other members, it was resolved that a petition be sent to the authorities praying for scholarships. The actual formulation of the petition was postponed in order to secure the support of other bodies interested.

RACIAL ANTAGONISM FANNED BY WHITE SUPERIORITY FETISH

White Race Must Observe God's Purpose of Men Serving, Not Ruling, Each Other—Only Solution of Problem

From The Gold Coast Times

Those who are capable of reading the signs of the times aright cannot fail to perceive the growing consciousness among leading members of the white races, as to the resentment which the attitude of their group has aroused in the breasts of colored peoples. In the last two weeks we have been considering the instructive article by Lord Olivier on color prejudice in which the writer concluded that if things were to go on smoothly in the future, white people must see clearly by purging their hearts of racial or color prejudices now distorting their vision and judgment. And it is encouraging to observe that a similar note of warning was struck at the recent Church Congress in England. The Bishop of Chichester, opening the proceedings of the session dealing with race problems by stating that it was apt to be forgotten that our Lord Jesus Christ was an Asiatic and not a European, and also that three of the very greatest saints and teachers of the Church were Africans, namely, Cyprian, Athanasius and Augustine. Lord Willingdon, a former Governor of India, followed with a speech in which he indicated to his hearers the growing danger of a clash between the white and colored races as the result of the insistence of race superiority by the white races. He urged that some means must be found by which the problem could be solved by peaceful methods rather than by the clash of the races "which would be the most ghastly tragedy the world has ever known"; and he was convinced that the solution lies in the white races realizing the necessity of treating "all colored men in a spirit of absolute equality." He urged them to realize the fact that it was not the color of a man that makes him a man but the character in him, and reiterated that if the white races wished to continue their association with colored peoples and to influence them in the direction of their destinies, "it must be in a spirit of absolute equality, and not

by arrogating to themselves any race superiority." Mr. J. H. Oldham referred to the "deep and growing antagonisms" existing between different races and said that 'the long start in scientific knowledge and invention' has given to Western peoples a superiority in wealth and power which tended to breed in them, particularly the Anglo-Saxon section in which color prejudice and the sense of race superiority are most accentuated, a sense of superiority, manifesting itself in exclusiveness and social discrimination, which is bitterly resented. "Our trouble," he added, "is due to the fact that in our attitude we lack that sense of equality—of the equality of men as human beings; and we lack it because we are not Christian enough, which is, perhaps, just another way of saying that we are not human enough."

He stated the Christian view, which is that every man, to whatever race he belongs, is first and foremost a human being, and warned his hearers that a solid white front certainly and inevitably meant a solid yellow front, as well as a solid brown front and a solid black front; and he observed that the way to avoid future conflict lies in the consideration of problems from a non-racial viewpoint and in the refusal to be entangled in the "snares of racialism." Mr. Shoran Singha, an Indian, as his name indicates, alluded to the white man's prestige as one of the hindrances to the solution of race problems, and urged Christians to rid their minds of the idea that God had ordained that the white man was to exercise dominion over the black man. God's purpose, he said, was not that men should rule one another, but that they should serve one another. Those are the salient points in the remarkable speeches delivered at the Church Congress on the discussion of race problems and they should give us food for thought. The equality of the races as human beings will have to be recognized if a conflict between the two main divisions of the human family is to be avoided in the future; and this equality being conceded, character and intellectual equipment should be the determining factors in the advance of every man and not the color of his skin. We admit the superiority of the white races in their scientific knowledge and inventions, but their acquisition in this direction is not the cause of our resentment. What we do resent is their insistence upon occupying the loftiest position in world affairs and not only looking down upon colored peoples as inferior beings, but closing the door of opportunity to the latter to rise up to their level. What we do resent is the maintenance of the white man's prestige as it involves the denial of justice to the colored man. White men clearly realize the rising tide of color—the strenuous efforts of colored people to rise to their level—and they deliberately put obstacles in the way; they build embankments to keep the tide of color from rising to the level of their own. That is our grievance, and if the white races can see the injustice of their attitude towards us and will treat us with absolute equality as human beings, giving us full opportunity to work out our own salvation, there is no reason why the black and white races should not live together amicably and pursue the lofty purpose of life, each race serving the other and being served in turn.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' COLLEGE, ACHIMOTA.

A "WIRELESS" TALK FROM LONDON, BY J. E. K. AGGREY.

On Sunday afternoon, November 1st, Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey was invited to give a talk on the new Prince of Wales' College at Achimota, on the Gold Coast. This talk was simultaneously broadcast from nearly all of the twenty-two wireless stations in Great Britain and Ireland.

The talk was introduced by Mr. Hubert W. Peet, who has been closely associated in London with Dr. Jesse Jones and the work of the Phelps-Stokes African Educational Commissions. After giving some particulars of Dr. Aggrey's career he said "Dr. Aggrey is perhaps the leading living African," and was recently described by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, as "a British subject of whom the Empire should be proud." He is chief of the staff at Achimota and will introduce the story of this great educational experiment which may mean so much for future co-operation between the white and black races.

Despite the fact that Dr. Aggrey comes from a long line of linguists, or Royal Chancellors, of the Fanti people, West Africa, and is well known as a speaker to large audiences in England, America, and Africa, it has been found that the microphone, through one of the inexplicable tricks to which it is liable, will not record very effectively Dr. Aggrey's voice. Most of the talk will, therefore, be given by his wife, Mrs. Rose Aggrey, who has just relinquished her post as a lecturer on English History and Literature at Livingstone College, Salisbury, one of the great Negro Institutions in the United States.

Dr. Aggrey then gave a short opening to his paper. "A restlessness surpassing in extent and depth anything that has been recognised before is to-day making African articulate" he said. "Too long has this land been known as 'the Contiment of Great Misunderstandings.'" I believe that it was one of the greatest honours done to my people when I was privileged to be asked to serve as the African member of the recent Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commissions to Africa under the chairmanship of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones. The purpose of the Commissions was to study the religious, educational, and economic conditions, not only in my own part of the great Continent, but also to visit Central, East and South Africa, besides Abyssinia and Egypt. Everywhere since the war, we found there was a restlessness and a race consciousness striving for expression, but happily the last word has not been said. We in Africa cannot do without the white man any more than, I believe, the white man can do without us.

Mrs. Aggrey's voice was then heard by the thousands of listeners. Reading her husband's address, she continued:—

"The greatest recent step forward in the co-operation between white and black, for the good of Africa, has come through the vision of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast. He rightly believed that the great need of the moment was an educational institution which could meet the highest and broadest needs of Africans, and one where the leaders of the race would receive not only the best head education, but an education of the heart and hand also.

The Gold Coast Government has therefore devoted half a million pounds to the foundation of the Prince of Wales' College, Achimota, which, I believe, is the most magnificent in the whole of Africa to-day. They have appointed the Rev. Alee Fraser, who in Ceylon had shown at Trinity College, Kandy, that the true public-school spirit can flourish in the East, to be Achimota's Principal, and during the past year it has been my privilege as chief of his staff to help him and the other white masters in getting a thorough knowledge of the country and of formulating plans for the working of the College.

We have not only been laying plans. We have very literally been preparing the grounds of this University College, which cover an area of four square miles on one of the most beautiful and commanding sites on the Gold Coast. In the spring the Prince of Wales travelled up eight miles from Accra to unveil the memorial tablet at the Prince of Wales' College. I fonnd His Royal Highness a most attentive and sympathetic listener when I gave him my reasons for giving up my place and position in America at the call of my beloved native country, and Principal Fraser and I were able to explain to him, as I am trying to explain to you, something of the yearnings of Africa and of the possibilities of the College.

With some fifty teachers selected from the five continents of Europe, Africa, Ameriea and Australia and with accomodation for about 800 students, it will be the aim of Achimota to correct the mistakes which have been made in the education system of Africa. It will take the African boy and girl at the age of six and carry them through from the kindergarten to the University courses. It will give to the African not only professional training, but also technical courses to teach both boy and girl the dignity of labour. The joy of working with God, not alone with the heart and head, but also for the hand in tickling the soil and in seeking for the treasures thereof, will be part and parcel of the course.

That is why Mr. Fred Irvine, our English agricultural expert, has been one of the first of the staff to get into harness, and he is already busy with an afforestation scheme on the College estate.

The missionaries were the pioneers in African education, and to them we Africans owe a debt we can never adequately repay, unless in lives of perfect consecration to the service of humanity. But these missionaries themselves find there is something lacking in their old programme, but they are working hand in hand with the Government to correct their previous mistakes.

Africa itself in old times, and still to-day, in its less developed areas, it must be remembered, has had its edncational systems. These were not so perfect as those of the West, but they filled a most important place in African life. I refer to the puberty, or what we may call 'coming of age' schools—known as Poro Bushes for the boys and Bundo Bushes for the girls. Here hygiene, physical culture, midwifery, native medicine, domestic and state crafts, laws and customs, the place of the old and the future of the young, were taught. Here the exploits of our African heroes and heroines and history of our tribes through tradition were handed down to us in songs and poetry of the rarest beauty. Our duty to society, to tribes, and to things African, were ingrained in us. If these things were not taught to us in the Bush, it was the duty of the elderly men and women to teach the young, while the Kyiami or linguist, was responsible for teaching the prospective King or Queen.

With the coming of Western civilization, however, African boys and girls tended to be cut loose from tribalities. In many instances the educated became neither Western or African—losing the best in both, and often imbibing the worst of both. There were many honourable exceptions among our new education, but the often the African was taught that everything African was heathen, wrong, ungodly. Our very names were designated as pagan, and we were given European or American names. Our dances were all tabooed, our games slopped, our customs discarded, and all that was best in our systems was forgotten with baneful results.

The importance of the Gold Coast Government's experiment at Achimota is that it will retain and improve the best things African, and couple them with the best things Western. The pupils in this Government College will be trained to be Christian citizens, each one a part of the body politic to whom much has been given and from whom much will be expected. In its atmosphere we trust that the young men and women of Africa will learn how to make the right choice. 'Churchianity' will not be taught, but a truly Christian spirit will be fostered, and the necessity of co-operation between white and black instilled. In the harmony of the world, as in the harmony of an organ or a piano, the black and the white keys are both essential.

The African is fundamentally religious, and when not denationalised is innately anti-sectarian. His test seems to be 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'

In the teaching at Achimota, African fables, sculpture, art and drama, which, in my opinion, rivals even that of the Greeks, will be elevated and added to the art and drama of the West. Our music, the national aptitude for song, will be encouraged and developed along with the best of the West. The African's 'wireless,' the wonderful system of drum messages, his psychic and remarkable intuitive power, and his understanding of nature, will be co-opted to soothe the rushing, grinding materialistic heart of the West.

Achimota is destined to influence not only the Gold Coast, not only the whole of Africa, but directly and indirectly the entire African Continent. And Africa is grateful for this daring and far-reaching experiment towards the true emancipation of her manhood and womanhood."

The talk concluded with a short farewell by Dr. Aggrey himself.

"On behalf of my Negro race" he told his hearers, "I would like to take this opportunity of thanking Principal Fraser, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Great Britain, and you, my thousands of unseen listeners, for what is being done. In the words of my own people I would say *Mida hum asi pi M'adzi nkyi*—Thank you. Good-night."

Race Problem — 1925.
Africa.

EAST AFRICAN NATIVE PRESS.

What "Habari" Says.

THE latest issue of *Habari* to reach me reports the late Sir Robert Coryndon's meeting with Natives at Nyeri. Outstanding points made by the chiefs in their replies to H.E. were: their demand for the security of their land and the request for a central school. His Excellency impressed upon the people the need for treading the two parallel roads to prosperity, namely, work within the reserves and work outside the reserves.

News of the Districts.

Kapsabet anticipates a shortage of food amongst the Nandi owing to insufficient rains. The new Government school, which the people helped to build, has just been opened. Kisii reports plague in one centre. The Native Council is at present being elected, some slight difficulty being found, owing to the ignorance of the people as to its meaning and the absence of emoluments.

The Nyeri news shows results of Sir Robert Coryndon's visit, in the statement that since then a thousand more men have gone to work on the new railway which is being built between Thika and Nyeri. A letter from Lamu well describes local progress in sports. There are now two football clubs, one with thirty-four playing members. Christmas Day was the occasion of a sports meeting and of much rejoicing. A feast for the poor was a feature of the occasion.

La Haula (Alas) is the amusing story of two over-courteous Arabs who missed their train at Tanga through each wishing the other to precede him into the carriage.

Football and Feasting.

There is a description of the marriage of a chief's son in Kavirondo. After the ceremony at the church the bridal party had to walk home twenty miles as their motor car had not turned up. A quarter of an hour before reaching home they were met by a band of drummers, who escorted them the remainder of the journey. For the second day after the marriage a football match had been arranged against Kisumu, the visiting team being received with much ceremony, lodged and fed.

The visitors won a fast game, 3—0. Afterwards the chief Daniel addressed the teams, saying it was the first visiting team to enter the location, and thanking them for their sportsmanship. Kisumu have not yet been beaten, thanks largely to their centre forward, I. Nyunnya. The goal-keeper, O. Ombok, is so good that it is thought "he must have some very powerful medicine which causes him always to catch the ball."

After the match seventy-six people sat down to a dinner, and there was dancing afterwards. Next morning the team was entertained to breakfast by Mzee Shadrack Ogola. At lunch there were ninety-two people present, several good speeches being made. Afterwards those members of the Kisumu team who had bicycles departed, the others being entertained to a special *ngoma*. That night there was another dinner and dance, and the teams dispersed next morning. Thanks were expressed to all those who had allowed their employés leave to play in the match.

A good account is given of the second Kavirondo Agricultural Show, which was held in January, and which some 40,000 Kavirondos attended. Before a large gathering of Europeans and Africans the Colonial Secretary opened the show, which was a huge success, there being 1,431 exhibits in the agricultural section, as against 673 last year, and 1,568 in the stock section, as against 1,500. The all-round quality of the exhibits was much higher, and boded well for the future of the people. This entirely Native show is an outstanding example of Native progress. The description is to be continued.

"KALAMBO."

MANUAL FOR THE FREE LANCE.

I HAVE been surprised at the number of East African settlers and their wives who have written me intimating their desire to embark upon free-lance journalism in leisure hours. Some of them inquire what I would recommend as the best handbook on the subject.

Now that Mr. Michael Joseph has produced "Journalism for Profit" (Hutchinson, 6s. net), I shall have no hesitation in referring them to it. If they were to read Mr. Joseph alone, they might perhaps build too great hopes on success, but the valuable foreword by Sir Philip Gibbs will correct ultra-optimistic dreams. There is no doubt that this manual will be of real help to young writers, who, in addition to being taken over the whole ground by the author, are given a chapter in which twenty-two leading journalists record their recipe for making journalism pay.

Again and again the book stresses the value of specializing, and, armed with determination not to allow multitudinous rejection slips to deter him from his path, the young writer in East Africa need not despair of one day attaining his object. He has travelled, seen unusual sights, lived laborious days, and thus accumulated a store of good copy for use at a later date.

To all such "Journalism for Profit" can be cordially recommended.

Arithmetic and Native Life

The Phelps Stokes Commission rightly calls attention to the fact that there is an immense room for improvement in the material used for arithmetic in African Schools. The possibilities of adaptation in this subject are limitless. In the teaching of health even the younger pupils can begin to count the number of people in the village; the proportion of children in the population will interest them; the number of men and women; the number of sick people; the number living in a house In the more advanced communities they may count the number of windows and relate them to the light and ventilation needs of the home: they may calculate the air space in the home and in the school; they may make some estimate of carriers of infection such as flies and mosquitoes. The teacher may bring to the pupils figures and charts showing the amount of money spent on useless and harmful sweets and drinks; and the sleep requirements of the normal individual. With reference to agriculture they should be taught the use of scales for weighing wool, beans, maize and corn; various calculations on the food crops; the number of families having crops of various kinds; comparisons of the amounts of different cereals and vegetables; the length of time taken to consume the crops; the amount sold; the proportion of water in plants; the extent of soil; the relative values of domestic animals, such as fowls, pigs, goats, cows. It is urged that artificiality shall be avoided and that each topic shall be so presented as to arouse real interest in the soil and in animal life.

Similary the workshop, the home and the playground provide a wealth of arithmetical material which may be used to equip the youth for more effective participation in community life. In village industries there are endless arithmetical processes too obvious to require illustration. The activities of the home and family life provide examples relating to food, clothing, sleeping space, gardening, and cost of living Recreation and play have also their arithmetical elements. It would be salutary for the elder pupils to consider the proportion of time spent in various forms of recreation, classfying them according to their value in building up the physique or in undermining health through loss of sleep. There are such computations as the number of hours spent in physical games; in beer drinking; in moonlight dances; and comparisons of these hours with hours of labour. For the younger pupils there are problems connected with laying out the playground; the cost of its equipment; and the relative time of walking and running.

Our modern authors of arithmetic text books might profitably ponder over the above suggestions.

GENERAL HERTZOG'S REPLY.

To King Wms. Town Native Grievances.

Gen. Hertzog, replying, thanked the Natives for their welcome and for their appreciation of his visit. He had come to find out the state of affairs regarding natives and he assured them he had benefited very much by coming into closer contact with the natives in the territories. He hoped they would benefit as much from what he was about to say. They had pelted him with a number of questions which would take hours to answer, in detail. Any questions he did not answer would receive his consideration later. He would confine himself to certain points. He regretted inability to stop at Middle Drift; but he appreciated the invitation. They had been told they were ripe for the Bunga, and he was glad, but there were people who disagreed with them. At the same time, he thought the Bunga would be of very great service to them. (Hear, hear.) He believed in people governing themselves as far as they were able, and perhaps it would relieve him and the Department of a good many troubles. (Hear, hear.) However that was not his main reason for hoping they would get the Bunga. As regards the Amantinde, the question had already been brought to the notice of his Department and would receive further attention. Complaints of

Heavy Taxation

had been made. The dipping charge was not a tax. It was something they had to pay for just as when they bought a hat! He recommended his hearers not to go to law. Quitrent was not a tax, but really a small charge made by the Government for the work done in

connection with the land. They all—white and black—had to pay it. Often things were taken for taxes which were really fees for services rendered. He hoped he would always see that the natives were not overtaxed. As to the blanket tax, he would ask Mr. Havenga to reply on that point. They had asked for a court to decide cures according to native custom. He understood there was already one such court in King William's Town. He fully sympathised with them and in a law which he hoped to bring before Parliament, provision had already been made for such court. (Hear, hear.) As to

Native Interpreters,

instead of Europeans, as far as natives were concerned and in native cases he fully sympathised with them and agreed that they should have native interpreters rather than Europeans. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the day was coming when they would have in the native territories not only nothing but native interpreters but native officials wherever the native had come to that stage when he was capable of officiating for his people. They would understand that in white territories, where the white man was concerned, the white man very often preferred a European interpreter. The great thing for natives was to see that they met the requirements of both the native and the white man. He was glad to see the manner in which the

Native Was Developing.

They had present at that meeting a native doctor, a native professor, a native editor, native ministers, and a number of other educated natives. They were on the way to provide out of their own midst all the necessary material for their own guidance and government and he hoped they would go on to such an extent that before many years they would be able to do for themselves in their own territories a great deal presently done by white men.

As to fines going to the Native Revenue Fund, he would look into the question. Superficially there was a good deal in what they said, but there might be certain dangers to be guarded against. They had found that justice often did not benefit by it and for that reason Government had taken the fines. With regard to the request for a

Central Agricultural School,

it was one of those institutions he was glad to see more and more desired by the natives in these territories. With proper agriculture induced by study at such a school, the productivity of their lands and their carrying power would be enormously increased. He was not prepared to have the Government today step in and take the initiative in establishing the necessary institution. He thought it was a matter where they should leave it to the initiative of the native himself, and for that reason it would have been well if they already had a Bunga. Government were taking great interest in developing agriculture in the native territories, and a considerable part of the taxation under the new Act was destined to go towards the improvement of native agriculture in those territories. The Department had been only too ready to assist by providing demonstrators and he would go into the question of providing four more when they returned to Pretoria. Professor Jabavu had complained of

Land Congestion,

but it would be by no means serious if proper knowledge and proper agriculture were practised. They must not forget, however, that the native had not developed his own industrial life. They were practically all farmers, and as their numbers increased and the lands remained the same extent it was clear that the time was coming when the native would have to take more to the development of

Native Industries.

Therefore, he hoped that before long they would do something to get natives to take an interest in home industries, where there were considerable openings for the native in South Africa.

Turning to the Emergency Bill, Gen. Hertzog said Prof. Jabavu had asked how it would benefit the native. He would like him to say how it would hurt the native. The Bill was intended simply as a measure of safety against riots, to which a place like Johannesburg was sometimes exposed. It was intended both for the benefit of the native and the white man. Any thinking man would admit that there were dangers of a riot arising in a place like Johannesburg, and it might be very dangerous to have the natives in the compounds exposed to the passions of people who often did not do what was just or right. There they had a measure calculated to protect both black and white. He had been surprised that natives had any feeling against the Bill.

With regard to a married wife giving evidence against her husband, General Hertzog said that amongst Europeans the wife could not be compelled to testify against her husband, and he would have the same rule with respect to native marriages, and the Bill did apply it if the native had only one wife. Where a native had two wives he was not married according to Christian rites and the marriage was not registered. A man might be indicted for murder. A woman came forward to give evidence against him. The accused said she was his wife, and there was no evidence that she was not. A second woman witness was produced and the accused said she also was his wife. (Laughter.) The Minister of Justice said he had to exclude all the wives because he did not know how many wives a native might have. That was the difficulty and from the point of view of justice it could lead to very grave miscarriages.

On the Wrong Road.

Proceeding, Gen. Hertzog said he was sorry to find Dr. Rubusana was on the wrong road, as he had found a good many others in the native territories. Dr. Rubusana wanted to know how it was that the wicked Government of which he (Gen. Hertzog) was the leader could think of subordinating the Native to Indians, Malays and coloured people. He would put this point: The natives had their territories and were therein protected against the Indian, the Malay and the coloured man. They could not buy or lease land within native territories. They had no such protection. It was quite fair that the Malay, the Indian and the coloured man was given a preference in that part of the country where he was born, all the more just and necessary when they considered that those men had a territory given to them. If they could get it he was sure they would be quite prepared to be placed in the same position as natives. There was nothing derogatory to the native. He (the speaker) was the guardian of the natives, but he also had the duty of protecting all the other classes in the Union. He was surprised at the request for the repeal of the

Lands Act of 1913,

because formerly native land could be sold or leased to the white man and the Act had stopped that. They would not allow white men to go into the scheduled areas and slowly buy and shoulder out the native. They were going to see that the native was secured in the possession of those lands and unproclaimed farms now held by Europeans must eventually go into the native area. The Act secured and protected the natives, with the intention that the territories should eventually be ruled by the natives in the first place. He was positive they did not desire a return to the old state of affairs. In some places he had been told they wanted equality with the white man, even to buying liquor. The native should be on guard against the

Shibboleth of Equal Rights.

The native had required the protection of the white man on a footing quite different to that extended to the white man, and by that means the native had been brought to the state in which he saw them that day. If there had been equality—no colour bar—he had no hesitation in saying that with equality in liquor drinking, purchasing and leasing land, it would not have been much different with them than with the one time great tribe of the Griquas. The Griqua enjoyed equality but had disappeared. With no colour bar, in another 50 years the great mass of the native population of the Union would be in the slums of Johannesburg and other great cities and of their land little would be left. In all earnestness he said to the natives, the colour bar had saved them, because they were children compared with the European and his methods. The first duty of the Government was to protect the native as against the European. The time would come when they would no longer require that protection; then it would be a different question. Sometimes measures had to be taken also to protect the white man against the native, but that was only within the white man's territory, and in the interests of his children.

If everything the natives asked for was not granted by the Government it was not because Government did not like to come to their assistance, but because other interests had to be protected by the Government.

Certain telegrams from Capetown had been handed in, advising that native dock employees had been retrenched and replaced by coloured men. Gen. Hertzog said he had no doubt that coloured men had been engaged, but no native had been put out of his job. What had been done was that when a native finished working in the service his place was taken by a coloured man. Government had to look after the interests of coloured men, with regard to whom the Government's policy had to be different. That policy had been explained by the Minister of Railways both inside and outside of Parliament.

The Prime Minister was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.

MR. HAVENGA.

The Minister of Finance also addressed the gathering, and referred to his position as an unenviable one. People asked for things, and the unpleasant task of finding the money was left to him. With regard to the duty on cotton blankets, he pointed out that the duty on primary necessities of both blacks and whites had been increased, while that on farmers' requirements had been reduced; and the majority of natives were farmers. The policy of the Government was to develop industries, and thus find work for both Europeans and Natives. To-day South African woollen blankets could be bought at a reasonable price, and it was hoped to establish that article so that the native would get a better thing at less cost. He hoped the native would always be prepared to carry his share of the burden with the white man. There were many white men in white areas who would be glad of the opportunities and privileges the natives had in native territories.

The Chairman thanked the Prime Minister for his sympathetic hearing and address, and the proceedings terminated at 6 p.m. with the singing of the National Anthem.

Race Problem—1925

Africa

EDUCATION AND SELF-HELP IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—With reference to the Lagos opinion on my letters on "self-help" briefly commented upon in your issue of the 12th instant, under "Nigeria Letter," I think the opinion and comment are misleading. I have before me other opinions on the subject, and so far as the Gold Coast and others are concerned, it appears they are ready for a national scheme. The following may illustrate what I have stated :—

West Africa 9-9-25

"It is natural to suppose that unless one is disposed to help himself, others cannot help you indefinitely. Wilberforce, Clarke, Sharp, and others, did their best in their day to help in the liberation of the African, but there has come a time truly in this twentieth century when the African must make effort to free himself from the shackles of economic slavery. When, therefore, Mr. Ladipo Solanke urges his countrymen to consider the possibility of mental and intellectual bondage, resulting in educational, industrial and economic enslavement, we are bound to give him a hearing. . . . . Mr. Solanke waxes eloquent over the education system, and when you see members of a race keenly interested in education and discussing it from every angle, and, what is more, prepared to proceed to action, there is every hope for that race. . . . The writer of the article under review advocates warmly the raising in West Africa of a sum not less than £1,000,000 by the people for educational purposes. It is a laudable suggestion, and a healthy one in the line of self-help. . . . We want our people to learn to do things for themselves and others, and to have the driving power which makes for success in these strenuous times. We want capable, practical engineers, mechanics, architects, and all manner of workmen, who shall build our cities, build our railways, found businesses and enterprises, and make a prosperous people of us." ("Gold Coast Leader," August 22.)

Your "Nigeria Letter" further states :—"In Nigeria, especially, it is obvious that any national scheme would be far ahead of the times." This does not seem quite clear. It seems to suggest that because at present Lagos appears to be divided against itself, it is premature to introduce any national scheme in Nigeria. If this is the meaning, I differ. The suggested clause cannot be meant to apply to Abeokuta, for I know of no other nation in West Africa more nationalistic than the Egbas, and I have every confidence that they will be found ready to participate and even take the lead in a national scheme, and I am looking forward to the day when the first African expert geologist to start the working of Abeokuta phosphate deposits—to enrich the Egba Government exchequer—will be an Egba. The other Yoruba tribes—who grow daily more thirsty after national education—will follow suit. As far as other parts of Nigeria are concerned, activities have already started at several centres. Lagos may fall in line with the other parts of West Africa, in opinion and in action.

This national scheme of self-help does not mean non-co-operation, or suggest that the Government should no more be requested, in the usual constitutional method, to apply revenue to purposes to the interest of the people. What is meant is the institution of an *independent, constructive* scheme, organised and "run" entirely by the Africans, by way of self-help. Why, if we have about 100 or 200 scholarships, from a strong national endowment fund, in 10 to 20 years there is possibility of effecting mighty things, such as the floating of two or three sea-going commercial boats.

Yours faithfully,
LADIPO SOLANKE.

University College,
London, September 14.

Keen Native Buyers.

I can best urge and enforce my view if I point out, and this I am very happy to do, that a visit to any of the stores in West Africa will show you English goods which not only hold their own, but drive competitors from the field, e.g., cotton goods. It is not because these manufacturers are without competitors, it is because they have studied the nature of goods required by the Native women and are supplying them.

West Africa 9-25-25

The Native women of West Africa are the keenest, cleverest, and cutest buyers in the world. They will not look into shop windows, they must go behind the counters to finger the goods. They finger the best article first by instinct. You direct a Native woman's attention to an article. She says, "No, masser, him no keep colour after him first wash." By the way, the Natives know a lot about dyes, and they turn out dyes we have been unable to match.

On the other hand, other manufacturers are failing in a variety of ways. English brewers send out beer, perhaps refreshing in England, but undrinkable in the tropics. They seek to sell the beer by disclosing that it is of English manufacture, a fact that does not help their sale nor the sale of other English beer. A patriot will stand waist-deep in mud in a trench, but he won't drink bad beer; nor will the blacks in West Africa. I have known a good British article fail to sell because it is unattractively packed or "put up" for sale. I have known a good article well "put up" still fail to sell because the British manufacturer does not know that the attractive label round a tin, if for the tropics, must be put on with special paste, as some pastes in the tropics discolour, stain the wrapper, and make the stock look like old stock. Why should they know if they are expecting an Act of Parliament to kill competitors? Surely it is easier to wait than to work.

I know manufacturers who are spending money—to be added to the cost of the article—advertising on railways and elsewhere in West Africa, unaware that even enamel advertisements unless specially prepared for the tropics fade, change colour, and rust, and thereby become a bad advertisement. Others are unaware that a good and clever advertisement in London may become simply silly when displayed before the Natives of West Africa.

This failure of many manufacturers may arise from the affluence and contentment of some, from slackness, from a failure to recruit from the best men for the board, preferring the claims of sons and nephews, whether competent or not, or, finally, it may arise in whole or in part, as I believe, from the Micawber spirit—all will be put right by a little Act of Parliament, a little preference or protection, failing which a little subsidy. It is so much easier to have your enemy or competitor killed by somebody else.

SECRETARY OF STATE KELLOG ENTERTAINS LIBERIAN SECRETARY

Edwin Barclay, Liberian Secretary of State who is visiting in this country, came to the city last Monday and conferred at the State Department with the Secretary of State.

West Africa 9-5-25

According to the State Department, he simply called to pay his respects to Secretary Kellog as is customary with all visiting secretaries of foreign governments. It is probable, however, that he discussed Liberian affairs. He was accompanied by Dr. Ernest Lyons, of Baltimore, the Liberian consul general.

After the conference at the State Department, Mr. Barclay was the luncheon guest of Secretary Kellogg at the Metropolitan Club. Later he visited Arlington national cemetery and Mt. Vernon accompanied by State Department officials.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

The Kumasi Health Board.

The Ordinance giving Kumasi a Public Health Board came into operation on July 1. The constitution of the Board is five official and five nominated members, the official majority being assured by making the appointment of one of the latter—an African ratepayer other than an Ashanti—dependent on the Chief Commissioner, and making his term of office, like that of official members, terminable at the will of the Commissioner. Of the remaining members, who hold office for three years, two are to be nominated by the Kumasi Chiefs, and two by the Chamber of Commerce. The Town Clerk and any other necessary staff will hold their appointments at the will of the Chief Commissioner, although they will be paid, and, when the time comes, possibly pensioned, by the Board, which will raise revenue by levying rates, by a property transfer duty, building permits, liquor, vehicle, and other licences, and fines. The duty on the transfer of property will entail compulsory notification of the Board, and will prove no more popular than the rating of the town, but if such obvious benefits as an improved water supply are given quickly, a practical answer will be afforded to grumblers. The licensing fees are merely transferred from the hands of the Government to the Board, and their imposition should prove more acceptable now that they will be devoted to local benefit.

West Africa 9-19-25

The Education Ordinance.

Having regard to the wide discretionary powers that it places in Government hands, the new Education Ordinance does not seem to excite the interest one would expect, possibly because local critics feel that failing a constitutional reform their words are wasted. The "Gold Coast Times," however, sounds a call to the missionary societies not to let themselves become the passive disseminators of a stereotyped form of education, or to aid a system tending to destroy private enterprise. Much depends upon the form of education to receive official sanction, but it must not be forgotten that educational aims change with the changing needs of the country, which may vary from physical perfection, as in ancient Greece, to the development of the scientific and co-operative agriculturist, as in Denmark, or the Gold Coast, of to-day, and an official system liable to become stereotyped upon the needs of yesterday, with no external competitive stimulus, is not a source of strength. As a Cape Coast writer says, using a simile particularly applicable to his locality, the position is like that of his town under the Proprietary Railways Ordinance—the people own the land, but see a situation developing which may injure their future, and are powerless to call upon private enterprise to come to their aid.

The Ga Manche.

The disputed destoolment of the Ga Manche, referred by the Chief Justice of the Gold Coast to the Secretary for Native Affairs for a decision as to Native law and custom, has resulted in a pronouncement that the Chief had not been properly deposed, and the Secretary for Native Affairs adds the necessary warning that although

the aid of Government would not be given to a Chief for the oppression of his people, it might reasonably be used to guard a ruler from an irregular attempt at deposition by a disorderly section of his subjects. The report issued by the Colonial Secretary after his inquiry into the objections against the application of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance to Accra has already shown how the Ga Manche incurred unpopularity through his refusal to join those now his opponents in repudiating a pledge made at a mass meeting at Accra to assist any reorganisation of municipal administration that did not interfere with existing privileges of Chiefs, or with the requirements of customary procedure. Whatever views may be held as to the value of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance (and they are divergent), the attempted deposition of an important Chief by irregular means shows that local opinion is not united, and affords no logical argument against the proposed legislation.

Writs of Ca Sa.

The announcement some few months ago that Native tribunals could not issue writs of Ca Sa, and the passing of legislation indemnifying them against the consequences of past acts, has raised the question as to whether the Gold Coast has not advanced beyond this method of harrying debtors. In theory, a system which places a debtor in gaol when he might have been earning money to pay his debts, has nothing in its favour, but in practice it is still useful. The difficulty of discovering and assessing the property of many an African, and of separating it from that of his family, together with the fact that his manner of life affords no guide to his financial position, or to the cash that he may have buried in some secure spot, makes imprisonment, as many trader knows, a generally sure method of obtaining payment. Sometimes, possibly, the debtor obtains an advance from a usurer, but every process of recovery of debt possesses the same disadvantage. Until the standard of commercial integrity becomes more stable, and the existence of personal property more easily ascertainable, the writ of Ca Sa is too useful to be willingly relinquished.

Public Health Services.

It is a coincidence that, just as such a progressive measure appears as the formation of a Public Health Board for Kumasi, complaints regarding health services arise from the old bases of progress on the Coast. At Cape Coast, the African Hospital is the object of attack, its male wards, it is stated, being crowded to the utmost, so much so that there is an overflow into the female wards, where the accommodation is at any rate superior to the few beds and expanse of concrete floor that have to serve the men-folk. The accommodation for the better-" better-class " African seems to be by no means satisfactory, nor do the washing and sanitary arrangements. The opinion seems to be that the hospital is " marking time " until it has been seen what effect the Central Province Railway is going to have on the town's future. In Accra, general town sanitation is still the problem, especially away from the main thoroughfares. It is certainly an achievement in the annual health week to remove so many loads of rubbish from the town, but the real task is to influence the people not to accumulate that rubbish, and to that end the provision of better facilities for the collection and remova. of rubbish would do much to encourage cleanliness. Large general hospitals, and even infant welfare clinics, lose much of their valuable influence, if the level of public sanitation remains where it was, and in the first clash with European civilisation African sanitation tends to sink, rather than to rise, in efficiency.

The Accra Cooks' Association.

There has been an unexpected development from the association of Accra cooks, organised to fight the licensing system contained in the Servants' Ordinance. It will be remembered that their appeal to the Secretary of State failed, and, as many of them refused to work under the new Ordinance, some other mode of livelihood became necessary. They have, therefore, opened several "chop" houses in Accra, and have extended the innovation to Koforidua, showing considerable enterprise in the conduct of their business. This is a novelty in a country where the marketing of cooked food has been a prerogative of the weaker sex, or of children, but there should be much scope for its further extension, especially in these days of motor travel

African Leaders Sail For Home

Left to Right, Chief Nana Amoah III, of the Fantis, and Dr. and Mrs. J. E. K. Aggrey, Vice Principal of the Achimoba University College, Achimoba, Gold Coast, West Africa. The latter has an A. M. from Teachers College, Columbia University, and a Ph. D., from Columbia. He is a prince of the Fantis, and one of the greatest educators of his race on the Dark Continent. The trio were studying American business and educational methods here. Sailed on S. S. Cedric.—Keystone View Co.

AFRICAN PRINCE WORKS AS LABORER

(By Associated Negro Press.)

Sunderland, Eng., Oct. 20.—Robt. Taylor, an African prince and son of the late paramount chief or king of the Mendi tribe, is working as a laborer in the employe of the municipal authorities of this city.

Taylor would have been king had he remained in his native country. He served in the British and German armies, and eventually became a sailor. His one ambition is to become a missionary and return to the people whom he would have ruled.

Native Grievances.

The following addresses were handed to the Prime Minister at the native meeting held ing William's Town on Wednesday 2 September by Mr. A. M. Jabavu. Owing to the pressure of time they were not read.

WOMEN'S PASSES.

The resuscitation of the old Transvaal Ordinance of 1902, compelling women to carry passes after the hour of 10 p.m till 4 a.m. has undoubtedly caused considerable uneasiness among Natives throughout the Union. True enough in the Cape Province, we have had this municipal regulation enforced in our towns for many years, but this has been done in defiance of our strong protests against the imposition more particularly in the case of our women, who, as a class, are not criminals of any exceptional type; nor are they habitual prostitutes roaming in the streets of towns.

Native women in the Transvaal have for the last 20 years not been subjected to its enforcement, owing we are sure to the authorities finding it unnecessary to put the 1902 Ordinance into use. Lately however, the government found it expedient to enforce it, for reasons already known. We humbly beg to submit that the advantage gained by the adoption of the Night Passes Ordinance is not commensurate with the degree of inconvenience, contumely, and abuse to which our respected womenfolk are invariably subjected. If Night Passes for native men in the Transvaal have had no deterrent effect in housebreaking laitaism, and general disregard for law and order by night, can the government reasonably resort to the 1902 Ordinance as a panacea?

We suggest that municipalities be urged to take more interest in the social welfare of the Native population of the towns, and not look upon girl servants as nothing more than wards for European burgesses: but to endeavour to devise ways and means wherewith to concentrate the thoughts of our young women in clean games, sports, and indoor pastimes during their leisure hours. This in turn would beneficially react on the influences these women impart to the young European children, who are often left in their charge

Race Problem — 1925.
Africa.

I.

"THE TRADITIONS OF THE SOUTH"

In several large gatherings, inter-church or inter-racial in character, representative clergymen have used the expression with emphasis, "The Traditions of the South." Several times in quotations from speakers on the question of the Unification of American Methodism have we noted the same expression with the same type of emphasis. An American citizen living in the South, and in love with the South, not less than with the North, the East or the West becomes interested to know the peculiarity of this tradition of the South which must influence the thinking of men and women so as to mark them as "Southern" as distinct from other free born American citizens, whether residing in the South or some other part of the country.

Do these "traditions" refer to the old question of "state sovereignty" or "state rights" which was such an issue seventy years ago and which has long since been settled and become a dead issue except in memory of the few who survive the contest? Why should such a question be imposed on any people now seeking to settle new and urgent questions that should be met on their merit as affects the present generation and those to follow?

Do these "traditions" refer to the preservation of the purity of the Nordic element which originally, and yet to a large extent dominates the South? Immigration has not seriously affected the population of the Southern states, either in rural or urban life. The only social complexity having menacing proportions is that related to the white and negro population. If the "traditions" mean to emphasize an "eternal and inseparable difference" between these two races by strengthening the color line in its social and legal aspects, it would seem by the evident generous mixture of blood the traditions had not been well followed.

"The Traditions of the South" whatever may be the technical significance in the mind of any using the term must have its background in slavery. Under that system the black man was a chattel, and to give any excuse for its existence or offer any escape from its moral stigma to those who held slaves, there must be established a theory of inferiority which is so pronounced as to justify the superior race in holding in perpetual bondage those whose freedom would be a menace to society. Such a theory has obtained and can we do other than assume that some modification of this theory, adapted to the present social and industrial conditions, is involved in what is termed the "traditions of the South."

The "Traditions of the South" may appeal to the loyalty of Southern people to the standards of their fathers as related to certain attitudes and customs but as for Christian preachers or leaders there is another tradition that has come down to us; it is the "tradition of the Cross." Is it possible to interpret the "traditions of the South" in the light of the traditions of the Cross? If Jesus had delayed his coming until this generation and instead of being born in Palestine he should be born in America is it probable his mother would be an upholder of "the traditions of the South;" and is not Christ typified in the children of the most humble? Any tradition in any family or sect or community or section of any country that contravenes the spirit of world brotherhood, and stands in the way of any child of any race coming to its fullest development by every privileges offered every other child, so far as they may be possible, is of doubtful value. Let us rather hold the traditions of the Cross of Jesus and behave toward all as though we stood together beneath its shadow for by the Cross of Jesus alone is there hope for any. And let us hasten to give its traditions the first and only place.

THAT COLOUR BAR.

The news of the rejection of the Mines and Works Amendment Bill, constituting a colour bar against natives of this country in its second reading by the Senate came to us as the deliverance of the Israelites from bondage under the iron rule of Pharaoh. We had little hope that this would come about, in view of the stubborn attitude adopted by the Minister of Mines throughout the debates in the Lower and Upper Houses despite incessant grave warnings by the Opposition members of the danger that lurked if the bill became law. It is with deep gratitude to the magnanimous fight for liberty put up by Senators Col. E. W. Stanford, Malan, and the never-to-be-forgotten brilliant arguments adduced by Senator De Wet for natives of this country, particularly of the Cape Province, that this monstrous and wicked piece of legislation met its fate. We are all the more jubilant over the victory of justice against Prussianism when we take into account the fact that Sen. De Wet is a member of the northern province of Transvaal, the hotbed of all intrigues aiming at the annihilation of the blacks.

If the white population of Transvaal, (which seems to be the only public opinion that counts with the Pact government) can produce men of Sen. De Wet's calibre even at the rate of one per 10,000, we can still cherish a meagre hope that the runaway horse of white negrophobism will still be kept under control in the future. Once Sen. De Wet threw in his lot with the Cape Senators in defending the rights of Cape natives, the strength of Mr. Beyers' offensive immediately diminished and sank. His flimsy arguments that white civilisation had to be ensured for the future; that he was merely consolidating laws that existed years ago in the Transvaal; that it was what the previous government did without a written law in the statute book; that it was part of the government's native segregation policy, rightly did not carry weight with the majority of the senators; who did not see why such ignoble tactics as stripping natives of their sacred rights and branding them as outcasts, should be resorted to, in obtaining his (Mr. Beyers') objects to save the white race.

The Minister of Mines and Industries, we are sure, will thank his opponents in the near future for debarring him from making this collosal political blunder, and natives hope that he will soon realise that he allowed race prejudice to carry him away, utterly blinding him in his sense of justice to the overwhelming bulk of the workers in the industries over which he is Minister in the Cabinet.

The defenders of equity and justice in the Colour Bar Bill will never live to regret their action; and European posterity will exalt their intrepid defence against a re-introduction of slavery in South Africa by means of well-thought-out chicanery under the cloak of saving white civilisation. The Prime Minister cannot absolve himself from blame in this respect, as Mr. Beyers' hands were strengthened by his helplessness in suppressing narrow-mindedness among his colleagues. Goodness knows what the position would be if an infamous law of this nature was sprung upon the natives at the begining of the year 1914—the year of the Great World War—which aimed at smashing Prussianism. Would the white man have the courage to preach to natives allegiance to the King and his government we wonder? Would the black man be justified in giving his life for the cause of Britain and the Commonwealth? If that was not possible in those days, why is it a trifle, and a game of cards to barter away the rights of native subjects of the King to-day, after they gave up their sons to die for the white cause? Were these native subjects not building and strengthening the foundations of white civilisation in South Africa by so doing? If they were not, they should have been told then that they must start their own civilisation, and be given the option of a choice between the British regime and any other they fancied. It is too late in the day to start the parrot cry of letting natives develop on their own lines, as there are no other lines left but civilised lines introduced by the white man who detribalised them.

Such drastic legislation can have no other effect than to drive our people to desperation. If that is enforced upon them, we are afraid the channels of evolution they now persue, namely education on the rights lines, religion, and industrial development will be found of no value, and all their energies will be accidentally turned into devising evil methods of saving themselves from sudden extinction. These evil methods would naturally be those adopted by their European "civilised" brethren known as Klu Klux Kla-

nism, Bolshevism and the like, and not the old assegai and kerrie as some would expect. It is just as well to give a picture of the state of affairs General Hertzog and his Cabinet can possibly create within this very generation. Where then would white civilisation be, if the 6,000,000 Africans in this Union organised into these diabolical factions.

Again, European nations have a natural tendency to rule by might, and are at the present time spending huge sums of money in armaments with an eye on each other. All the international treaties and covenants for the preservance of world peace crumble to the ground once a strong power or combination of powers covets supremacy of the seas and colonial expansion. Then we hear of war and its disastrous inroads on the European youth and manhood. The black races, for many years to come are not likely ever to think of declaring war against European nations or even among themselves. Census figures are bound to reflect comparatively an appreciable increase of the native population as against European races. This is no fault of theirs and they do not expect to be made to suffer for it either. Europeans must be the pace makers and keep ahead in the civilisation they brought to the black man. They (the Europeans) have ample opportunities without robbing the black man of his. They must learn to put into practice the teachings of our Lord Jesus, and love their white neighbours, and not shoot them down for want of power and world dominance, forgetting in so doing that they themselves are destroying white civilisation.

We expect justice and fair treatment from our white rulers, so that when any world crisis or internal rising requires national help from the black Africans, we can feel and feel it strongly our duty to undertake the noble task of helping our South African white neighbours for the beneficent rule under which we lived in the past.

Cape Native Teachers' Association.

Presidential address given on 24th June, 1925, at Port Elizabeth by D. D. T. Jabavu. B.A., (Lond.).

[*Continued.*]

A single well educated, mentally balanced and aggressive leader may do much for his race,—but cannot be regarded as a representative symbol and epitome of an otherwise culturally backward people; for he will be easily seen to be a mere social accident and mental monstrosity. There must be a considerable number of such men in any race before that race can be legitimately recognised as advanced. The newest leading civilised country in the world is Japan, and it attained its position by educating a considerable number of its prospective leaders in European Universities at State expense in all branches of science and art. They attained their greatness in 1904 by defeating Russia in military science.

War, however, is not the only road toward racial greatness. India is gradually winning international recognition without bloodshed but by the peaceful development of racial solidarity and submission to its leaders who have been educated in large numbers at European Universities. India has yet a good way to travel towards her objective (see Lothrop Stoddart "Rising Tide of Colour," 17/6) as she must first compose her international differences of caste and religion, but she has already gained her local parliament with native Indians as members, and she is now working for the Swaraj, absolute self-government), and is accomplishing this without bloodshed, by following her trusted leaders, Das and Gandhi. Mr. Mahatma Gandhi has a scheme for the upliftment of his people which may interest you. It is called the Kahaddar Programme. He puts this forward as a constructive programme by which he required the Government "to make all cloth purchases in handspun, handwoven Khaddar, to impose a prohibitive duty on all foreign cloth, to reduce military expenditure, and to abolish the drink and drug revenues." Now Khaddar is a kind of cloth made by Indians in their homes just as we make our rugs and blankets out of sheep's wool at St. Cuthbert's, Tsolo. Who could possibly expect that we could obtain self-government by making our own cloth or cultivating mealies? What connection is there between wool and self-government or between mealies and heaven? Well, there is. Just listen to Gandi. He says: "I am interested in the attainment of Swaraj (Indian self-government) only by non-violent and truthful means. This is possible only through a diligent and successful prosecution of the Khaddar programme. Swaraj can be peacefully attained only if the whole Indian masses work as with one will, be it on ever so little constructive and useful a thing for ever so long a time. Such an effort presupposes national consciousness. This is possible only through the spinning wheel. It is not remunerative enough for individuals, it is therefore not enough incentive for any individual selfishly inclined. It is, however enough, appreciably to raise the prosperity at a bound. An increase of one rupee which is 2/- per head per year may mean nothing to the individual. But 5,000 rupees (£500) in a village containing a population of 5,000 would mean the payment of land revenue or other dues. Thus the spinning wheel means national consciousness and a contribution by every individual to a definite constructive national work. If India can demonstrate hard capacity or such achievement by voluntary effort she is ready for political Swaraj. Any lawful demand of a nation with a will of its own must prove irresistible." Later on Mr. Gandhi says he admires the English for their cohesion and their powers of vast organisation.

Have we nothing to learn from this simple philosophy? May this not be the missing link needed to join us to the highest position as a race? Are the masses of our illiterate backveld people engaged in any constructive work such as producing enough mealies to feed themselves and to benefit the export trade? Are the labourers organised for united action on a basis of self sacrifice reposing full confidence in their leaders? If we Teachers, Ministers, and other enlightened people do not think and read, we are not doing our duty by our country. Success on our part in these simple enterprises will produce a beneficial repercussion that spreads like tiny waves on a wide pond. Nor need we despise the successful endeavour of the individuals. Dr. Roberts at the first Fort Hare Graduates ceremony uttered these wise words: "the success of our two Graduates raises the whole race by a perceptible amount—The Bantu are wiser as a whole because these men are wise. They share in their attainments; they are dignified by their success." In the book "The Children of the Slaves" one Negro says "I am serving my race by being successful in my business." The missing link in our progress is success and definite achievements. That is the key note of our great negro leader Booker T. Washington, who held that "one definite fact of achievement is worth more than all the written and spoken academic arguments about the quality of black and white people. Prof. Lothrop Stoddart [in his Rising Tide of Coloured p. 149] says:—"The continued existence of dense coloured populations in the tropics was ascribed to climate; and even in the tropics it was assumed that whites would universally form a governing caste, directing by virtue of higher intelligence and more resolute will and exploiting natural resources to the incalculable profit of the whole white race." Why must we be doomed to be the governed races for ever? The answer is: Because we have yet to develop the will and purpose to achieve. Without the requisite will and purpose we shall never be recognised as worthy to govern. Fortunately our brothers the American Negroes have already shown an excellent lead in their capacity for unity and submission to their recognised leaders Prof. du Bois, Dr. Moton and others. Their wonderful strides in economic enterprise were graphically described lately in an article called "The World's Greatest Negro City" in the "Daily Dispatch" of 9/6/25. "The Growth of Harlem."

"Since the War all that part of New York known as Harlem, between 125th and 145th Streets has been the greatest Negro City in the World. This section is not a slum, but is one of the most beautiful and healthful sections of the City. The population has changed from Dutch to Irish to Jewish, and now to Negro. It is a section of fine dwellings and well paved streets. There are in it fine churches, theatres, civic centres, etc. Here now are to be found from 25 to 30 solid blocks of Negroes.

With the big stream of money flowing to them—for the first time in history—instead of squandering it, as preconceived notions would make them do, they "salted it down." When the struggle over the position of Harlem came, this saved money came to the surface. An enthusiasm for for getting property filled them. One preacher often took for his text "Buy property!" His congregation applied the text by buying a splendid brown stone church from a fleeing white congregation. Negroes from the West Indies would occasionally purchase a fine piece of property in Harlem.

Harlem is now typically negro; the negro is in management in the churches, the schools, the theatres, the street scenes, band concerts, processions, all is negro. Harlem has become the Negro centre for art, music, education, politics. It is already looked upon as the centre of Negro dramatists and music. Visitors from all parts of the world may be found there."

During the Kenya Colony controversy of two years ago "The Daily Telegraph" of London gave expression to some wise words, wise in spite of their ring of bombastic imperialism, when it said that the Indians had no claim to equality with Europeans in Kenya because that Colony had been built by British brains, British Capital, British enterprise and British capacity for organisa-

Race Problem - 1925.

II.

Agela.

tion, all to which the Indians had contributed nothing. Of course this is only a half truth and an ex parte argument which can be disputed by the other side. The point of the lesson for us is: What have we to show in the way of capacity for mutual respect for organisation? Have we the will and purpose? May God grant that we develop the fundamental determination and purpose to attain to our rightful ambition and legitimate purpose."

"He who lives without a definite purpose achieves no higher end than to serve as a warning to others."—F. Fany Kemble. "What men want is not talent; it is purpose; not the power to achieve but the will to labour."—Bulwer Lytton. "We never know for what God is preparing us in his schools, for what work on earth, for what work in the hereafter, our business is to do our work well in the present place, whatever that may be."—Lyman Abbit.

Gold Reef Found In South Africa

LONDON, (A.P.).—Possibility of a new immense yield of gold in the Transvaal region of South Africa seems foreshadowed in a report received here saying that the "long lost main reef" on the Randfontein estate has just been discovered by an English company.

The Randfontein main reef ends abruptly at what is known as the Witportje fault, due to some primeval break in the strata. Numerous costly attempts have been made from time to time to find the continuation of the reef, but without success.

negro World 10-24-25

new york Neg.

AFRICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE SECURITY PACT AND DOMINION OBLIGATIONS.

MR. SMIT'S VIEWS ON THE MANDATE SYSTEM.

"African World" Special Representative.

GENEVA, September 30.

On Saturday Senator Dandurand, of Canada, the President, closed the Sixth Assembly after a session lasting only three weeks, as compared with the crowded and exciting five weeks last year. Though it is difficulty to judge a conference immediately after its close, let us endeavour to gauge Assembly's importance and estimate the importance and effect of this session.

The note of the Assembly was given in the first week by the speech of Mr. Austen Chamberlain. It may be remembered that at Rome in March the British Foreign Secretary criticised and rejected the Protocol which the League produced last September. Here he confirmed his rejection. Basing his case on M. Painleve's acute observation that the Anglo Saxon mind works from the particular to the general and not as the Latin mind from the general to the particular—he dismissed a world-embracing scheme as impossible, and substituted instead the system of pacts among nations. Britain's rejection of the Protocol was sufficient to stop its further progress, and the Assembly found itself forced to create another objective. We may now ask, is the Protocol dead, as English newspapers said, or lives it in another form, as opinion here averred? An examination of the three words in the classic Protocol formula—arbitration, security, and disarmament—will soon show.

First, arbitration. On Friday the Assembly passed a resolution urging all States to conclude pacts in place of the general Protocol. These pacts are essentially arbitration pacts, i.e., they attempt to secure in another form what was provided in the Protocol. They are treaties among States to submit all their disputes to arbitration and to accept the arbitral award. The possibility of war is excluded, unless it be against a State refusing the award and so breaking the pact. War, moreover, is declared to be an international crime.

Secondly, security. The present pact under discussion by England, France and Germany is, of course, motived by the need for security. Security is its reason and its goal. If France is attacked by Germany, England must at once go to her assistance. Here, for France, security lies in England's promised help. But it is important to notice that in these proposed pacts force is used in support of, not instead of, the arbitral award. It is the state refusing arbitration which is the aggressor, and against her the forces of the other signatories will be launched. Force is not the final decider, force merely applies the judicial award. It is might in support of right.

Finally, disarmament. Here one may be permitted a little disappointment, a little doubt. Under the Protocol the Disarmament Conference was to have met last May; now it is relegated to that time when a sufficient number of pacts are signed to give that security which is the essential condition of disarmament. We must wait until each State is protected against every possible aggressor by pacts. Even then a thorough disarmament is impossible in Europe while Russia is armed and outside the League. Meanwhile the League Council is authorised to prepare for a Disarmament Conference when it considers the moment opportune.

This examination will show that though the Protocol as such is dead, its essentials are conserved in the new method of expression. We may say that arbitration, security and disarmament are one and all less completely and much more slowly achieved than under the Protocol which provided all three at once. But time alone can prove whether slowness means sureness here. Meanwhile. we can at least say that the League has maintained its hold on the great question of peace.

The problem may arise in one's mind here, what is the position of, e.g., South Africa, under the Pact system, as compared with it under the Protocol. In an interview with Mr. Chamberlain, he told us that under the Pact, while England could not pledge her Dominions at all, yet as soon as the King declared war under the Pact. all the Dominions would be automatically at war. Their participation and the extent of such participation, would, of course, depend entirely upon each Dominion. Under the Protocol South Africa might be called upon to provide assistance in any dispute involving force to support the arbitral award. Practically, the position of the British Dominions remains the same—they furnish help only if they so desire.

Another outstanding event has been the French proposal to call a League conference on Economics. This is an attempt to introduce into the realm of industry and trade that same international method of conciliation which has been responsible for the League's successes during the past six years. It is pointed out that of the 700 million tons of coal extracted in Europe to-day, only 15 million tons are the cause of the trouble—trade depression, high food prices, unemployment. National competition will only aggravate this. Why not call a conference to harmonise production and need and generally stabilise trade and prevent waste? So argues France. England was adverse to the proposal as being premature and dangerous when such burning problems as emigration and debts were difficult to exclude. She withdrew her opposition however, and the Council will proceed with the preparations for this Economic Conference in December, when it meets again. It may well have far-reaching results.

Mandates is a problem which has figured largely during the Assembly, and Mr. Smit, the High Commissioner for South Africa, and the representative of Portugal were asked to come before the Council to speak on behalf of their Governments. With regard to the extension of trade facilities, treaties and conventions to South West Africa, Mr. Smit said this was a delicate question, and his Government could not grant such extension in every case. Viscount Cecil supported Mr. Smit, and finally, while asking the Mandatory powers to extend all trade treaties and conventions to the mandated countries wherever possible, the Council agreed that no Mandatory power need be answerable to the Council if such extension was considered undesirable. A discussion then arose between Mr. Smit and M. Vasconcelles, of Portugal, as to the frontier between South West Africa and Angola. M. Vasconcelles pressed for an early decision by the Council on the boundary question, but Mr. Smit insisted that this was a question between South Africa and Portugal, and was inseparable from other problems. He deprecated the Council urging his Government to come to an arrangement. Viscount Cecil insisted that the British Government had nothing to do with this question, and finally it was left to South Africa and Portugal to settle independently, though the Council's desire for an early settlement was made known.

The Sixth Commission dealing with Mandates presented its report to the Assembly on Tuesday, September 22. Dr. Nansen, in speaking of the mandates report, showed that great thoroughness was being exercised and that the Mandates Commission now found it necessary to hold two meetings a year. Notable progress had been achieved, said Dr. Nansen, and he compared the Bondelswarts rebellion with the recent Rohoboth disturbance, which had been settled without bloodshed, and as soon as it was over the South African Government had despatched a special Commission to investigate the problem giving rise to the trouble. The Council had finally adopted a definite resolution in regard to the vexed question of loans, advances, and investments; the evils of the liquor traffic were being more completely combated; but there was room for anxiety about health conditions and the rate of mortality in certain enterprises—such as the mines—in mandated territories in Africa. Still, said Dr Nansen, the work had shown great progress, and the mandates system was growing yearly in strength.

The other work of the League goes on, and special attention was paid to the work of the Health Committee, which is to establish an Epidermiological Information Bureau on the West Coast of Africa, and which held a Conference on Sleeping Sickness and Tuberculosis in Equatorial Africa last May in London.

RACE PROBLEMS AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

Viscount Willingdon, formerly a Governor of Bombay, made an important speech on race problems at a crowded meeting of the Church Congress, on Wednesday, at Eastbourne. He said that it was imperative this problem must be solved by peaceful methods, and not by the clash of races, which would be the most ghastly tragedy the world had ever known. To his mind the only practical solution of the problem was to treat the coloured man in a spirit of absolute equality with the white man, and not as an inferior. The white races must realise the necessity for treating the coloured man in a spirit of absolute equality, and giving up their attitude of superiority. We must realise that it was not colour which made the man. The white man should accustom himself to meet on terms of absolute equality those whom he has previously regarded—to put the proposition quite frankly—as his inferiors. Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the United Missionary Council, endorsed this view.

Darkest Africa Through German Eyes

ERLEBTE ERDTEILE: I Band: Ausfahrt. II Band: Erschlossene Räume. III Band: Vom Schreibtisch zum Aequator. (Continents Where I Have Lived. Volume I: The Departure. Volume II: Penetrating a Country. Volume III: From the Writing Desk to the Equator.) By Leo Frobenius. Frankfurt am-Main: Frankfurter Societäts Druckerei.

DER KOPF ALS SCHICKSAL. (Mind as Destiny.) By Leo Frobenius. Munich: Kurt Wolf.

BERLIN.

LEO FROBENIUS, the explorer, whose merits is equaled by the opposition he has experienced, is now publishing some of the imposing array of his writings, which he plans to collect in ten volumes. Three of these have already appeared in small books printed on thin paper, and easy to handle—a very pleasant innovation. Heretofore scholars have made it a point of honor to publish their works in volumes of such tremendous bulk that under some circumstances it was absolutely impossible to read them at all. But Frobenius is not the man to adhere to the traditional. Even in his scientific work he has placed himself in direct opposition to accepted ethnological methods. He does not want to be a mere ethnologist or geologist, geographer or botanist, although he has done extensive work in all these sciences. But he wages war against specialization, which limits the researcher's view to a single field and robs him of the power to survey large periods of development and broad relationships. At the bottom of this tendency toward specialization with always a definite aim he sees the materialism that is constantly gaining in power among the civilized nations.

In the first volumes of "Continents Where I Have Lived" Leo Frobenius gives us a sort of biography of his intellectual development as an investigator of the primitive cultures of Oceania and Africa. With great candor he admits the mistakes and false conclusions of his youth. But fundamentally his ideas remain the same in his maturity as in his younger days.

Years of travel in Africa and association with innumerable negroes of various races confirmed his intuitive convictions. Thoroughgoing comparisons of their utensils, their myths and legends, their morals and customs, provided him with the means for the development of his preconceived ideas.

***

LEO FROBENIUS is the founder of the concept of "cultural circles." To him civilization is not something created by man alone, but it is itself an organism—like the world, which consists of organic and inorganic elements: stones, plants, stars, and so on. * * * (If I, as an outsider, have occasionally failed to understand him, I trust he will forgive me.) Cultures exist in space as well as in time—the concept borders on the metaphysical. Naturally the various civilizations are not to be divorced from man. He grows with them, and they with him. Unlike the specialists, Frobenius is always seeking to trace the unity within the manifoldness of cosmic and mundane things. When he says that his concept of "cultural circles" borders on the metaphysical, he does not at all mean that it is not of this earth. On the contrary, civilization has its origin in the most simple and natural needs that grow out from the country inhabited by the various peoples, and which, again, influence their character.

***

AGAIN and again Frobenius emphasizes that the tremendous expanse of Africa is not the home of the "black" only. There is a fundamental difference between the Atlantic, the Hamitic and the Ethiopian civilizations and races, just as there is scarcely any similarity between the cultures of the Congo Valley and the Sudan.

The ethnic migrations that have been and still are in progress in Africa proceed from east to west—in conformity with eternal laws, as it seems. Naturally they give rise to endless displacements and intermingling of the various cultures. And how many now leave only the nerest traces for investigation, how many are in their decline! They are being ground to uniformity by the great mill of mechanization and civilization.

In a highly interesting essay of the third volume Frobenius makes a spirited attack on the general concept of fetichism by which Europe has lowered the standing of the Africans and his cruelly wronged their religious life. He tells of the divine service of a little negro people in out-of-the-way valleys of the Sudan mountains; dedicated to the earth, the mother, it resembles the Dionysus cult, but has no similar offshoots. And he relates amazing tales of the completely and clearly organized system of gods in the Yoruba country, the region west of the Niger delta.

***

ANOTHER proof of the great love and devotion with which the explorer applied himself to the investigation of the psychic life of the dark and despised children of Africa is his collection of African myths and folk poetry, published in eleven volumes, under the title of "Atlantis," by E. Diederichs, Jena. Its tremendous size notwithstanding, this collection forms only part of the magnificent publication of legends of all peoples which has brought considerable profit to this concern.

I want to speak of another book by Frobenius, with the not very felicitous title, "Mind as Destiny." It has been written for those who do not wish to go very deep into the science and study of primitive peoples. Here the poet Frobenius is speaking, sketching the lives of men and women whom he has met on his cross-country travels through Africa. They make the impression of heroic, moving legends of distant prehistoric ages. Powerful passions, wild and daring calls of blood, a demoniacal poetry arise from the pages of this book.

In America the negro constitutes a grave problem. And I therefore believe that a deeper study of the origins of this strange dark people would be interesting and valuable for Americans. GABRIELE REUTER.

NORTHERN NIGERIAN POLICE IN 1924.

At the end of 1924 the Northern Nigerian Police had a strength of 23 officers and 1,195 rank and file, besides 40 supernumeraries engaged for duty with the Eastern Railway Construction. Capt. Uniacke reports that 50 per cent. of the force is composed of men with over eight years' service, and that the supply of recruits continues to exceed the demand, thus allowing ample powers of selection, but it seems impossible to attract youths who have been educated, so that knowledge of English throughout the force remains low. Except at Lokoja, police quarters are generally in poor repair, and considering this and the fact that the police are out in all conditions of weather, the daily average of sick, 1.14 per cent. of the force, remains low. Three small patrols occurred during the year, and successfully accomplished their tasks, while minor duties in respect of arms control, motor and other licences, fires, and the like, were carried out smoothly. The cost of the department during the year was £64,900, or £1,100 less than last year, but this was partly due to accounts for ammunition not being received before the books were closed. Offences against the person and property show slight decreases during the year, but there were 11 cases of forgery and coining and uttering against five last year, while "miscellaneous offences" showed an increase that more than balanced the decreases shown under other heads.

Notes.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(1) The *Negro Year Book*. This is an annual encyclopedia of the Negro [1925—1926] edited by Prof. Monroe Work at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, U.S.A. [price 5/-.] It is a wonderful record of all possible available information and statistics of everything about black people in the world. Most interesting to our readers will be the sections that summarise the colour question in South Africa. All our compatriots who claim to be intelligent students of the Black versus White Study all over the world will be well advised to secure a copy of this book direct from the author. (2) *Winning a Continent* is the new title for the romantic annual report of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Church of South Africa for 1925. It bears all over the imprint of enthusiasm and thoroughness of the missionary Secretary, the Rev. Allen Lea, who has made it a live book of 250 pages. [3] *Nzondelelo* is a book of a hundred pages edited by the Rev. Abner Mtimkulu relating the story of a purely Zulu missionary movement, Natal Native Home Mission under the auspices of Wesleyan Methodists managed for fifty years with conspicuous success by the Zulu. It is excellently done and is a welcome addition to Zulu literature.

(4) *Achievement* is a book that will be of real value to all those who have lost a leg. It shows the latest inventions of light metal limbs. This book is supplied free of charge to all those who have lost a leg, by Captain H. Baird, Bridge, near Canterbury, England.

Race Problem - 1925.

Africa.

Europeans and Bantu.

The true solution for the problem of racial friendship adjustments has been discovered in the United States. Annually they assist in joint social service councils where the best minds of both races meet with the common object of reconciling the divergent views of their respective races. This system was vividly presented to the public of South Africa by Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey four years ago in Johannesburg, where it resulted in the institution of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. There is no doubt but that this particular body has been of immense service to the whole Native question, examining all contentious questions with intelligent impartiality, summarising the position with scientific capacity and generally shedding useful light on various subjects. Their last annual report which we have in hand covers in its forty-five pages the main principles of the Native question under the heads of Native Administration (Urban Areas Act, Passes Tram and Train facilities, Justice, Land, Bloemfontein Riots, New Legislative Measures [Colour Bar Bill, Wages Bill, Masters and Servants, Taxation] and Social Activities. The committee reports under each head are full of information such as ought to be in the possession of every intelligent thinker in this country.

Our great need in this country is the establishment of joint councils of this nature in every town. A beginning we have in Durban, Maritzburg, Johannesburg, and Cape Town but nothing has yet been done in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, East London, Queenstown, Bloemfontein, Kroonstadt, and elsewhere. There is a Native Welfare Society at East London and a combined Child Welfare Association in Port Elizabeth and these represent steps in the right direction, but they cannot be adequate substitutes for a Joint Council.

Should this article appeal to any reader desirous to start a similar movement in any town we would advise such a party to communicate with Mr. J. D. R. Jones, Box 4767, Johannesburg, Hon. Secretary of the Joint Council who would be ready to supply a copy of the constitution and other relevant information. We hope our leading European friends will interest themselves in this movement and further its ends in their respective localities.

Nigeria.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, seeing that 453 Natives of Nigeria had been tried and executed during the years 1920-24 without, in any single instance, being allowed to employ counsel in defence in the Courts, he will consult the Government of Nigeria as to the advisability of restoring to the people of that Colony the right to employ such legal assistance in defence when charged with a capital offence?

Mr. Amery: I would refer the hon. and gallant member to the replies returned by the late Secretary of State for the Colonies on March 31 and April 14, 1924, on this subject. The whole question was fully considered in 1924, in consultation with the Nigerian Government, and it was decided by the right hon. gentleman the member for Derby (Mr. J. H. Thomas) that the rule that counsel should not be allowed to appear in the Provincial Courts of the Protectorate should be maintained. I see no reason to reopen the question.

Trial by Ordeal.

The appointment of newspaper correspondents in Gold Coast "bush" areas must sometimes be a little embarrassing for local tribunals. For instance, a recent "Gold Coast Times" contains an account of a trial by ordeal so matter-of-fact and free from any idea of illegality as to be convincing. In Eastern Appolloma, it appears, a small band of "resurrectionists" has appeared, whose aim is not the theft of bodies, but the pillaging of the trinkets buried with them. One man has been caught, and was tried in public by the administration of sassywood poison, the verdict, since he could not vomit, being against him. It was stated that a second man was caught, and was to be "tried" in the same way, but if Political Officers pay any attention to the local press it seems probable that more prosaic measures will be taken, through "the usual channels."

Coloured British Subjects.

Captain Arthur Evans asked the Home Secretary if his attention has been drawn to the unanimous resolution which was recently passed by the Cardiff Coloured Association to the effect that the registration of coloured British subjects in Great Britain as aliens is undesirable and unjust, and that steps should be taken to remove the existing law; and if he will consider introducing a Bill to alter the present state of affairs or whether any other means can be found to overcome the present practice of making it necessary for British coloured subjects to register as if they were aliens?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: I have not seen any such resolution, but I presume that it refers to the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order which I made in March last under the Aliens Order, 1920. This special order requires coloured alien seamen to register with the police, but it has no application to persons who are able to produce satisfactory proof that they are British subjects.

Captain Evans: Are we to understand from that reply that British coloured subjects, coming, say, from Arabia, are not required to register?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Certainly not. No British subject is required to register.

THE FIRESTONE RUBBER SCHEME.

The "Financial Times" of December 22 refers to a cable message published by the Agency Economique et Financiere, and dated New York, reading:—

"We gather from well-informed quarters that the scheme for the planting of rubber in Liberia has been dropped. The interested parties, after considering the problem, have come to the conclusion that the question of labour would render impossible an intensive exploitation. Under these circumstances, negotiations will be entered into with the Netherlands with a view to obtain for American interests some important concessions in Sumatra."

The "Financial Times" adds that on inquiry at the offices of the Firestone Plantation Company a representative was informed by the London manager that there was no foundation whatever for the statement that the scheme had been dropped. On the contrary, the company was cultivating rubber in Liberia at the present time, and was continually sending out additional men. A further party of 10 were, in point of fact, leaving for Liberia during the first week in January. The company, the London manager emphasised, was going ahead with the scheme and was building the harbour at Monrovia. Further, a message from Mr. Firestone was read announcing that the Liberian enterprise was the only definite scheme the company had in hand.

According to the "Rubber Age," by January 1 240 men sent from Akron, Ohio—the home of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company—will be in Africa working on the project. According to the same journal, the planting of the first 50,000 acres will be completed within the next six months.

N.R.C. and Native Labour.

In contradiction to the evidence given before the Economic and Wage Commission at East London on the 19th ult. by Major C. T. Rayner, Messrs. E. C. Thompson and H. C. Wallbeloved on behalf of the Native Recruiting Corporation, a letter appears in the "Daily Dispatch" of the 2nd inst. written above the signature of B. D. van Niekerk. Mr. van Niekerk, himself a native labour recruiter of wide experience, makes some interesting and noteworthy observations rebutting the evidence given by the N.R.C. representatives. Mr. van Niekerk wrote in the following terms to the 'Daily Dispatch':—

"I have your report of the 20th inst. of evidence given before the above commission, and would be pleased if you would allow me space to comment upon it in the hope of its coming before the commission. The Native Recruiting Corporation was evidently advised of the date of the sitting, but recruiters were ignored, consequently their evidence was not available there as it should have been, to enable the members to compare the two, viz., that of the N.R.C. very strongly financially interested, and that of the recruiters and recruits (employees).

Re the statement, "native labour available would be reduced by an increase in pay, as is proved by the fact that he can increase his income by working less intermittently." Is it recognised that the cost to a Native of going to the mines each time is £4 approximately (equivalent to a beast and that this expenditure must come from his last earnings or be borrowed from the trader? It is a well-known fact that natives at the mines cannot, under present conditions and rate of pay, augment those earnings without difficulty, as stated in your report. For this reason very few boys, proportionately, can obtain the required amount of hammer work. A great proportion of this work is accomplished by machinery. The only work left then to the boy is lashing and tramming, which is paid for at a monthly rate of about 45s, and which cannot be augmented, no matter how good and willing the boy may be. Lashing is undoubtedly the most ardous work a boy is called upon to perform there, and it carries the least rate of pay. Consequently the natives' earning powers are restricted. And then he is expected to return at shorter intervals, each trip necessitating an outlay of £4 for rail fares, etc. If they were reasonably certain of securing hammer work instead of constant lashing and tramming, there would be a strong inducement for their more frequent return.

It is a fallacy to state that they return to their kraals and there remain in idleness because they have plenty to eat and drink, as it is known by all Transkei people and by a lot outside that there has been a dearth of both for about seven years. The railway return of mealies brought from the Free State would bear this out. All recruiters are aware that on a few mines where a slightly higher rate is paid for lashing and tramming, boys are not difficult to obtain, as is evidenced by applicants for these popular mines being refused on the grounds that they have their complement

Re shortage of labour: The nine months' contract is certainly good, but it was introduced too hurriedly. Instead of the innovation synchronising with the restriction of Portuguese labour, it should have been in operation some time before the restriction Then the Government would have been better able to judge the results. But it appears to have been most carefully thought out by those who prefer Portuguese labour, and the present result foreseen. They have several reasons for their preference (not the least being the spending powers of those natives on the Rand)

At the time the nine months' contract was introduced by the N.R.C a recruiter in Eastern Pondoland (Mr. McKenzie) could still recruit for six months (he was the only one) The result was that he forwarded great numbers of boys, whilst we poor nine months' men were scratching around and forwarding very few. Under the old six months' contract I was able to forward from 600 to 800 yearly. Now I am fortunate if I get 300 The output would undoubtedly show a vast increase under a reversion to the six months' contract, notwithstanding Mr. Thompson's statement that "the limit of the native supply has been reached.

Adverting to his further statements: "The educated native did not seek mine work"; and "the 1921 census showed there were 95,000 employable men and out of that number 85,000 were working at the mines." Are we then to infer that the other 10,000 were educated and Christianised loafers? To my knowledge, fully half of them go to the mines It must also be remembered that this census was taken four years ago, and that a great number of men must have attained the employable stage since then, and are constantly doing so. The native race, as statistics show, is not by any means decadent.

"The Transkeian native never spent more than about 10s. a month at the mine stores" I wonder if this accounts for the preference for Portuguese natives.

"The Transkei native was not a saving person, and any spare cash he has goes in buying stock." John Jones is not a saving person Any spare cash he has goes in buying Union Loan Certificates. Surely Mr Thompson must know that livestock is the bank of the natives.

"After he had saved £25 on a nine months' contract he spent it on cattle and then procured a wife; then went back for another spell on the mines, and so on, until he was no longer fit for work. He rarely went away for more than six contracts in 25 years" This means that he works nine months and then takes over three years to procure his cattle and wife before returning to the mines; then takes this period for the same purpose on each return, or one contract for each four years and two months The recruiter is in a better position than most people to know that this is incorrect, as the recruit is, more or less, on his books all the time. I estimate that he stays at home for about four months. Some of them who, perhaps, have been fortunate enough to secure hammer work last time for a shorter period

By the bye, one wonders how Mr Thompson gained his information concerning the policy of he Government, which, he says, he believes to encourage natives to remain permanently on the land, and that eventually the Native Territory will be a great mealie exporting country. He was certainly "fey" on this occasion. One gentleman said: "Many natives engaged in hand drilling are satisfied to drill one hole and then leave off working" This is surely an isolated instance, as I stated above. It is very difficult to secure a sufficiency of this class of work, where they can augment their earnings They are mostly put on lashing and tramming work. It must have been the work of a native who loafs around the mines and does not return to his home"

It may be further stated that at the sittings of the Economic and Wage Commission at Capetown supplementary evidence was given by the senior officials of the I.C.U., rebutting the evidence given by the representatives of the N.R.C. at East London This read:

"The Native Recruiting Corporation Limited told the Commission at the East London sitting, that the I.C.U. was not recognised by the Mining Industry or by the Natives as representing the views of the Native mine workers. It is indeed a pity that a strong body like the Native Recruiting Corporation Limited should have made this statement, for it is now clear to non-European workers that private employers are bent to force the workers to the necessity of securing unquestionable official recognition It would have been advisable for the representatives of the Native Recruiting Corporation to speak on behalf of the mining industry alone. The I.C.U. is undoubtedly recognised by the Natives as represening the views of the Native mine workers and all other non-European labour throughout the Union. The ready response to our propaganda along the Reef and throughout the big industrial centres and in addition, the wide spread of our propaganda to the Native territories, where as a result of recent visits made by three of our leading officials. Native chiefs have accepted the aims and the objects of the Organisation, is sufficient evidence that the I.C.U. enjoys the confidence of every non-European worker in South Africa."

The position taken up by the representatives of the N.R.C., who profess to be the friends of the Natives, is grossly inconsistent; in that they suggest the remedy of robbing any Native of his land when he got into debt and taxing him excessively in the locations to get him to take refuge in enlisting for the mines. How they can maintain that the I.C.U. does not represent the views of the Native mine worker when its work is clearly the protection of the mine worker from such inhuman methods of recruiting as they adopt is beyond conjecture It is a sad reflection on the mine worker's intelligence. We look to the government Native Affairs Department for protection from these vicious attacks by recruiters, who are aiming at making use of the Native Affairs Department officials to tax Natives off the land and violate land treaties in order to obtain their aims. A case in point has been brought to notice in a recent issue of our paper, pointing out the probable existence of a secret alliance. An official announcement would do a great deal to clear the air.

NATIVE VOTERS' CONVENTION.

THE CAPE FRANCISE.

The eagerly awaited convention of the Native voters of the Cape Province assembled in King William's last week when about a hundred accredited delegates and other interested voters attended. The chairman was the Rev. E Mdolomba, and the dele-

gates hailed from every corner of the Province — Umtata, Graaff-Reinet, Burghersdorp, Kimberley, Port Alfred, De Aar, Port Elizabeth, Wodehouse, King William's Town and district, Colesberg, Fort Beaufort, Cathcart, Stutterheim, Cradock, Alice, East London and Queenstown The subjects of discussion included segregation, the Colour Bar Bill and Government by proclamation Upon the Cape Native franchise the following resolution was passed:—

"In view of the fact that the Cape Native franchise was granted to the aborigines as their inalienable right in 1854, making the natives true British subjects enjoying full political equality with all other Britons under the British King and Imperial Government; and whereas during the passage of the Union Act in 1909 the Imperial Parliament strongly enjoined the South African Convention to preserve the Cape Native franchise intact, notwithstanding the absence of the Native vote in the northern Provinces; and whereas the Cape Natives need the Vote to protect their privileges in land, education and citizenship; and whereas the Natives have never misused the privilege of the vote, and have never rebelled but on the contrary have always returned worthy members to Parliament, this convention of Cape Native voters here gathered unanimously resolves that all the authorities concerned be urged not to tamper with nor make any change in the present form of the Native franchise obtaining in the Cape Province in any manner whatsoever that shall be prejudicial to the rights of the Cape Native voters as vested in the 1854 Act. Futher, the convention wishes to be informed whether it is the wish of his Majesty King George and the Imperial Parliament that the Cape Natives be deprived of their franchise rights.

In The Supreme Court of South Africa,

(Eastern Districts Local Division)

George the Fifth by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

To

ALFRED NCETA, formerly of King William's Town, Cape Province, Union of South Africa, but whose present whereabouts is unknown (hereinafter called the defendant)

GREETING

Take notice that by Citation and Intendit this day issued and filed with the Registrar of the above Court you are required to enter an appearance with the said Registrar at his Office in Graham's Town, either in person or by proxy, on or before Saturday, the 30th day of January, 1926, to answer BABINA NCETA (born Sedlula) of King William's Town aforesaid, but presently residing at Cameron's Location, in the district of Tsolo, Cape Province (hereinafter called the Plaintiff in an action in which she claims.

(a) A decree of restitution of conjugal rights by reason of your malicious desertion of her, and failing compliance with such decree.

(b) A decree of divorce dissolving the said marriage.

(c) Alternative relief.

(d) Costs of Suit.

It being alleged by the Plaintiff

1. That you married her on the 5th July, 1911, at King William's Town aforesaid, in community of property and the marriage still subsists.

2. That you maliciously deserted her in the year 1919 at King Willliam's Town aforesaid.

Take further notice that you are hereby required to plead, answer, except or make claim (if any) in reconvention to the Plaintiff's Intendit on or before Monday, the 15th day of February, 1926, failing which you will be debarred from so doing and application will then be made to the said Court at Graham's Town on Thursday, the 25th day of February, 1926, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon for leave to have this suit together with the record of the proceedings thereof removed from the said Court for trial at the next ensuing Circuit Court to be held at Umtata.

Dated at Graham's Town, Cape Province, this 15th day of December 1925.

Race Problem — 1925
Africa.

TAXATION HARDSHIP.

FEW people realise the meaning of the heavy incidence of the 1926 system of taxation upon the average rural location Native, in both the Cape and Natal provinces. The areas of King Wms. Town, Victoria East and Fort Beaufort are easily the most congested native rural districts in the whole Union. The average holding for a Native living on Crown land here is about six acres per family, while the density of the Native population living on Native-owned land is about a hundred souls on each square mile. Out of these six acres the men with their families eke out a miserable existence being forced to go out to industrial centres to supplement their earnings, a liberal estimate of which would put it at £30 per man with wife and four children. The existing taxes on such a man are 10/- hut tax, 5/- dipping, 5/- dog tax, 2/- road tax, an aggregate of 22/- on an income of £30 which would be £11 for a European earning £300, who however escapes scot free of direct taxation! Now the 10/- hut tax is increased to 30/ for the location Native! In Victoria East the 10/- hut tax is so heavy a burden that the arrears are officially given as amounting to over £1,000 a year and there is no knowing how these people will manage to pay 30/- when they fail with 10/-. That is the situation of the Cape Native who is glibly described by the Minister of Finance as contributing nothing or too little in taxation.

Since the last Government Native Conference, Mr. Havenga has, off his own bat, changed the incidence of the local 10/- poll tax on Natives living on Crown lands into a hut tax of 10/- per hut; and this means that the Natal native with ten wives will have to pay £5 instead of 10/-. At Pretoria the Natal representatives Mr. Dube and Mr. Ndhlovu, as educationists, warmly supported the increased poll tax of £1 plus 10/- which has now become £1 plus £.5, while the raw rural chiefs Msiyana (who wore a feather on his head) and Matole emphatically opposed the intolerable imposition. This tax has has since been multiplied by ten by the Minister of Finance on the advice, it is said, of the Native Affairs Commission, but without further consultation with the natives who are to pay. How the Native Affairs Commission saw it fit to make such a far-reaching alteration on its own responsibility, well knowing the opposition of the natives, passes our comprehension. It is nothing short of high-minded action.

We still adhere to our belief that the Government makes 15/- per family throughout the Union in indirect taxation, a figure that gives £750,000 which would have sufficed to supply all the needs of fresh funds for Native Education and development, without further taxation. This money to-day is mysteriously gobbled up by the Treasury for the benefit of Europeans, leaving the Natives with irritating new taxation.

It is evident that in questions of revenue and taxation the natives will never get justice in South Africa until they have their own members to directly represent their case; for the parliament of this land seems to be actuated by "beggar my neighbour" principles where Native revenues are concerned.

AFRICA MESSIAH BAPTIZES 100 TO DEATH IN CONGO

Natives Battle Troops to Defend Him.

BY W. J. MAKIN.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

[Copyright: 1925: By The Chicago Tribune.]

CAPETOWN, South Africa, Aug. 27. The latest excitement among the natives of the Belgian Congo owing to forcible baptisms by the self-styled native prophet, Mwanalesa, son of God. He preached in the Sakania district that he was sent by God to relieve the oppressed native races, and in order to achieve this baptism was necessary in the case against him by divine instruction. His method is to drown converts in a stream.

Before baptism he informed the candidates that they would depart from this earth and return cleansed and be unoppressed like the white people. The candidates were immersed for a long period, and if they came up alive their spirits were clean, and if they were dead, their sins were too great for them to recover.

The fanatic secured control of several villages and drowned more than 100 natives. Belgium then sent a police patrol to investigate. The natives, influenced by the prophet, killed them all. Another patrol was sent and ten police were killed. Finally troops were dispatched from Elizabethville, who attacked the villages and arrested sixty natives and accomplices and recovered the bodies of fifty-five who had been baptized. Mwanalesa escaped. The Belgian administrator is in the district at present, which is growing quiet.

CONFERENCE ON CONDITIONS IN AFRICA

New York, Aug. 17 (ANP).—The Africa committee of the Committee of Reference and Counsel called an open conference on Africa to be held in Hartford, Connecticut, October 30, to November 1. The sessions of the conference will be held in the Kennedy School of Missions.

Some of the problems to be considered at this conference, which will be attended largely by representatives of mission boards having work on that continent will be: "Present Situation in Africa," "Educational Objectives in Africa," "The Education of Women and Girls," "Cooperation for Africa and Africans," as well as a consideration of problems in hygiene and public health, languages and literature, and in the reaching of the people in large cities and mining centers of Africa. Plans will also be made looking toward the "World Conference on Africa," which is to be held during 1926.

Among the missionary and educational leaders who will address the conference are: Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of Phelps-Stokes Fund, Dr. Homer L. Shantz, of the United States Department of Agriculture, Prof. Dr. Westerman, of the University of Berlin, Rev. Thomas S. Donohugh, associate secretary of the International Missionary Council, and editor of the International Review of Missions.

Correspondence.

NATIVES ON THE RAILWAY.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Sir,—In connection with the recent visit of the Native Teachers as Delegates to the Teachers' Conference in Port Elizabeth, a considerable amount of inconvenience was caused through the action of the Railway Officials. A 2nd class coach was booked at Port Elizabeth for the Delegates, and on arriving at Cookhouse this coach was detached without warning, and attached to a Goods Train. This action on the part of the Railway Officials caused the delegates considerable inconvenience, for they were unable to obtain any meals, and the Goods Train running late made it impossible for them to reach their destinations in time to meet those who had brought horses and vehicles for transporting them to their respective homes.

The action of the railway officials in disconnecting the coach without warning, and thus causing the delegates so much trouble, is one which I trust will receive the attention of the Divisional Superintendent, for when Natives have occasion to travel in the district, book a coach, and pay a large amount in fares they should receive ordinary attention, and not wilfully be caused such trouble and inconvenience.

Yours faithfully,
CLEOPAS XABANISA,
68, St. Paul's Road,
East London.

General Hertzog.

While we reserve for future occasions our comments on actual material of the speeches of the Prime Minister in his travels among the Natives in the Eastern Province, we desire to register our feeling of appreciation of the favourable impression created by the attitude of the Premier. The Natives did not know what sort of personality his was, and some went to him with preconceived notions based on the tenor of the alarmist bills he had introduced in Parliament apparently aimed at the repression of the native in many walks of life. Some went with an impartial mind to learn. All have discovered him to be a courteous and sincere gentleman, patient in following the complications of the causes of injustice felt by Natives, careful in his replies, reserved of promise and genuine in impression. If all the cabinet ministers and Nationalists and Labourites he leads were like him in personality there is no doubt but that he would win the confidence of the Bantu, but unfortunately we know too well that this is not the case. The crowd he leads is mostly drawn from the anti-Native section of South African whites characterised by narrow-mindedness, in sharp contrast to his generous fatherliness. He is an astute logician, quick to prick the bubble of false reasoning that not infrequently underlies Native oratory. His ideas have the freshness of originality and his schemes the penetration of a far-seeing intellect. We hope and trust he will use his great influence to curb the instincts of his followers and convince them that the Native desires and deserves to be treated not with patronising sympathy merely, but with all considerations of undiluted justice.

That is what we ask of him.

WEST AFRICA AT THE PARIS EXHIBITION.

DISPLAY OF NATIVE PRODUCTION AND HANDICRAFTS.

(By Our Special Commissioner.)

The Exhibition of Decorative Arts now being held in Paris has nothing in common with the Wembley Exhibition, but offers a most interesting supplement to it in many respects. International in scope and artistic in character, it appeals only to those tastes with which Wembley is not concerned, and a comparison between the two would therefore be of little value. The difference is especially marked in the case of the African pavilions—the one business-like, commercial, instructive, the other rich in curious sculptures and works of art.

The African Pavilion is in the Colonial section of the French Exhibition, on the Champs Elysées side of the river. Anyone who enters by the Gate of Honour will have a long trudge along the riverside over the ingenious passerelles and past Algeria, Morocco, and Tunis before he arrives at the picturesque building, in much the same style as the Walled City at Wembley, in which the display is housed. The walls are designed to give the effect of a building carried out in red mud, and the centre is surmounted by a dome, also with the appearance of red mud. The architect, M. Germain Olivier, took as his model the palace of a former King of Dahomey. The walls are ornamented with bas-reliefs of various African wild animals.

Exhibits of Native Work.

In the vestibule of the building is a display of decorative crafts from Madagascar, consisting largely of glasses, textiles, and ornamental woodwork. The interior of the pavilion is octagonal in form, the centre being occupied by a shallow pit, or, rather, sunken court, in which articles are displayed for sale. The exhibits proper are arranged in stands around the walls. The first of these, on the left as one enters, is devoted to the mandated territories of Togoland and the Cameroons. These contain some interesting specimens of leather repoussé work, besides ivory and textiles and examples of the quaint but spirited wooden sculptures which were the cause, a few years ago, of so eager an interest in "l'art nègre" among the artists of Europe. The curious distortion practised by African sculptors does not prevent the figures from being remarkably vivid and impressive, but the impression one receives from the examples shown in this stand is that the artists are happier in dealing with animals than in carving human figures. The work in ivory is less interesting, most of it being too obviously intended for European markets and lacking the fine sense of the medium which the wooden carvings exhibit.

African Timbers.

Next to this display is a doorway the posts of which are carved with alternate rows of European and African figures. This door opens on to a large recess devoted to a display of African timbers, some of which are very attractive. Timber is represented also by several logs which stand outside the pavilion, a part of each of which has been polished to show their grain. In many cases, unfortunately, the label which should show the origin of the log is missing. Nor is it possible to say whether these timbers are suited to the very different climate of Europe; for it is noticeable that several of the logs have split, no doubt as the result of their having stood for months in the open air, exposed to all weathers. The timbers under shelter in the pavilion are naturally in perfect condition, and some of them are of striking appearance. The best, however, are probably those in the Pavilion of Colonial Art, where furniture made from woods from many of the French Colonies, both African and others, is exhibited.

The side of the pavilion nearest the entrance is devoted to French West Africa, the side opposite to French Equatorial Africa. Continuing on the left, past the doorway to the timber exhibit, one comes to a tom-tom in carved wood. There are several of these, of different sizes, and all elaborately carved. The elephant tusks, which are such a feature of African displays at Wembley, are much in evidence here also, and articles in carved ivory, of very unequal artistic merit, play a great part in the display. Ivory, wood, and leather appear to be the favourite mediums of the craftsmen of French West Africa, but if we go a little further along the wall we find a stand of Equatorial Africa showing several articles in brass. Goldsmith's work from Senegal is exhibited in the centre and elsewhere.

On the wall past the exit door is a magnificent rug, woven in rich and vivid colours, but certainly not negro in style. An official, however, assured me that it came from French Equatorial Africa, and that there was nothing in the whole pavilion which was not of French African workmanship. This suggests some interesting speculations on the future of African art, for it would indicate that, unlike any other primitive artist, the African is able to assimilate the influence of civilised art while preserving his own individuality unimpaired. It is only fair to add that other exhibits would lead one to a less happy conclusion.

Wood and Metal Work.

Below the rug are several carved stools of interesting form. One of them, carved from a single block of wood and having human figures for legs, is really an astonishing piece of work. But to describe all the exhibits of wood would be a never-ending task, and one should not concentrate on them to the exclusion of other work, such as textiles, leather, and brass. The brass in particular receives much less emphasis in the pavilion than it deserves. After all, everyone knows that the West African is a fine sculptor in wood, and some of his achievements in this sphere might well have been taken for granted if more space could thus have been achieved for a display of the fine brass trays and other metal articles.

Another fresco, a trifle melodramatic in spirit, represents the "Fire Festival" in French West Africa. This is by Cayon. Much of the central part of the pavilion is adorned with pen-and-ink drawings of African landscapes by Jean Herbor. Beyond the fresco is a fine display of robes from French West Africa, another of leather, wood and brass; and so we reach the door again.

But before leaving we should turn the sunken court in the centre. The interesting exhibits are arranged round this, among them illuminated models of Libreville and Fort-Laney, a stall where ivory bracelets are sold, an exhibit of knives, axes and ivory statuettes from Equatorial Africa, another of weapons and metal work from West Africa, and one of gold filigree work, besides a copy of the throne of King Ghezo Dahomey. There is also a statue of a priest of fetishism, wearing his vestments, from the Ivory Coast. In the court itself are stalls kept by Africans, in which articles made in the African village are for sale.

A rapid survey like the present cannot hope to deal completely with the whole of the varied exhibits, but enough has been said to show that the artistic capacity of the French West African is fully represented. There is not a great deal to be learnt from this display that was not known before, but the wood sculptures from Senegal, Togo, and Cameroon and the ivory work from the Ivory Coast would of themselves be enough to attract any lover of the arts to visit the Exhibition. Its aim, it must be remembered, is not to make a commercial or industrial display, but to show the standard of artistic achievement reached by the African, and there can be no doubt that this standard, at least as far as primitive art is concerned, is a very high one. C. O.

WEMBLEY COMMISSIONERS AT PARIS EXHIBITION.

The following Commissioners from the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, were among those who visited the Paris Exhibition:—Capt. E. F. C. Lane, C.M.G. (South Africa), Lady Guggisberg, C.B.E. (Gold Coast), Major E. A. Belcher, C.B.E. (B.E.E. Management), Claude Taylor, Esq. (Board of Trade). Mr. F. Charlesworth (Zanzibar), Mr. W. E. C. Reid (New Zealand), Mr. A. F. Roberts, C.B.E. (New Zealand), Mr. D. J. Davies (Newfoundland), and Mr. F. A. M. Vincent, C.I.E., M.V.O (Controller, India Section, B.E.E.). They are seen in the above group with Lt.-Colonel H. W. G. Cole, C.S.I. (Commissaire-General, British Government Pavilion, Paris), and M. Jean Fabre (French Minister of Commerce and Industry).

WEST AFRICA AT THE PARIS EXHIBITION.

DISPLAY OF NATIVE PRODUCTION AND HANDICRAFTS.

(By Our Special Commissioner.)

The Exhibition of Decorative Arts now being held in Paris has nothing in common with the Wembley Exhibition, but offers a most interesting supplement to it in many respects. International in scope and artistic in character, it appeals only to those tastes with which Wembley is not concerned, and a comparison between the two would therefore be of little value. The difference is especially marked in the case of the African pavilions—the one business-like, commercial, instructive, the other rich in curious sculptures and works of art.

The African Pavilion is in the Colonial section of the French Exhibition, on the Champs Elysées side of the river. Anyone who enters by the Gate of Honour will have a long trudge along the riverside over the ingenious passerelles and past Algeria, Morocco and Tunis before he arrives at the picturesque building, in much the same style as the Walled City at Wembley, in which the display is housed. The walls are designed to give the effect of a building carried out in mud, and the centre is surmounted by a dome, also with the appearance of sun-dried mud. The architect, M. Germain Oliver, took as his model the palace of a former King of Dahomey. The walls are ornamented with bas-reliefs of various African wild animals.

Exhibits of Native Work.

In the vestibule of the building is a display of decorative crafts from Madagascar, consisting largely of glasses, textiles, and ornamental woodwork. The interior of the pavilion is octagonal in form, the centre being occupied by a shallow pit, or, rather, sunken court, in which articles are displayed for sale. The exhibits proper are arranged in stands around the walls. The first of these, on the left as one enters, is devoted to the mandated territories of Togoland and the Cameroons. These contain some interesting specimens of leather repoussé work, besides ivory and textiles and examples of the quaint but spirited wooden sculptures which were the cause, a few years ago, of so eager an interest in "l'art nègre" among the artists of Europe. The curious distortion practised by African sculptors does not prevent the figures from being remarkably vivid and impressive, but the impression one receives from the examples shown in this stand is that the artists are happier in dealing with animals than in carving human figures. The work in ivory is less interesting, most of it being too obviously intended for European markets and lacking the fine sense of the medium which the wooden carvings exhibit.

African Timbers.

Next to this display is a doorway the posts of which are carved with alternate rows of European and African figures. This door opens on to a large recess devoted to a display of African timbers, some of which are very attractive. Timber is represented also by several logs which stand outside the pavilion, a part of each of which has been polished to show their grain. In many cases, unfortunately, the label which should show the origin of the log is missing. Nor is it possible to say whether these timbers are suited to the very different climate of Europe; for it is noticeable that several of the logs have split, no doubt as the result of their having stood for months in the open air, exposed to all weathers. The timbers under shelter in the pavilion are naturally in perfect condition, and some of them are of striking appearance. The best, however, are probably those in the Pavilion of Colonial Art, where furniture made from woods from many of the French Colonies, both African and others, is exhibited.

The side of the pavilion nearest the entrance is devoted to French West Africa, the side opposite to French Equatorial Africa. Continuing on the left, past the doorway to the timber exhibit, one comes to a tom-tom in carved wood. There are several of these, of different sizes, and all elaborately carved. The elephant tusks, which are such a feature of African displays at Wembley, are much in evidence here also, and articles in carved ivory, of very unequal artistic merit, play a great part in the display. Ivory, wood, and leather appear to be the favourite mediums of the craftsmen of French West Africa, but if we go a little further along the wall we find a stand of Equatorial Africa showing several articles in brass. Goldsmith's work from Senegal is exhibited in the centre and elsewhere.

On the wall past the exit door is a magnificent rug, woven in rich and vivid colours, but certainly not negro in style. An official, however, assured me that it came from French Equatorial Africa, and that there was nothing in the whole pavilion which was not of French African workmanship. This suggests some interesting speculations on the future of African art, for it would indicate that, unlike any other primitive artist, the African is able to assimilate the influence of civilised art while preserving his own individuality unimpaired. It is only fair to add that other exhibits would lead one to a less happy conclusion.

Wood and Metal Work.

Below the rug are several carved stools of interesting form. One of them, carved from a single block of wood and having human figures for legs, is really an astonishing piece of work. But to describe all the exhibits of wood would be a never-ending task, and one should not concentrate on them to the exclusion of other work, such as textiles, leather, and brass. The brass in particular receives much less emphasis in the pavilion than it deserves. After all, everyone knows that the West African is a fine sculptor in wood, and some of his achievements in this sphere might well have been taken for granted if more space could thus have been achieved for a display of the fine brass trays and other metal articles.

Another fresco, a trifle melodramatic in spirit, represents the "Fire Festival" in French West Africa. This is by Cayon. Much of the central part of the pavilion is adorned with pen-and-ink drawings of African landscapes by Jean Herbor. Beyond the fresco is a fine display of robes from French West Africa, another of leather, wood and brass; and so we reach the door again.

But before leaving we should turn to the sunken court in the centre. Some interesting exhibits are arranged round this, among them illuminated models of Libreville and Fort-Laney, a stall where ivory bracelets are sold, an exhibit of knives, axes and ivory statuettes from Equatorial Africa, another of weapons and metal work from West Africa, and one of gold filigree work, besides a copy of the throne of King Ghezo Dahomey. There is also a statue of a priest of fetishism, wearing his vestments, from the Ivory Coast. In the court itself are stalls kept by Africans, in which articles made in the African village are for sale.

A rapid survey like the present cannot hope to deal completely with the whole of the varied exhibits, but enough has been said to show that the artistic capacity of the French West African is fully represented. There is not a great deal to be learnt from this display that was not known before, but the wood sculptures from Senegal, Togo, and Cameroon and the ivory work from the Ivory Coast would of themselves be enough to attract any lover of the arts to visit the Exhibition. Its aim, it must be remembered, is not to make a commercial or industrial display, but to show the standard of artistic achievement reached by the African, and there can be no doubt that this standard, at least as far as primitive art is concerned, is a very high one.

C. O.

WEMBLEY COMMISSIONERS AT PARIS EXHIBITION.

The following Commissioners from the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, were among those who visited the Paris Exhibition:—Capt. E. F. C. Lane, C.M.G. (South Africa), Lady Guggisberg, C.B.E. (Gold Coast), Major E. A. Belcher, C.B.E. (B.E.E. Management), Claude Taylor, Esq. (Board of Trade), Mr. F. Charlesworth (Zanzibar), Mr. W. E. C. Reid (New Zealand), Mr. A. F. Roberts, C.B.E. (New Zealand), Mr. D. J. Davies (Newfoundland), and Mr. F. A. M. Vincent, C.I.E., M.V.O (Controller, India Section, B.E.E.). They are seen in the above group with Lt.-Colonel H. W. G. Cole, C.S.I. (Commissaire-General, British Government Pavilion, Paris), and M. Jean Fabre (French Minister of Commerce and Industry).

Race Problem - 1925.
Africa

Angola.

THE BENGUELLA RAILWAY.

Arrangements for Completion.

LISBON, November 15.

The arrangements for the completion of the Benguella Railway (Angola) are now officially made known.

The term originally fixed for the completion having expired, an extension has been agreed upon on the following conditions :—

1. The line is to be carried as far as Mojico within a period of two years, no further extension of time being allowed, and as far as the Eastern frontier by the end of 1928.

2. Any further issue of shares to be additional upon the assignment to the State of a number of shares corresponding to 20 per cent. of the share capital being issued, according to Art. 196 of the Portuguese Commercial Code.

3. The company is to undertake to carry out repair and upkeep works on the roads giving access to the stations on the line within the old mining concession.

4. The Government reserves to itself the right to make modifications at a suitable time in the planning of the line beyond Mojico.

The board of the company is, it is announced, meeting shortly to consider these conditions, and, should the latter be accepted, the contract will be signed at once.—Reuter.

LISBON, November 19.

The Acting Administrator of the Benguella Railway has remitted to the Minister for the Colonies the counter-proposals of the company with reference to its request for the extension of the time in which the work stipulated in the concession must be carried out.—Reuter.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE *African World* has issued a new North African Monthly Supplement, the first number of which is before us, and makes very interesting reading. Its purpose is to give more publicity to the great development work now in progress in the northern half of our Continent, including Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and the Sudan. By this means constant readers of the *African World* could become more familiar with the active life, politically and economically, of that portion of Africa, and the information must be of particular interest to members of our race who desire a comprehensive view of matters African. Some are inclined, when they speak of Africa, to differentiate portions thereof from the African people, as if the mere differences in speech and colour in different parts of Europe or Asia constitute a distinction continentally. All Europe is regarded as one, and her interests as against the other human groups are regarded as sufficiently distinct to make it possible for Europe to make common cause in a given eventuality, but for the jealousies and local differences which distract them. Equally, therefore, is it possible to regard all Africa and its interests as one; and we have reason to think that as the years pass by, the several groups of the Continent will tend to a mutual understanding to the common strength of all. We advise our readers to study these Supplements carefully, and thus augment their knowledge of matters African.

For the benefit of out readers we refer fully in this issue to the report of our esteemed Contemporary, *The Sierra Leone Guardian*, dealing with the speech of His Excellency Governor Slater when opening the new and enlarged Legislative Council of the Colony. Our contemporary informs us that a Guard of Honour consisting of a detachment from the Royal Marines of H.M.S. *Endeavour* and a Company of the West African Regiment, led by the Band of the West African Regiment, was in attendance, and was inspected by the Governor before opening the Council promptly at the hour of 10 a.m. It is said that upon His Excellency declaring the Council opened, a salute of 17 guns from Tower Hill Barracks was fired to indicate to the outside public that the new era in Sierra Leone history had begun. Then followed the announcement by the Governor of the decision of His Majesty the King that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would visit Sierra Leone in April next on his way to South Africa. The Oath of Allegiance was then administered first to the Official members by their order of precedence and next to the elected and nominated members whose precedence was determined by their names in alphabetic order. After this His Excellency the Governor gave his address, which is described as able and informative, in which he recounted briefly "the several instances of change in the personnel of the administration of the Colony by a Governor with the advice of a Legislative Council." The Governor's welcome to the new members is reported to have been "cordial, dignified and charged with an atmosphere of serious import." The Honourable E. S. Beoku-Betts, the first Urban member, had the honour of moving the resolution, expressing the loyal appreciation of the Colony for the privilege of a limited elective franchise which His Majesty the King had granted the Colony, and also expressing the high sense of the Colony's gratitude for the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales. The resolution was seconded by the Honourable the Paramount Chief, Bai Kompa.

According to the report the second address of His Excellency the Governor followed the moving of this resolution, which is said to have been a "full, comprehensive, well-reasoned and masterly survey of the several phases of Government activities, indicating the various stages of progress and advancement as also the prospect of an assuring future," and his closing words, as memorable as apposite, were: "I now formally declare the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone to be duly constituted, and I open its first Session humbly commending your labours to the blessing of the Almighty God. Let co-operation be our watchword; co-operation between Unofficials and Officials, between Colony representatives and Protectorate Representatives, between European members and African members." This is a striking note, which is as healthy as opportune in British West African relations with the Crown. The report proceeds that at the close of the reading of the second Address Mr. A. J. Shorunkeh-Sawyerr was presented to His Excellency the Governor by Captain W. B. Stanley, M.B.E., and Mr. E. H. Cummings, M.B.E., and duly decorated by the Governor with the insignia of an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, which His Majesty the King had conferred upon him on his last Birthday.

Among other things His Excellency the Governor, in addressing Mr. Shorunkeh-Sawyerr, said: "It gives me very great pleasure to execute His Majesty's command to-day in the presence of this distinguished assembly when our thoughts are not solely fixed on the future, but have also turned back to the past in which you have borne so honourable a part. . . . . But your membership of the old Legislative Council was memorable not only for its length, but also for your unflinching independence and for the high standard of duty which you consistently displayed. You were, at times, an unsparing critic of Government, but in my experience, at least, your criticisms were always based on a thoughtful study of the subject under discussion, and I know that the Law Officers of the Crown set no little store by the alertness with which you invariably scrutinised the draft of legislation which came before you."

The resolution referred to above was couched in these terms: "That this Council, at its first meeting, desires respectfully to tender to the King an expression of its profound gratitude for the broadening of its basis which His Majesty has been so good as to approve and to record the conviction that the addition of elected representatives of the Urban and Rural sections of the Colony as well as of representatives of the paramount Chiefs of the Protectorate with the Official and nominated elements of the Council cannot but be fraught with the greatest advantage to the administration of two loyal territories under His Majesty's sway, which are indissoluble and mutually indispensable, and are the natural complement, the one of the other. Further that this Council rejoices to learn that it will be privileged to transmit its feelings of gratitude to His Majesty through the person of the Prince of Wales on the occasion of His Royal Highness's forthcoming visit to Africa, and ventures the assurance that nowhere will His Royal Highness be welcomed with greater enthusiasm and devotion than in this ancient and loyal Colony which is proud to remember the two previous visits of members of His Majesty's House."

In commenting upon the resolution the Honourable member thanked the Governor for recommending the Scheme for the reconstituted Council and also thanked him on behalf of the new Unofficial members for the welcome he had extended to them, assuring him that their watchword would really be co-operation and their efforts would be directed towards co-operating with the Government for the promotion of the great interests of the Colony and Protectorate. Continuing, he expressed on behalf of the Council its profound gratitude to His Majesty the King for his approval of the Scheme for the new Constitution; and, proceeding, he said: "There can be no difference of opinion that the interests of the Colony and of the Protectorate are one, and it would be in the best interest of both communities if we realised to the full this identity of interest, mutual de-

pendence upon one another and kinship, and it is my sincere hope that this new Legislative Council, where representatives of the Colony and Protectorate sit together, would be the means of cementing that friendship and fostering that comradeship which is desirable." Thus has Sierra Leone at last come into its own by cementing a bond of comradeship between the inhabitants of the Colony and those of the Protectorate. After suitably commenting upon that portion of the resolution touching upon the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Honourable Paramount Chief, Bai Kompa, seconded the Resolution in these words: "Your Excellency—I beg to second that resolution. Where I come from, there are over

[illegible] Chiefs. We are all very thankful to the King for allowing three Chiefs to sit on this Council. We all hope that the King's first son will come to Sierra Leone soon." All this is to the good in the history and progress of British West Africa.

Race Problem - 1925.
Africa

Angola.

THE BENGUELLA RAILWAY.

Arrangements for Completion.

LISBON, November 15.

The arrangements for the completion of the Benguella Railway (Angola) are now officially made known.

The term originally fixed for the completion having expired, an extension has been agreed upon on the following conditions :—

1. The line is to be carried as far as Mojico within a period of two years, no further extension of time being allowed, and as far as the Eastern frontier by the end of 1928.

2. Any further issue of shares to be additional upon the assignment to the State of a number of shares corresponding to 20 per cent. of the share capital being issued, according to Art. 196 of the Portuguese Commercial Code.

3. The company is to undertake to carry out repair and upkeep works on the roads giving access to the stations on the line within the old mining concession.

4. The Government reserves to itself the right to make modifications at a suitable time in the planning of the line beyond Mojico.

The board of the company is, it is announced, meeting shortly to consider these conditions, and, should the latter be accepted, the contract will be signed at once.—Reuter.

LISBON, November 19.

The Acting Administrator of the Benguella Railway has remitted to the Minister for the Colonies the counter-proposals of the company with reference to its request for the extension of the time in which the work stipulated in the concession must be carried out.—Reuter.

African World
11-21-25

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE *African World* has issued a new North African Monthly Supplement, the first number of which is before us, and makes very interesting reading. Its purpose is to give more publicity to the great development work now in progress in the northern half of our Continent, including Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and the Sudan. By this means constant readers of the *African World* could become more familiar with the active life, politically and economically, of that portion of Africa, and the information must be of particular interest to members of our race who desire a comprehensive view of matters African. Some are inclined, when they speak of Africa, to differentiate portions thereof from the African people, as if the mere differences in speech and colour in different parts of Europe or Asia constitute a distinction continentally. All Europe is regarded as one, and her interests as against the other human groups are regarded as sufficiently distinct to make it possible for Europe to make common cause in a given eventuality, but for the jealousies and local differences which distract them. Equally, therefore, is it possible to regard all Africa and its interests as one; and we have reason to think that as the years pass by, the several groups of the Continent will tend to a mutual understanding to the common strength of all. We advise our readers to study these Supplements carefully, and thus augment their knowledge of matters African.

For the benefit of our readers we refer fully in this issue to the report of our esteemed Contemporary, *The Sierra Leone Guardian*, dealing with the speech of His Excellency Governor Slater when opening the new and enlarged Legislative Council of the Colony. Our contemporary informs us that a Guard of Honour consisting of a detachment from the Royal Marines of H.M.S. *Endeavour* and a Company of the West African Regiment, led by the Band of the West African Regiment, was in attendance, and was inspected by the Governor before opening the Council promptly at the hour of 10 a.m. It is said that upon His Excellency declaring the Council opened, a salute of 17 guns from Tower Hill Barracks was fired to indicate to the outside public that the new era in Sierra Leone history had begun. Then followed the announcement by the Governor of the decision of His Majesty the King that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would visit Sierra Leone in April next on his way to South Africa. The Oath of Allegiance was then administered first to the Official members by their order of precedence and next to the elected and nominated members whose precedence was determined by their names in alphabetic order. After this His Excellency the Governor gave his address, which is described as able and informative, in which he recounted briefly "the several instances of change in the personnel of the administration of the Colony by a Governor with the advice of a Legislative Council." The Governor's welcome to the new members is reported to have been "cordial, dignified and charged with an atmosphere of serious import." The Honourable E. S. Beoku-Betts, the first Urban member, had the honour of moving the resolution, expressing the loyal appreciation of the Colony for the privilege of a limited elective franchise which His Majesty the King had granted the Colony, and also expressing the high sense of the Colony's gratitude for the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales. The resolution was seconded by the Honourable the Paramount Chief, Bai Kompa.

According to the report the second address of His Excellency the Governor followed the moving of this resolution, which is said to have been a "full, comprehensive, well-reasoned and masterly survey of the several phases of Government activities, indicating the various stages of progress and advancement as also the prospect of an assuring future," and his closing words, as memorable as apposite, were: "I now formally declare the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone to be duly constituted, and I open its first Session humbly commending your labours to the blessing of the Almighty God. Let co-operation be our watchword; co-operation between Unofficials and Officials, between Colony representatives and Protectorate Representatives, between European members and African members." This is a striking note, which is as healthy as opportune in British West African relations with the Crown. The report proceeds that at the close of the reading of the second Address Mr. A. J. Shorunkeh-Sawyerr was presented to His Excellency the Governor by Captain W. B. Stanley, M.B.E., and Mr. E. H. Cummings, M.B.E., and duly decorated by the Governor with the insignia of an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, which His Majesty the King had conferred upon him on his last Birthday.

Among other things His Excellency the Governor, in addressing Mr. Shorunkeh-Sawyerr, said: "It gives me very great pleasure to execute His Majesty's command to-day in the presence of this distinguished assembly when our thoughts are not solely fixed on the future, but have also turned back to the past in which you have borne so honourable a part. . . . . But your membership of the old Legislative Council was memorable not only for its length, but also for your unflinching independence and for the high standard of duty which you consistently displayed. You were, at times, an unsparing critic of Government, but in my experience, at least, your criticisms were always based on a thoughtful study of the subject under discussion, and I know that the Law Officers of the Crown set no little store by the alertness with which you invariably scrutinised the draft of legislation which came before you."

The resolution referred to above was couched in these terms: "That this Council, at its first meeting, desires respectfully to tender to the King an expression of its profound gratitude for the broadening of its basis which His Majesty has been so good as to approve and to record the conviction that the addition of elected representatives of the Urban and Rural sections of the Colony as well as of representatives of the paramount Chiefs of the Protectorate with the Official and nominated elements of the Council cannot but be fraught with the greatest advantage to the administration of two loyal territories under His Majesty's sway, which are indissoluble and mutually indispensable, and are the natural complement, the one of the other. Further that this Council rejoices to learn that it will be privileged to transmit its feelings of gratitude to His Majesty through the person of the Prince of Wales on the occasion of His Royal Highness's forthcoming visit to Africa, and ventures the assurance that nowhere will His Royal Highness be welcomed with greater enthusiasm and devotion than in this ancient and loyal Colony which is proud to remember the two previous visits of members of His Majesty's House."

In commenting upon the resolution the Honourable member thanked the Governor for recommending the Scheme for the reconstituted Council and also thanked him on behalf of the new Unofficial members for the welcome he had extended to them, assuring him that their watchword would really be co-operation and their efforts would be directed towards co-operating with the Government for the promotion of the great interests of the Colony and Protectorate. Continuing, he expressed on behalf of the Council its profound gratitude to His Majesty the King for his approval of the Scheme for the new Constitution, and, proceeding, he said: "There can be no difference of opinion that the interests of the Colony and of the Protectorate are one, and it would be in the best interest of both communities if we realised to the full this identity of interest, mutual de-

pendence upon one another and kinship, and it is my sincere hope that this new Legislative Council, where representatives of the Colony and Protectorate sit together, would be the means of cementing that friendship and fostering that comradeship which is desirable." Thus has Sierra Leone at last come into its own by cementing a bond of comradeship between the inhabitants of the Colony and those of the Protectorate. After suitably commenting upon that portion of the resolution touching upon the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Honourable Paramount Chief, Bai Kompa, seconded the Resolution in these words: "Your Excellency—I beg to second that resolution. Where I come from, there are over 100 Chiefs. We are all very thankful to the King for allowing three Chiefs to sit on this Council. We all hope that the King's first son will come to Sierra Leone soon." All this is to the good in the history and progress of British West Africa.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH LAGOS, OR THE GREATEST INTERNAL ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, BEFORE THE WORLD.

(Special to the Gold Coast Leader)
by
PAX

Blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. Jesus the Christ.
Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.
Milton.
White peace becometh men, cruel anger beasts.
Ovid.
And forgive us our sins;
For we ourselves forgive everyone who wrongs us. 20th Century N.T. (The Lord's Prayer)

To the candid mind, one of the most phenomenal achievements (if not the most, of recent times by the sons of West Africa, is indeed the inauguration and consolidation of that august body known as the National Congress of British West Africa. To the truly patriotic West African the existence and welfare of the Congress ought to be his concern and business and prayer. That man who is not half asleep himself recognises as never before that the whole world is astir. People of every race and tongue are banding together, trying to unite for a cause, an idea, in order to attain a specific end. And in this mighty awakening the Black Man, thank God, has not been caught napping.

We see this among our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. There is in America, the National Association for the Advancement of the coloured People of which Dr. DuBois is the president; and there we have again the much abused and greatly misrepresented, but still the most popular and powerful organization, known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association of which Marcus Garvey is the founder and President. Turning to the orient we have the Indian National Congress, whose constitutional war-cry has ever been the 'Swaraj' i.e. Home Rule for India. Next door to England herself is the everlasting Irish Home Rule problem which indeed is a veritable thorn in the side of Great Britain. For it is evident that Ireland does not seem to give in until all Ireland has become a united whole governed and ruled by Ireland for the Irishmen. To the South of our own continent still we have the South African Native National Congress operating. I cite the above simply to show that the small or subject races everywhere be they, white, red, yellow or black are *uniting* and struggling to free themselves from foreign oppression in one shape or the other.

Such being the case, it was not unnatural that the thinking, devoted and patriotic sons of West Africa should have evolved the "Conference of West Africans" which eventually became known as the National Congress of British West Africa which has come doubtlessly to stay forever for good. In passing, I may remind my readers, by remarking that the inaugural Congress meetings and proceedings were not held in a secret chamber. It was proclaimed on a housetop, so to speak. It was an open, legitimate, constitutional and patriotic 'coming together' of the sons of West Africa to consider matters of vital interest to themselves. Moreover, it carried with it the congratulations of the Officers administering the various West African Governments; however, as later events proved, some of those 'administrators', notwithstanding their grounding felicitations, became so ingloriously and *unsportfully* hostile towards the Congress. But all that is past and gone now; nevertheless the lesson we learned was that: 'The blackman's enemy is the blackman'.

But experience and commonsense should teach us that the blackman's enemy need not be a blackman. When it becomes necessary that we should pull together, we should sink completely all petty and personal feelings. It is an undeniable fact, however, that our race to our eternal shame, seems imbued and engrafted with the spirit of suicidal tendency. In our struggle for self we forget that in unity alone lies our strength. Nothing seems to please our white friends so much as when they see us cutting one another's throat. The great oppression our brethren in the United States are smarting under is the more intense simply because over there even in the land of the oppressor they have not yet learned the all important lesson of co-operation and unity. There is no earthly reason why the forces of the two leaders DuBois and Marcus Garvey should not join hands in their labour of race consciousness and ultimate redemption. Instead of that we find at this moment, the two camps are like two parallel lines which though stretched to the poles never meet. Let us hope and pray that the sons of Ethiopia the world over shall soon be one.

It has been suggested by some evil-minded people that the propaganda of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is bellicose, but I see no reason to maintain that view. In the very nature of things, the black man could not and would not have any sinister motives against the white man. The comparative defencelessness of the RACE is uncovered before the world, and, metaphorically, as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so is my race. Logically, therefore, the suggestion that Garvey is, for instance, hostile and pugnacious to the Powers that Be, mainly *because he would inspire the Negro Race to its destinil mission is, to say the least, unmanly and cowardly.*

But Europe herself is in a state of nervous trepidation, because, like the mighty leviathan of the deep she is fast entwining about herself her own strong cords of steel by which she will be bound to be hauled ashore from her ocean recesses some day. To prove the point, the following from "Headway" published by the League of Nations Union will speak for itself: Under caption, "Warfare by Poison: (Nov: Issue)

> "Though the experience of the recent war has shown that no fortifications or armour can resist the force of modern explosives, the men themselves could at least find shelter from them in trenches, caves or dugouts sunk deep underground. *But poison gases can go everywhere, both in the open and into the dugouts.*" (Italics mine)

All Europe appears to be engaged more or less clandestinely manufacturing poison gas by which they will do short work of themselves in a future war before we get our own share as in the last war. Probably when this other diabolical game has been played by Europe among themselves, and they are laid low and helpless, then shall emerge a more glorious civilisation, in which the little child, the defenceless Africa shall lead the erstwhile wolf and lion. What has all this got to do with our article? What is wrong with our country Lagos? And what is the greatest internal issue of the Congress at the present moment? The answer is, the trouble is the same as in all parts of the world where Negroes are found. Petty feelings, Lack of unity, the I-know and you-know Spirit, Revenge, Want of Christian Charity and the like.

That body that would cement the breach that cankers the very heart and soul of Lagos would have done the most colossal internal work West Africa has ever undertaken. But I have hope in our Leaders. And I know they would carry the work of Peace to a successful end. I believe more-over that the parties concerned would themselve help to bring about the desired result. The Messengers of Peace will not be ashamed, for they come on an errand of Love, not seeking their Own aggrandizement, but the good of all West Africa.

I am not here to dilate on the merits or demerits of any political party or parties at present operating in Lagos. As a people we have long washed our soiled linen before the public. But in order that those messengers of Peace may not be labouring under a false impression, and arrive at a Camarinum movere, I make bold to say that the whole trouble in Lagos, unfortunately, hinges round on the Eleko question wherein Mr. Henry Carr, the recently retired Resident of the Colony, had since been involved. Mr. Herbert Macaulay who champions the people's cause had been so zealous fighting for the people, that the issue has now almost assumed a personal affair between Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. Carr. The two champions seem to divide the press of Lagos between them. All the world knows what the "Record", the "Spectator", the Messenger" and the "Pioneer" have been doing about the Prince Esugbeyi Eleko's question which culminated in the unexpected publication of the Booklet entitled "Transfer or Retirement Henry Carr must Go" by Mr. Herbert Macaulay.

It is a thousand pities that the situation should have assumed such aspects. Of course the majority of our people wish and pray for the reinstatement and Government recognition of Prince Eleko of the House of Docemo. It is natural that we would, just in the same way that people in the Gold Coast and Ashanti wished and prayed for the repatriation of the exiled King of Ashanti. Yet it is well known that some petty chiefs, who have their own axes to grind, in their hearts of hearts wished Prempeh had never returned.

Now to go about this great misunderstanding without first trying to reconcile these two great personages of the country, would simply be drying salt to put it back into soup. The most important point the delegates would not overlook is that the whole successful solution of the settlement problem lies with our esteemed and indefatigable Editor of the Spectator, Dr. Akinwade Savage. Thank God, as I write, there are signs that the honourable and learned Doctor means well and is ready to play a manly part in bringing about the desired reconciliation. It is gratifying to note that in a recent number of the "Spectator" the Editor devotes a lengthy column to the question at issue. After all what do we want but a united effort in order to present a united front.

But West Africa needs more and more of shores to reconcile and settle our domestic Henry Carr's to show that the African can hold differences. The occasion is also propitious, since the highest post that any man on earth can it is the time when people professing to be hold with credit, and more of Dr. Savage's followers of the Grande Nazarene cast away all show that the African is capable of excelling in the byegones and great each other. "Peace on anything he undertakes to do. It is very rare Earth, goodwill towards men." I believe if our indeed to find combined in one head an expert profession is worth anything the coming events medico, a sound politician and a clever and refined journalist. Now the world would be monotonously repellent were all of one temperament

WHAT IS WRONG WITH LAGOS, OR THE GREATEST INTERNAL ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, BEFORE THE WORLD.

(Special to the Gold Coast Leader)
by
PAX

Blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. Jesus the Christ.

Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.
Milton.

White peace becometh men, cruel anger beasts.
Ovid.

And forgive us our sins,
For we ourselves forgive everyone who wrongs us.
20th Century N.T. (The Lord's Prayer)

To the candid mind, one of the most phenomenal achievements of the most, of recent times by the sons of West Africa, is indeed the inauguration and consolidation of that august body known as the National Congress of British West Africa. To the truly patriotic West African the existence and welfare of the Congress ought to be his concern and business and prayer. That man who is not half asleep himself recognises as never before that the whole world is astir.

People of every race and tongue are banding together, trying to unite for a cause, an idea, in order to attain a specific end. And in this mighty awakening the Black Man, thank God, has not been caught napping.

We see this among our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. There is in America, the National Association for the Advancement of the coloured People of which Dr. DuBois is the president; and there we have again the much abused and greatly misrepresented, but still the most popular and powerful organization, known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association of which Marcus Garvey is the founder and President. Turning to the orient we have the Indian National Congress, whose constitutional war-cry has ever been the 'Swaraj' i.e. Home Rule for India. Next door to England herself is the everlasting Irish Home Rule problem which indeed is a veritable thorn in the side of Great Britain. For it is evident that Ireland does not seem to give in until all Ireland has become a united whole governed and ruled by Ireland for the Irishmen. To the South of our own continent still we have the South African Native National Congress operating. I cite the above simply to show that the small or subject races everywhere be they, white, red, yellow or black are *uniting* and struggling to free themselves from foreign oppression in one shape or the other.

Such being the case, it was not unnatural that the thinking, devoted and patriotic sons of West Africa should have evolved the "Conference of West Africans" which eventually became known as the National Congress of British West Africa which has come doubtlessly to stay forever for good. In passing, I may remind my readers, by remarking that the inaugural Congress meetings and proceedings were not held in a secret chamber. It was proclaimed on a house-top, so to speak. It was an open, legitimate, constitutional and patriotic 'coming together' of the sons of West Africa to consider matters of vital interest to themselves. Moreover, it carried with it the congratulations of the Officers administering the various West African Governments; however, as later events proved, some of those 'administrators', notwithstanding their grounded felicitations, became so ingloriously and *unspeakfully* hostile towards the Congress. But all that is past and gone now; nevertheless the lesson we learned was that: 'The blackman's enemy is the blackman'.

But experience and commonsense should teach us that the blackman's enemy need not be a blackman. When it becomes necessary that we should pull together, we should sink completely all petty and personal feelings. It is an undeniable fact, however, that our race to our eternal shame, seems imbued and engrafted with the spirit of suicidal tendency. In our struggle for self we forget that in unity alone lies our strength. Nothing seems to please our white friends so much as when they see us cutting one another's throat. The great oppression our brethren in the United States are smarting under is the more intense simply because over there even in the land of the oppressor they have not yet learned the all important lesson of co-operation and unity. There is no earthly reason why the forces of the two leaders DuBois and Marcus Garvey should not join hands in their labour of race consciousness and ultimate redemption. Instead of that we find at this moment, the two camps are like two parallel lines which though stretched to the poles never meet. Let us hope and pray that the sons of Ethiopia the world over shall soon be one.

It has been suggested by some evil-minded people that the propaganda of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is bellicose, but I see no reason to maintain that view. In the very nature of things, the black man could not and would not have any sinister motives against the white man. The comparative defencelessness of the RACE is uncovered before the world, and, metaphorically, as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so is my race. Logically, therefore, the suggestion that Garvey is, for instance, hostile and pugnacious to the Powers that Be, mainly *because he would inspire the Negro Race to its destined manhood is, to say the least, unmanly and cowardly.*

But Europe herself is in a state of nervous trepidation, because, like the mighty leviathan of the deep she is fast entwining about herself her own strong cords of steel by which she will be bound to be hauled ashore from her ocean recesses some day. To prove the point, the following from "Railway" published by the League of Nations Union will speak for itself: Under caption, "Warfare by Poison: (Nov: Issue)

"Though the experience of the recent war has shown that no fortifications or armour can resist the force of modern explosives, the men themselves could at least find shelter from them in trenches, caves or dugouts sunk deep underground. *But poison gases can go everywhere, both in the open and into the dugouts.*" (Italics mine)

All Europe appears to be engaged more or less clandestinely manufacturing poison gas by which they will do short work of themselves in a future war before we get our own share as in the last war. Probably when this other diabolical game has been played by Europe among themselves, and they are laid low and helpless, then shall emerge a more glorious civilisation, in which the little child, the defenceless Africa shall lead the erstwhile wolf and lion. What has all this got to do with our article? What is wrong with our country Lagos? And what is the greatest internal issue of the Congress at the present moment? The answer is, the trouble is the same as in all parts of the world where Negroes are found. Petty feelings, Lack of unity, the I-know and you-know Spirit, Revenge, Want of Christian Charity and the like.

That body that would cement the breach that cankers the very heart and soul of Lagos would have done the most colossal internal work West Africa has ever undertaken. But I have hope in our Leaders. And I know they would carry the work of Peace to a successful end. I believe more-over that the parties concerned would themselve help to bring about the desired result. The Messengers of Peace will not be ashamed, for they come on an errand of Love, not seeking their Own aggrandizement, but the good of all West Africa.

I am not here to dilate on the merits or demerits of any political party or parties at present operating in Lagos. As a people we have long washed our soiled linen before the public. But in order that those messengers of Peace may not be labourring under a false impression, and arrive at a Camarinum movere, I make bold to say that the whole trouble in Lagos, unfortunately, hinges round on the Eleko question wherein Mr. Henry Carr, the recently retired Resident of the Colony, had since been involved. Mr. Herbert Macaulay who champions the people's cause had been so zealous fighting for the people, that the issue has now almost assumed a personal affair between Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. Carr. The two champions seem to divide the press of Lagos between them. All the world knows what the "Record", the "Spectator", the Messenger" and the "Pioneer" have been doing about the Prince Esugbeyi Eleko's question which culminated in the unexpected publication of the Booklet entitled "Transfer or Retirement Henry Carr must Go" by Mr. Herbert Macaulay.

It is a thousand pities that the situation should have assumed such aspects. Of course the majority of our people wish and pray for the reinstatement and Government recognition of Prince Eleko of the House of Docemo. It is natural that we would, just in the same way that people in the Gold Coast and Ashanti wished and prayed for the repatriation of the exiled King of Ashanti. Yet it is well known that some petty chiefs, who have their own axes to grind, in their hearts of hearts wished Prempeh had never returned.

Now to go about this great misunderstanding without first trying to reconcile these two great personages of the country, would simply be drying salt to put it back into soup. The most important point the delegates would not overlook is that the whole successful solution of the settlement problem lies with our esteemed and indefatigable Editor of the Spectator, Dr. Akinwade Savage. Thank God, as I write, there are signs that the honourable and learned Doctor

Race Problem - 1925
Africa

THE BLACK SHADOW OVER SOUTH AFRICA.

By G. Ward Price,
Our Special Correspondent with the Prince in South Africa.

One problem only matters in South Africa—the threatening clash between black and white.

This racial danger dwarfs into insignificance all other questions. Anglo-Dutch jealousy; Natal's complaints of unfair treatment in the Union; Rhodesia's reluctance to enter it; the Rand's recurrent mining disputes—these by comparison are but the domestic discords of a household in peril from a rising flood.

The form of the conflict cannot be foreseen, but its elements continually increase. The shadow of its coming darkens the sunlit sky. Yet, with the apathy that the approach of a great menace so often breeds, the average white inhabitant of South Africa remains as indifferent to signs and portents as did most Europeans to warnings of the Great War. Union politicians frame legislative break-waters against the spreading sea of colour, but know well what weak expedients they are; and, though some of the ablest men in South African public life plainly see disaster drawing nearer, they have no practical remedy to offer.

Black Unity.—On this subject I have heard during the past six weeks the views of highly placed soldiers, who believe that only the machine-gun can save South Africa for the white race; of well-known historians of this country, who think it cannot be saved at all; of newspaper editors of lifelong experience in South Africa, who expect the crisis within 10 or 15 years, and only hope that people in England, when it comes, will understand the position of Europeans here.

I have spoken, too, with members of the Government and of the House of Assembly. They suggest palliatives, difficult to realise, like the segregation of all natives on reservations.

Missionaries agree that contact with town life and education on European lines have made the Kaffir detribalised and discontented being. And the educational authorities at the head of such institutions as the large native college of Lovedale believe that our duty as a superior race is to teach the native everything we can, and then let the result work itself out under Providence.

All these people, with their different points of view, admit that the native question has lately acquired an urgency it never had before, and that the cause is the rapid spread of a feeling of racial unity among the black peoples of South Africa. Old tribal jealousies that once acted as a barrier to combination have disappeared under the white man's rule. Languages are fast fusing. The blacks of every clan—Zulus, Swazis, Basutos, Shangaans—are realising for the first time that they are members of one Bantu stock.

A Common Grievance.—Their new spirit of kinsmanship finds easy focus in a common grievance—that the European has taken their country away from them.

"When the white man came to South Africa," said a native in Johannesburg the other day, "we had the land and he had the Bible; to-day we have the Bible and he has the land."

There are certain zones where natives can still live their old life, and white men are not allowed to acquire territory. Basutoland is one of these, but it is full to overflowing. Its habitable ground is the most thickly populated part of South Africa, with 42 native inhabitants to the square mile. It is cultivated to the limits of possibility, yet just across the border lie in provocative contrast the only half-exploited farms of white settlers of the Union. Meanwhile, like all other native tribes of South Africa, the half-million Basutos are increasing far more rapidly than their white masters, with no outlet for their numbers.

"White masters" is the word, for it cannot be denied that the white population of South Africa does regard the Bantu race as a natural supply of cheap labour. The economic structure that has been built up in the country is based solely on that arrangement, from the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, which employs 200,000 of them, down to the smallest white householder who has a single kitchen "boy." The "Colour Bar Bill," now in Committee before the House of Assembly, has been drafted to legalise and extend throughout the Union an old rule of the Transvaal mining industry that no native shall be employed on skilled work, so that black man's wages remain limited to half a crown a day.

Meanwhile his standard of living has increased to an extent which makes him dependent upon occasional wage-earning journeys to the Transvaal to be able to satisfy his desire for wives and clothes that constantly increase in cost.

"Colour-Consciousness."—What makes the black man's resentment against such conditions potentially formidable is that within the Union of South Africa itself he and his kind number 5,400,000, compared with 1,500,000 of whites, while if you include the adjoining native territories of Swaziland, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, together with Rhodesia and South-west Africa, you add another 2,700,000 blacks, but only 61,000 whites.

So-called "class-consciousness," a conception based on quite unreal foundations, has caused much trouble in Europe; race-consciousness, a far more genuine sentiment, is stronger still.

"Colour-Consciousness" is the most contentious spirit of all. The Bishop of St. Albans, who lately held the See of Pretoria, was right in declaring recently that "the native races of Africa are banding together in a spirit of race-consciousness that would have been considered impossible a few years ago."

This spirit is spreading, and being spread. Nor is it confined to one part of the African continent. There are natives in West Africa at the present time, generally American-educated, who brag that it will be their function to supply leadership to the primitive tribes of the South, when the time comes for their struggle against the whites.

Thus in South Africa the field is set for a racial trial of strength. What form will the contest take?

Already the economic rivalry of the two grades of civilisation is felt severely. No white man could hope to make a living in South Africa by unskilled or semi-skilled labour. The "1820 Memorial Settlers' Association," which aims at the development to the country, regards £1,500 as the minimun amount with which a single man can start farming here. The "poor whites," who have nothing but their own labour to live by, are in a pitiable condition, shut out from all chance of employment by the black man who can live in a wattle hut on a handful of mealies a day and is intelligent enough to make a good workman under white supervision.

Smouldering Fires.—From economic to physical struggle has always been an easy passage. No one who visits South Africa with his eyes open can avoid reflection on the possibility of events taking that course here. In town and country alike he sees black-men outnumbering white by five to one, held permanently, and so far submissively, to the rôle of hewers of wood and drawers of water, excluded from the franchise except in the Cape Province, owning only 8 per cent. of the land in a Country where they form 85 per cent. of the population, yet gradually being imbued, through the spread of education, the multiplication of means of communication, and the growth of a native Press, with the belief that they are an unfairly treated, expropriated race.

The danger is evident that such a condition may end in rebellion, and this, in South Africa, would mean nothing less than massacre—first, a massacre of scattered whites by the out-numbering host of natives that surrounds them, then a massacre of half-armed natives by Union troops with modern weapons.

This sounds like a morbid nightmare, but it is one which some of the most responsible men in the country seriously discuss as a possible, if remote, development.

A few days ago I was walking behind the Prince of Wales along the front of four thousand half-naked natives wearing their traditional fighting kit, of feathers, fringes, and leopard-skin girdles. The heads of some were bound with the wooden beads that mean their wearer has killed his man. In one hand these tribesmen held their piebald shields of tight-stretched oxhide, in the other a bunch of steel-headed assegais and a long club. A deep war chant came from their ranks, and now and then a lithe, muscular, black body would bound out of the ranks, leaping forward over the ground to stab and batter imaginary foes with spear or knobkerry. Their eyes were set in a sort of frenzy, for to these sons of warriors the practice of arms is still an almost religious duty.

"A Veiled Threat."—"And what do you think will be the end of all this?" said a voice suddenly at my elbow. "War! Every one of those songs is a veiled threat."

It was a South African officer of special standing and experience who spoke, a man who knows the natives and their tongues as well as anyone alive. "The same causes are at work now as have produced so many South African native uprisings of the past," he added, as we passed a group of European girls, with bare arms and pretty frocks, busy photographing the gesticulating warriors with no more concern than if they had been side-show at Wembley instead of part of a dense primitive population among which the whites live as a scattered handful, protected only by a few score police of their own race.

"Don't you ever feel a little anxious for your women folk among all those savages?" I asked a white settler the same day. "Anxious? Not in the least," he answered with obvious sincerity. "They're the best-tempered fellows in the world and devoted to the rule of the British."

Those are two contrasting views both strongly held in South Africa about a situation which forces itself upon the attention of the least observant.

Hitherto the good temper and happy diposition of the native races have kept them in the subordination to which they were reduced by the stern methods of the earlier white settlers, especially the Dutch.

Still A Fighting Stock.—But they are still a fighting stock and are being worked upon by new and powerful influences. The growth of the spirit of opposition among them was instanced in Johannesburg last week, when an order that native women out of doors after 10 p.m., must carry passes was met by a campaign of passive resistance, in which black women of undoubted good character deliberately courted arrest. It is the best educated among the natives that are often the centres of disaffection.

From time to time the very efficient Native Intelligence Department of the South African Police discovers traces of the activity of the Omalita a bloodthirsty native secret society whose members take an oath to ravish a virgin and kill a man, whether white, black, or half-breed, before they die. Seventeen of them were arrested in the Transvaal only a few weeks ago, and one, who was struck down as he tried to murder [illegible] as a man who had served six years as cook in a Pretoria hotel.

Several things are still lacking to bring South Africa's native danger to a head. The black population has no generally recognised leader; there is no immediate pretext in sight to stir them to action, and they are armed only with the most primitive weapons.

But the only thing that can secure South Africa beyond all apprehension to the white race is a much greater rate of increase in its European population. If present conditions continue unchecked it is inevitable that either by physical or economic pressure the black peoples of the country will squeeze out the white, as the growing cuckoo pushes the smaller nestlings over the edge.—"Daily Mail." July 6, 1929.

Although the Basutoland Progressive Association humble prayer is directed to the High Commissioner for his decision thereof it is however expected that the government authorities will do all that is in their power to convince His Highness that there was no foundation in the accusation against this august body. The charge was pooh poohed by the chiefs themselves in the National Council, when they admitted that the people's grievances of maltreatment were genuine. And unless the proceedings of the Council were minced before transmission to him, he, the High Commissioner must have known this truth. Further it is improbable that the present government could meet any difficulties in making the chiefs to understand that there was no harm in the Association, if the government of Sir Herbert could make chiefs then to understand this. We know the Association criticise the government as well as chiefs, but blockade would not be the way out of trouble.

Again this year the Association's attention has been drawn to a great question in Basutoland, of agriculture. They, as a body, have to organise farming associations, and spread to the people the knowledge acquired from the Agricultural Officer, who for a period beyond last year, had appeared too detached from farming community. Now that he had suggested the formation of farming associations to which he would lecture most branches of the Progressive Association have expressed willingness to carry on also as farming associations, as they are the only body out of which there would be found the element disposed to understand something about improved farming We certainly expect our government to play the game fairly, and to assure chiefs that there was no harm in the Association.

THE REAL PROBLEM.

THE problem which underlies the greater part of the Colonial Office debate—a part of which, that part which seems to bear upon British West Africa, is reported elsewhere—is that of the distribution, most profitable to themselves and to the Empire as a whole, of our European and non-European peoples. It is an immense task. It is vitally important to the future of us all. Mr. Amery and Mr. Ormsby-Gore, at the Colonial Office, and others associated with them are applying constructive minds to it, and it is time the public in general gave it more thought. We cannot hope to go on always as favourites of the high gods, excused from thinking difficulties out and making provision before we are in the middle of trouble. The main necessities are clear. The chief is that we need many, many more millions of the British stock, for Australasia, South Africa, Canada, countries where that stock can reproduce and grow its kind in climatic and political security. In these islands we have more of the stock than we can provide for.

Mr. Amery, in particular, grasps the problem clearly, and yet in the case of part of tropical Africa, part of the East, he seems to shrink from applying his own principles. Apart altogether from our undertakings to act only as trustees in Native Africa, apart from the existence of African races which become stronger, not weaker, under Western institutions and civilisation, there is the fact, plain to all who know Africa, that we can as little hope to colonise Africa, except in patches, as to colonise India. Why not recognise the fact frankly? We do begin, slowly and reluctantly, to make half-admission of it. Years ago, before we had arrived even at this stage, the Colonial Office, most unwisely, as Mr. Fisher feels, and is not alone in feeling, allowed European immigration into areas in East Africa which are in the main African, instead of acting as the old Cape Colony did in regard to its Transkeian Territories, and shutting out European settlement entirely. Much the cheapest course in the long run would be to buy out these people at a just price, and direct them to areas where they are needed. The debt, placed upon a country worked and administered as is West Africa, would soon be paid off. As that is apparently too heroic a course, and also raises our national dislike of first principles, surely the next best thing is, placing the African interest first, which is a wise trustee's business, so to administer that the settlers who remain are those who by paying proper wages in the open market (as every business man has to do), and otherwise establishing good relations with the local Africans, make themselves acquisitions to Africa instead of nuisances,

There is a *positive* African policy fraught with almost incalculable benefit both to Great Britain and to Africa awaiting application by the Colonial Office if it not only recognises but asserts with emphasis in regard to all the tropical areas, the West African principle, acceptance of which is the sole alternative to political unrest and economic failure there, the principle that the land belongs to the African races, and can only even be leased to Europeans on such conditions and for such periods as the Africans' recognised spokesmen willingly approve. If the Colonial Office will make it clear beyond doubt that it means this—and we believe it does mean it—progress in education in its widest sense, and in public health, which is at the root of material development, will follow surely and continuously.

Whose Views are They?

On the 17th ult. General Smuts delivered his speech at Johannesburg and everybody naturally expected him, as Opposition leader, to make a detailed reply to the Premier's historic Smithfield address. He, however, made a brief and caution reference which included the pertinent and diplomatic query: "Whose proposals were they that were enunciated by General Hertzog? Was it General Hertzog or the Government or the Nationalist Party that was behind the amazing changes proposed?

> "Nationalists and the Labour
> "Party had in advance dis-
> "agreed with some of the most
> "important proposals made by
> "General Hertzog The Pre-
> "mier said there was no dif-
> "ference in the Cabinet on
> "this subject, but the public
> "were entitled to say there
> "was a difference in view of
> "Mr Roos's actions and the
> "actions of the Transvaal Na-
> "tionalists and the Labour
> "Party."

Although this is a technical point in political procedure it means everything to the Native Voters and all other intelligent patriots.

In the first place General Hertzog has asked that this question be kept outside of the wrangle of party politics; but his Smithfield speech is a glorified *stet fortuna domus* vitiating his own fundamental principle in that his policy will under his premiership, completely destroy the party of his opponents and entrench the Nationalist party in political ascendancy for many years On this ground alone he has rendered his scheme highly distasteful to the South African Party, giving no *quid pro quo* for the political suicide he calls upon them to perpetrate.

In the second place the Transvaal statement is even more drastic in its plan to humiliate the Natives by requiring the Natives to be completely segregated in politics and yet to live territorially side by side with Europeans, contributing heavily towards the upkeep of the common state in which they shall lose the small irreducible share of influence they have enjoyed for generations.

How is our responsible Cape European public expected to discuss such a confused situation? The policy is not sponsored by an agreed a thorship and again the policy is chaotic and amazingly draconian. Many will agree that General Smuts is correct in declining to waste his breath and time discussing the question until the Smithfield declaration has been regularised as a considered and agreed Government manifesto.

Correspondence.

NGWENYA SIDING.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Sir,

The attention of the Railway authorities in the Eastern Division of the Railway Administration is earnestly called to favourably consider the petition submitted for the erection at the above siding of a "Shed or Waiting Room" for the safety of passengers and goods carried by trains to and from the siding. This siding, as all who have travelled along the East London-Cookhouse branch line know, is in the centre of a very large native population whom it serves for goods and passengers. It is a favourite "Station" for people of many miles distance around, traders and country Europeans as well as natives. For one to see intending passengers waiting at the siding in the heat of sun or in the wintry cold wind or in torrents of rain, with nothing but their hats to shelter them from the elements, say fifteen or even more minutes before the train comes—to see such a miserable spectacle, one cannot but feel impressed with the sad fact that the money he is thus to spend as train fare for his otherwise comfortable carriage to his destination is forsooth spent as train fare for his wretched future life to his other destination, the grave to which he must as invariably and inevitably speed, as to the station which marks the end of his journey.

We are talking about what actually took place to sick people who were often exposed to unfavourable weather conditions while waiting at the siding for the train to take them to the doctor at Alice or to the Hospital at Lovedale, and also to others who, being sick, return home from towns, and being taken down at this unsheltered spot, were obliged to face the elements, hastening their steps to the home "in the other world." We hope therefore that the Railway Authorities will kindly look upon this pitiable state of affairs as a moral duty for them to provide the necessary shelter as requested.

Bags of meal and other perishable and breakable things are constantly off loaded at the siding and left there exposed, sometimes overnight, before their owners are able to remove them. Many things have in that way been damaged or actually lost through this unnecessary exposure. So an open shed like that at Pirie, Wilmerton, etc., is all that is required to save the loss in this connection.

A small platform, too, like that at Umdala and Qanda Sidings is another desideratum because the damaging of many things taken down by Goods Trains at this siding is partly caused by the violence in which the things are hurled down from the height of many three or more feet from the truck. A platform therefore will save much loss of property and also the use of physical strength in loading and unloading.

I am, yours, etc.,
C. A. W. SIGILA,

Ngwenya,
Middledrift,
20th Nov., 1925.

Race Problem - 1925 I.

Africa.

THE ESTIMATES MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THIS year's Estimates meeting of the Legislative Council opened with the usual ceremonials, and there was a sense of expectancy, as His Excellency the Governor promptly at 10 o'clock began his address in a sustained tone. There was nothing apologetic in what he said, and he made it clear at the outset that his message would deal mainly with the three subjects of Education, Public Health, and Native Affairs. He premised his remarks by saying that this was the sixth occasion he had addressed the Council upon the Estimates, and that, in the ordinary course, that might be the last. Still there might be a possibility of his being allowed to remain a little longer in order that continuity may be maintained. He mentioned that the announcement of the coming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had been received with keen appreciation by all classes of the community, and that His Royal Highness would arrive in the Colony on April 12th, and leave on the 16th. Proceeding, he said that arrangements would be made to bring all the Chiefs together as far as possible for the Royal reception. He also announced the visit of Princess Louise, the grand daughter of Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who also would be accorded a right royal welcome.

Before dealing with the three main subjects he took the opportunity of welcoming the unofficial members of Council, "who sacrifice so much of their time in coming annually to Accra to vote the funds necessary for the coming financial year," and reiterated the main policy of Government, namely, the progress of the people of this country, a central policy from which all others radiated. The corner stone of that policy, he said, consisted in an improved and adequate system of Education, "an Education comprising the training of the mind in character and citizenship, the education of the brain in knowledge, and the training of the hand in arts and crafts." There was a time in the earlier years of the present Administration when it seemed to some as if the thought as to the progress of the people might be one way of securing acquiescence in Government schemes which were doubtful. But that time is happily gone. To-day the people feel that the Government really means well by them in its main policy of educational progress: and it may be taken for granted that they will stand by the Governor through thick and thin in this main policy.

In passing, His Excellency drew attention to the fact that for the third year in succession there was an appreciable improvement in trade, the tonnage of the last year's imports and exports having reached 755,653 tons having thus created a record in our sea borne trade. Further that the value of our imports and exports rose to £16,388,000, an increase of £700,000 over 1923; and he quoted the opinion of Mr. F. Palmer, C.I.E., the eminent Consulting Engineer now responsible for the completion of the Takoradi Harbour, based upon his inquiries as to the necessity for the construction of the Harbour that the total trade of the Colony would reach 730,000 tons in 1924, and would rise steadily to 1,000,000 tons in 1925.

As regards the export of cocoa, it was shown that here again another record year had been created. The returns in December, showing approximately that shipments of cocoa beans would reach 219,000 tons exclusive of 4,000 tons exported over land. A comparative view of tonnage from 1905 to 1924 showed in the earlier year 7,000 tons compared with 223,000 tons in the latter year, a phenomenal development making us the producers of half the world's cocoa supply. On this head it will be interesting to record the evidence from quite an independent source, and this we collect from the Christmas number of the "Elder Dempster Magazine" to which we drew attention in a recent issue.

The writer was dealing with the "Romance of the Cocoa and Chocolate Industry, Its Remarkable Genesis and Development," when he quotes the Gold Coast in 1902 as producing 2,710 tons and in 1922 166,000 tons even then a sufficiently astounding achievement. British Colonies lead in the production of cocoa, and the Gold Coast takes easily the first place among them. An apparently revised estimate shows the yield for 1922 to have been 156,271.0 tons valued at £5,753,478 as contrasted with the yield in 1892, the year of the introduction of cocoa in the Gold Coast, of 0.1 tons valued at £4. Thus it will be seen that our principal industry shows a tendency of further steady development barring accidents. The greatest consuming countries would appear to be America which in 1922 led with 143,000 tons, followed by Germany with 84,000 tons, Great Britain taking the third place with a consumption of 51,000 tons.

It was natural in view of the importance of our cocoa industry for His Excellency to have dwelt upon the "Insect Pests Ordinance." He said that the party coming out would carry out their duties as far as possible as Inspectors, and that in bad cases, where a farmer would not do his duty by his neighbour by taking steps to avoid disease, penalties would be exacted, but even then not drastically. Our readers will remember that at the time of the passing of this Ordinance in Council unofficial members freely criticised it, and that while they were not opposed to the protection and preservation of the farms from disease they were doubtful as to the expediency of adopting any harsh method which might defeat the object in view. We shared in this view and we adhere to the position then taken, and we trust that, as foreshadowed by the Governor the Chiefs would be given the opportunity of administering the Bye-Laws. For it occurs to us that in such an important industry upon which the future of this country wholly depends tactful co-operation is desirable on the part of all concerned to avoid any possibility of a decline. We shall continue our observations upon the Governor's message in our next issue.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE following editorial remarks on the return home of Nana Prempeh appear in the columns of our esteemed contemporary the *Nigerian Spectator* of January 10th, 1924:

"Ex-King Prempeh has returned to his country and everywhere people are loud in their praise of the dignity of his bearing and of his exhibition of good and sound common sense. There were thousands of people at Seccondee to welcome Nana Prempeh on his arrival there from his exile of 28 years, and at Coomassie, the historic capital of Ashanti land, the people were wild with joy in their welcome of the Father of the country. But Nana Prempeh has changed. Twenty-eight years ago at the time of his banishment Nana Prempeh was a Pagan King, the ruler of one of the most warlike races in Africa with power over life and death over his people, but he returned a Christian gentleman of great dignity of bearing, tactful and courteous, and of great personal charms, but with no power but the love and esteem of his people to support him in his changed and helpless condition.

"But the present governing authorities have acted very gratefully in their welcome of Nana Prempeh to the centre of his former kingdom. Mr. Maxwell, Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, was all courtesy to Nana Prempeh, and it is reported that during a recent visit of His Excellency Sir Gordon Guggisberg to Coomassie he invited Nana Prempeh to two public functions, and in one of these functions the Ex-King was requested to address the gathering which, to the surprise of every body, he did both in English and in vernacular. And everywhere that Sir Gordon Guggisberg went in Ashanti during that recent visit people gathered in thousands in the hope that the white Governor would be accompanied by their Nana Prempeh, and that they would be given an opportunity of welcoming him and thanking the British Authorities for bringing their beloved Nana back to them.

"It is clear that it is impossible for Nana Prempeh to be a nonentity in Ashanti land. His birth and his high position make that impossible. His exile has thoroughly modernised him, and he is now a Christian gentleman of high ideals. The British African relations with the Crown. Nor must that the Government policy which resulted in the Authorities in Ashanti have a splendid weapon in return of Nana Prempeh to his country was a wise one. The Ashantis are a highly sensible and highly organised people. Themselves a race of warriors, they know how to bow to the fortunes of war, and they have for the last twenty eight years pursued the paths of peace to such good purpose that trade and commerce now flourish where chaos reigned, great and swords and guns have been replaced by hoes and ploughshares. Churches and schools now abound in Ashanti land and Nana Prempeh since his arrival at Coomassie has given such an impetus to the beneficient work of Christian missionaries in the country that the whole of the Royal Family in Coomassie has declared for Christianity, and in a few years all Ashantis may embrace Christianity

opinion in this matter; and, for ourselves, we shall not regret if we should happen to have timely directed attention to an all-important consideration in British West African an opportunity as an individual concerned. Around questions like those of any West African those of the Eleko and the Authorities utilise this recognition by Government may be a number of side issues, which do not touch the heart of the matter. At bedrock it is a question of nationality and of national integrity, and it cannot be too strongly emphasised that Britain cannot better cement our loyalty and devotion to the Throne than by respecting and encouraging our national as-

Race Problem - 1925 Σ.

Africa.

THE ESTIMATES MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

THIS year's Estimates meeting of the Legislative Council opened with the usual ceremonials, and there was a sense of expectancy, as His Excellency the Governor or promptly at 10 o'clock began his address in a sustained tone. There was in a subdued apologetic manner he said, and he made it clear at the outset that his message would deal mainly with the three subjects of Education, Public Health, and Native Affairs. He premised his remarks by saying that this was the sixth occasion he had addressed the Council upon the Estimates, and that, in the ordinary course, that might be the last. Still there might be a possibility of his [illegible] remain a little longer in order that continuity may be maintained. He mentioned that the announcement of the coming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had been received with keen appreciation by all classes of the community, and that His Royal Highness would arrive in the Colony on April 12th, and leave on the 16th. Proceeding, he said that arrangements would be made to bring all the Chiefs together as far as possible for the Royal reception. He also announced the visit of Princess Louise, the grand daughter of Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who also would be accorded a right royal welcome.

Before dealing with the three main subjects he took the opportunity of welcoming the unofficial members of Council, "whose sacrifice so much of their time in coming annually to Accra to vote the funds necessary for the coming financial year," and reiterated the main policy of Government, namely, the progress of the people of this country, a central policy from which all others radiated. The corner stone of that policy, he said, consisted in an improved and adequate system of Education, "an Education comprising the training of the mind in character and citizenship, education of the brain in knowledge, and the training of the hand in arts and crafts." There was a time in the earlier years of the present Administration when it seemed to some as if the thought as to the progress of the people might be one way of securing acquiescence in Government schemes which were doubtful. But that time is happily gone. To-day the people feel that the Government really means by them in its main policy of educational progress: and it may be taken for granted that they will stand by the party coming in passing, His Excellency drew attention to the fact that for the third year in succession there was an appreciable increase in trade, the tonnage of the last year's imports and exports having reached the figure of £16,388,000, an increase of £700,000 over the previous year. As regards the export of cocoa, it was shown that there again another record year, the figures in December last having been exceeded. The returns in December last showed that the total exclusive of 4,000 tons exported over land, to 1924, and would reach 730,000 tons in 1925.

pirations. It is only fair. It is only right. And we know that Britain has a mind to do that which is right and fair.

How Mosquitoes Carry Malaria.

A Simple Account For Young People.

Health Circular No. 22 issued for public information by the South African Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 3266, Johannesburg.

Malaria is a fever which is commonest in countries with hot climates such as Africa, but it is well-known in many other countries. No one can get malaria unless they have been bitten by a malaria mosquito, so that if all the mosquitoes in the world were destroyed there would be no malaria, but it is not an easy task to destroy millions and millions of insects. Some people might say it was impossible. Years ago people would have said it was impossible to drive an engine by steam, but to-day we have steam engines, which shows that it is better not to say a thing is impossible just because it seems very difficult.

The name malaria came from two Italian words—*malaria*—meaning "bad air," and this name was given to the fever because people thought it was caused by the bad air rising from marshes, for they had noticed that men living near marshes often had malaria. One day, however, (in 1881) a French doctor named Laveran who was examining the blood of a man sick with malaria found some very tiny animals called parasites which were living in his body and feeding on his blood. When he examined the blood of another person with malaria he found the same little parasites, so then he knew that malaria was caused by these parasites in the body and not by air or anything from outside.

The next questions was: How could malaria be spread about if it was caused by something living in the body? After a lot of experiments an English army doctor named Major Ronald Ross believed it was mosquitoes which caused all the trouble, so he determined to see whether the little malaria parasites which lived in people could also live in mosquitoes, and whether they could pass them on to other living things. So he caught some mosquitoes, let them bite a man who was ill with malaria, and then shut them up with some birds. The mosquitoes bit the birds and after a time the birds became ill with malaria fever, which proved that the mosquitoes really were the culprits who carried the disease about. Some Italian doctors then tried the same experiments, only with men instead of birds; the men, too, got fever when bitten, so it was absolutely proved that malaria was carried from one person to another by mosquitoes.

There is a story told about the heroism of four American army doctors who were trying to find out the truth about another fever called Yellow Fever, which they believed was also carried by mosquitoes. First of all for twenty days and nights they wore the clothes of people with yellow fever and slept in beds these people had slept in. None of them caught the fever so that showed it could not be caught from things sick people had touched. Next, two of them allowed themselves to be bitten by mosquitoes which had been found in fever district. Both of them caught the fever and one of them Dr. Lazear, died. He had given his life to prove that mosquitoes carried yellow fever about and so save thousands of others from getting it. Heroes, you see, are found in other places besides battle fields.

There are many sorts of mosquitoes but the one which carries malaria is called the Anopheles mosquito, and it is only the mother anopheles which bites. You can tell her from other mosquitoes in three ways: she has two long "palpi" or feelers, one on each side of her beak; her wings are dusky looking and slightly spotted; and when she is sitting down, she almost looks as if she were standing on her head. She doesn't often bite in the daytime, and she is very shy and doesn't sing loudly.

The baby mosquito goes through four stages, almost like a butterfly. First there is the egg which is laid flat on the water. Other mosquitoes lay their eggs in groups, sometimes as many as 200 together, so that they look like a little floating raft, but Mother Anopheles lays hers singly which makes them more difficult to find. After one or two days the egg turns into a larva or "*wriggler*," rather like a wriggling caterpillar. It lives like this for 7 to 10 days, but as it is growing all the time it keeps changing its skin and shedding the old one. Then comes the *pupa* or "tumbler" stage, when the insect is curved round like a comma printed in a book; and, finally, after another 24 hours or more, the young mosquito comes out. It is interesting to catch some wrigglers, put them in a jar half full of water with some grass at the bottom and netting over the top, and watch them develop. It is better to have wigglers which are all nearly full grown because they are cannibals and the big ones will eat the little ones. If you watch them through a magnifying glass you will be able to see whether they are anopheles or another kind because the anopheles wigglers lie flat just under the surface of the water and the others hang down.

The foregoing article is supplied by the League of Red Cross Societies and extra copies may be obtained on application to the South African Red Cross Society P. O. Box 3266, Johannesburg; Transvaal.

His Royal Highness' reply to addresses by CisKei Natives.

Chiefs, Headmen, Representatives, and People,

The expressions of loyalty and attachment to the Person and throne of His Majesty the King, with which you have received me, will be conveyed to him on completion of my journey through South Africa.

I am glad of this opportunity to meet you all. I understand that many of you have travelled long distances to welcome me, and I can assure you I fully appreciate this, which is in keeping with the well known respect and reverence accorded by the Native people to the memory of the Great Queen Victoria, during whose long reign the spread of civilisation among the Native people began.

Due largely to the faith and self-sacrifice of the Missionaries, and the patience and devotion of the officials, the Natives have emerged from comparative barbarism to a measure of civilised life in a comparatively short time.

In this neighbourhood only a few years ago—as years count in the history of a people—white and black were in antagonism, bloodshed was frequent, and the attraction of this beautiful country was marred by the fact that life was precarious. To-day we realise the blessings that peace and Christianity can bring.

In the past white and black contended with arms in their hands, to-day it is recognised by all that there must be closer co-operation and goodwill between the two races, in the interests of both, and I am advised that consultation is used before any important steps affecting your welfare are taken by the Government.

I would caution you against tendencies to mistrust those in authority or to turn to those whose smooth promises have yet to be translated into performance. To avoid these dangers you should study how you may manage your own affairs through the Council system. I am pleased to note that those who already enjoy it understand its value. The Council system has borne excellent fruit in the Transkeian Territories, where it has been many years in operation. I am confident that where it is available on this side of the Kei you would find in it a solution of many of your troubles, and also an education as to many of the difficulties which the Government has to meet.

I am informed that you have experienced several years of recurring drought entailing heavy losses, and that life is hard. Little children even have experienced want. You have my sympathy. Such trials, no doubt, have a value if they strengthen character. Adversity may bring out in large measure that quality of character which is natural to the Native people.

Your immediate need in a country liable to drought is to find means to overcome it by the conservation of water, intensive agriculture, reduction in the number of stock and the improvement of its quality. The appointment of Agricultural Demonstrators who, I learn, are at work among you, is the first valuable step in this direction, but it must be seconded by real anxiety on your part to learn, and to apply improvements.

If you were to visit more advanced countries, you would at once notice that every stock owner strives to get the best. Until you realise that there is not room for everyone to own stock and that you ruin your country by overstocking, you will not make progress.

You are fortunate in having in this neighbourhood several educational institutions of proved worth and outstanding merit. See that you take a proper pride in these centres of civilisation, which will exercise ever widening influences for good over your people, and will be so largely responsible for fitting your children to occupy improved positions and

Race Problem — 1925 II

Africa.

to take a greater share in shaping the destiny of this great young Dominion. The Union of South Africa is faced with the solution of a great problem—the adjustment of the differences in character and outlook of two diverse races called upon in the Providence of the Almighty to live side by side and work together for the uplift of all.

In conclusion I wish you all increased prosperity and happiness

King Williamstown,
May 20th, 1925.

THE EAST AFRICA COMMISSION.

II.

THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATES FOR THE COLONIES AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

We left, in our last impression, under the above caption, where reasons were being advanced shewing why among other things, it was necessary for the Special Commission as was sent out to East Africa last year to also be sent out to West Africa and that an impartial opportunity should be afforded the African to further his industrial ambition in his own country. We are still convinced as to the unreasonableness of our request as we consider ourselves in the hands of our rulers, one deserving a paternal if not a brotherly consideration. We have counted 61 years of our relation with Great Britain, more than a century of unqualified loyalty to the Throne and this alone appears to us a fitting instance of our claim to a kind and just treatment from our rulers and even advancement in our political status. In this contention we are able to cite cases in which the ambitious African has been turned down with his ambition to be attempt to rise industrially, and has been, for reasons best known to the authorities, told that thus far and no more.

We refer our readers to our leading article of the 15th instant in which two cases of African ambition were grabbed by our European brothers, an award that was most certainly undue; and it has not yet become a history in which two other cases may be brought to bear on the above assertion, one of which a respectable citizen, after expending a large capital in the purchase and importation from England into this Colony of a plant of industry, was prevented by certain ordinances from making full use of this machinery to the extent that the scheme was abandoned in spite of the high expenditure on its outlay. Another case is where an African proprietor of a business, a branch of which is situated in a place in West Africa commonly regarded as European Reserve Area, who, for reasons of his colour was precluded from sleeping, without a special permission, in his own business place during his visit there, even when his stay there did not cover more than a few days.

But the above cannot be the sole aspect of the things for which the visit of the Special Commission is so much urged. Dismal as those appear to be, we consider that they can as well be relieved by other features which would be of equal interest and perhaps of a less exciting nature to the Commission. There is the wealth of the various Colonies not yet explored and in some cases not yet known: while in other cases there have been a tapping here and a tapping there only on the fringe. The cause of this slowness in growth cannot be treated fairly as resulting from an indifferent disposition on the part of those of our rulers sent out here: we are rather inclined to believe that whatever their short-comings may be given certain allowances for human frailties, our rulers have each had, subject however to the peculiar temperament of individual governors, a good intention towards our advancement on many lines. But the regrettable side of the matter is that there is always the existence of a vast difference between the potentialities of any given administrator and his final achievements to an almost alarming degree. We have seen governors with apparently good intentions holding out promises to the community on their assumption of government only to leave the Colony in a state of disappointment on their departure.

As we mentioned above, it would be unfair were we, in deciding on the nature of things to sedulously throw the blame of such delinquency on the shoulders of the Governors themselves, be they of whatever turn of mind. Allowing of course for some exceptional cases when a head of the Executive shews an incipient determination to treat with disregard the feelings of the people in spite of representations and protests. Such cases however are rare and far between and testimonies have been borne out that such attitude has, on no single account, escaped the merited reward.

The causes why a word from one in such exalted position as the Head of the Executive, has not in all cases come out as the people expected may be many but we feel that several of these are centered on this main fact that being governors of what are known as lesser colonies of the British Empire, whatever the nature of their intentions may be, all plans, more or less, affecting the colonies which they governed have first to be submitted to a Home Authority who, with scarcely any knowledge at his disposal of the true nature of things save what he sees through an obscure medium and believes to be suitable for the people, is the one that should have the last word in any such matter; and then, after a period of long and awkward delay, the matter is smoothed down to a finish by words amounting to disapproval of the scheme for financial or other reasons.

It would be foolish on our part were we to expect that the advent of the Special Commission spells good bye to all those things; but an abatement and even modification of existing conditions might be possible after a better understanding of things between ourselves and the Mother Country has been established by immediate contact. We expect, at least, that things will in due time, remedy themselves with greater ease and precision than heretofore.

In our view, we believe the special Commission will be well advised if, in coming to West Africa, it could first make a call into one or other of the West African Colonies under foreign rule and see the workings in those Colonies so as to form a valuable comparison between the Colonies under foreign rule and ours. We record this impression because we are induced to suggest that such developments on Sanitation, Transport, etc., of which we are daily informed as taking place in other Colonies, particularly those under the French rule, cannot have been so satisfactorily carried out exclusively from Local Funds; we think that the Imperial Fund must have been employed in a long way side by side with the revenues of those Colonies. In our issue of the 15th inst., under this subject, we made certain quotation of the speech of the Right Hon. Earl Buxton, delivered on the occasion of a dinner given in London in January last on behalf of the members of the Special Commission to East Africa and we may here add another from the lips of this enlightened statesman on the same occasion as follows:—

> "I hope a better and easier task in getting the Treasury to recognise that it is to the interest both of the Colonies and of the Mother Country that we should spend money in developing our Tropical Colonies."

THE MAGAZINES

SIR FREDERICK LUGARD'S theories of education for the African native are very interesting and very practical. He develops them in the new number of the *Edinburgh Review* ("Education in Tropical Africa"). The schools he would like to see established would of necessity be run in connexion with missions. Boys would be taught simple trades, and the methods of agriculture practised in the district, with improvements. The girls would learn cleanliness, elementary sanitation and the care of children. Both would be taught religion—a simple unequivocal Christianity with sanctions, and both would learn to read and write. The school should be in charge of a selected native teacher, who, with his wife, should afford an example of a higher home life than that which obtains in the village. Mr. Arthur West writes of "The Liberties of the Tower." His article is a sketch of the history of the Tower, regarded as a kind of stone wall comment upon English, indeed upon European civilization. Two evidently well-informed writers, A. C. Comfort and E. A. Hartell, discuss the desirability of "Cinematography in Schools." Evidently they know primary education from the inside, and they sum up against its introduction. "The Pictures" imply "looking on," and true educational training implies work. They also warn the public against embarking on so tremendous an expense. "The Laws Against Usury" are historically very interesting. Mr. Meston sketches their development in an entertaining and delightful paper.

"FICTION AND THE COAST."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—The notes on this subject in your issue of April 26th are amusing as well as interesting. The writer knows his subject, as witness the inclusion of "Hell's Playground," without which no "Coastana" could be complete. But the reference to Hamilton's fine little effort, "The Palm Oil Ruffian," tickles me most; as there happens to be a copy on my shelves, with a letter gummed into the cover, which would explain to your contributor why it has had no successors. It is "up to" some other man to tell why Grossmith did not publish other works from the same pen or under the same name.

As for my description of West Africa being "too sen-

timental" or needlessly "Negrophile," much depends upon the point of view. For myself, fully aware of my proofness to sentimentality, I must say that neither Edgar Wallace, nor C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne, nor any other of the "popular" fiction-writers of our period have touched the spot.

The Negro is a very human being. He can only be properly understood if one meets him on equal terms. He refuses either to be pampered or maltreated in these enlightened days. Yet Edgar Wallace's Bosambo is only a lovable rogue, with all a white man's idiosyncrasies; and he may claim few (if any) Negroid traits. As for the African figures of Hyne, those of Bindloss, they are mere bags of straw. They have no brain-power, no spiritual urge, no "personality." Outside "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Dred," and several other stories by that fiercely energetic American woman-reformer, there is scarcely a real Negro in *any* white author's creations. Read, however, Du Bois or Llewelyn Powys—*there* you find the African soul laid bare!

I have no African blood—but is it any shame to my work that I have *tried* to feel like a Negro, while I wrote in his cause? If the effort to use an African's senses be "Negrophile," then I am afraid that I must (gladly) plead "guilty."

We must learn, we Whites, that the Negro is awakening to his real place in the cosmos. That weakening of reason, that impaired tenderness of heart, that obscured sense of the immanence of God which came to the slave-*holder*, was never once felt by the slave-*chattel*. Through all his agonies he maintained his tremendous faith in God's goodness; and we must not wonder now if he is asserting his power a little too vehemently. WEST AFRICA might show enough courage to present its White readers with the Black man's point of view. One need not necessarily be "Negrophile" to sound this note of warning:—

"Men are equal, *whatever their birth*!"

In conclusion, it pleases me much that West Africa should only be written about by people who *know* the life. For every one of the authors named by your contributor has dwelt among us during a short or long period. We must continue to repudiate the impertinence of books and plays of the calibre of "White Cargo."

Yours faithfully,

J. M. STUART-YOUNG.

Onitsha, May 21st.

THE "JOURNAL" OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

An attempt to explode the reputation for antiquity enjoyed by the "aggrey" beads of the Gold Coast is made in the African Society's "Journal," by Mr. A. W. Cardinall, who traces the name to the trade term for a kind of blue coral found at Benin, and much favoured in early times at the Gold Coast. Later, the name was applied to all beads which had special value, whether from rarity or from connection with some venerated Chief, whence also the common statement that they came out of the ground. His conclusions are much the same as those of Sir Harry Johnston, namely, that although ancient beads may exist, there is no reason why the ordinary aggrey beads should be older than the Middle Ages, or of any but Venetian origin, the Phœnician theory probably having arisen from confusion of names of similar sound. To Coasters, the dinner to the Duke and Duchess of York will be interesting, not so much because of the short account of their visit to East Africa, as by reason of the presentation of the Society's third gold medal to Sir Frederick Lugard, and the personal reminiscences thereby elicited of a 40 years' connection with Africa. Mr. T. A. Barnes describes a big game trip from Dar-es-Salaam to Matadi, in which he asserts not only that there are probably more elephants than men in the Belgian Congo, but that the Central African gorilla is by no means the rare animal that previous report has made it. There are interesting articles on the peoples of Kondoa Irangi, and on witchcraft in South Africa, while "Soudanese Soldiers' Songs," collected by Maj. D. H. Thorburn, show a medley of sacred and profane chants and choruses in which women, beer, Allah, work, and the honesty of the quartermaster-sergeant are dealt with much as they are by soldiers everywhere. In "Sylviculture in the Canaries" Mr. A. Johnston shows the possibility of using the trees and plants of that cindery soil, and regards "The Islands" as an example of the real progress that can be made in the more arid parts of Africa when full attention is given to the subject. He would like to see an International Forestry Conference held at Teneriffe, "The Meeting place of Palm and Pine," where the needs of Africa could receive full consideration.

THE BELGIAN CONGO

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, September 2, 1925.

No Rising at Elisabethville.

In your last issue, you reprinted, under the heading "Rising at Elisabethville," a Reuter's cable concerning events that took place in the Sakania country.

For the sake of accuracy, I wish to point out: First, that no rising and even no incident at all took place at Elisabethville. This was confirmed to me, to-day at noon, by Mr. Dellicour, the Chef du Cabinet of Mr. Carton, our Colonial Minister.

Secondly: That the incidents that took place in the Sakania country (150 miles south-east of Elisabethville) were of a religious origin, and, as just stated to me by Mr. Dellicour, they do not entitle one to talk of a rebellion.

As reported by Reuter, in its cable dated Cape Town, August 22, "A native religious fanatic and some followers of his sect have been holding meetings and attempting to make forcible conversions. In one village alone, they are reported to have slaughtered fifty natives." The Reuter cable added: "A small patrol of native police sent to investigate the rising has been driven off with casualties in killed and wounded"; but the official cables received since are quite clear as to the nature of the incidents: these are exclusively of religious origin, and Mwansela, the native prophet who provoked them (a foreigner, by the way) has taken flight to Rhodesia.

Neither at the Colonial Office, nor at the Katanga Special Committee, have they confirmation, to-day at noon, of the cable sent from Cape Town, on August 26, to the "Chicago Tribune." According to this cable, all the men of the police force sent to investigate the matter have been killed, ten men of the second patrol have also been killed, and troops had to be sent from Elisabethville. These troops attacked the villages, arrested sixty natives, and discovered fifty-five corpses of natives drowned whilst being baptised by Mwansela. The "Chicago Tribune" cable concluded in announcing that Mwansela had escaped, that the administrator was on the spot, and that order was nearly restored.

As a result of that baptism propaganda, the authorities of Northern Rhodesia decided, some time ago, that no one should be allowed to teach a religion to natives without being bearer of a strictly personal and annual authorisation delivered under their own responsibility by the legal representatives of the various churches. We, in the Congo, recently followed this good lead, but it appears that this regulation has not been sufficiently enforced, at least in the Sakania district.

A Quarter-Century of Splendid Work.

Apropos of religious propaganda, I have to chronicle another event. In connection with their anniversaries, the Redemptorists Fathers (28, Rue Belliard, Brussels) have just issued an interesting and well got-up book, with a copy of which they have kindly favoured your correspondent. From that book, it appears that the Redemptorists (the 5th R.C. Missionary order as far as the number of missionaries is concerned) have now been settled n the Lower Congo for a quarter of a century.

At each of their 10 missions there (missions evangelising 715 villages where the Redemptorists count 15,960 Christian and 18,000 pagans attending their services) they have a school where the natives are taught to read, write, and calculate. At each of their missions, too, they have several professional schools (shoemaking, needlework, printing, bookbinding, carpentry, masonry, agriculture, etc.), and an hospital.

The services they give are so greatly appreciated that, recently, the white residents of Matadi, Thysville, and Kinshasa offered a motor-lorry to Brother Gabriel Menten to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his arrival in the Congo. (Brother Gabriel Menten is the only survivor of the first Redemptorists that came to the Congo, where, in 25 years, 24 of these devoted missionaries have passed away—the part of the Congo where they are settled is, indeed, not a healthy one.)

The Upper Congo-Great Lakes Railways.

Mr. C. Camus, the general manager of the Upper Congo-Great Lakes Railways, sends me the following returns:—

In the first half of 1923, the Great Lakes Railways carried 13,357,825 kilometric tons of freight and luggage: in the first half of 1924: 17,231,150 kilometric tons, and in the first half of this year: 24,988,600 kilometric tons.

The gross receipts amounted, in the first half of 1923, to 2,705,168 frs.: in the first half of 1924 to 5,683,739 frs., and in the first half of this year to 7,040,300 frs.

The Lower Congo-Katanga Railway.

In reliable quarters, I have been informed, on Saturday last, that the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway (Hébo-Bukama) should be inaugurated, at the latest, in the middle of 1928. From another authoritative source, the time of the completion of the line was given me, yesterday, as to probably be the latest months of 1927 or the first ones of 1928.

If, by the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway, Elisabethville will be 2,753 kilometers distant from Matadi (1,948 kilometers of rail and 805 of rivers—2 transhipments, whilst, by the actual route, via Bulawayo, Elisabethville is 2,609 kilometers from Beira (no transhipment), Matadi is only 5,352 sea miles from Antwerp, whilst Beira is 7,250 miles from Antwerp, via Suez, and 7,628 miles via Cape Town.

Thus, likewise the Lobito route (Benguella Railway) (that could be open end 1928 or before), the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway will not only reduce the cost of Katanga copper delivered in Europe (or America), but it will also enable the Union Minière du Haut Katanga to put more quickly on the market its copper and other metals.

More Katanga Tin.

Count Marc Minette d'Oulhaye, the managing director of the Géomines, told me last week-end he was studying the means to considerably increase the output of cassiterite (tin ore).

From an actual production of some 720 tons of cassiterite (yielding over 71 per cent. of tin), Count Marc Minette d'Oulhaye intends to increase it, to begin, to 1,000 tons and, later on, to much more.

The working of the very rich Géomines tin fields is now greatly facilitated by the completion of the light railway, 55 kilometers long, which the Géomines recently built to connect its Manono tin fields with the Upper Lualaba River at Mayumba.

The Géomines tin fields contain a minimum of 25,000 tons of cassiterite, and the Géomines is to start borings to determine exactly the amount of its reserves.

As you know, the world tin consumption is always increasing, and already exceeds the production. So, no wonder that, in spite of the temporary depression on the Metal Exchange (Standard Tin quoted yesterday, Tuesday, at £250 5-16 per ton), much higher quotations (£300 a ton) are expected towards the end of the year.

To illustrate the above statement, here are, according to the "Financial Times" Special Tin Supplement (June 8, this year), the world's production and the world's consumption of tin in the last five years:—

	Production. Tons.	Consumption. Tons
1920	137,600	113,000
1921	86,900	85,000
1922	130,500	129,000
1923	125,700	136,000
1924	13 ,400	138,000

(Our other big tin producer in the Congo is the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, which produced, last year, 690 tons of cassiterite. The Simkat also produces tin, but in far less important quantities.)

J. ROUSSEAUX.

Race Problem—1925.

Liberia.

Africa

LIBERIA VIRTUALLY SOLD OUT TO AMERICAN COMPANY WHICH HAS PRETENTIOUS PLANS FOR EXPLOITATION OF RUBBER FIELDS

CONTRACT WITH LIBERIA GOVERNMENT ENABLES AMERICAN COMPANY TO SURVEY WHOLE OF LIBERIA AND CHOOSE DESIRED LANDS, SAYS HARVEY FIRESTONE

New York, N. Y.

LIBERIA MORE HEALTHY THAN FLORIDA, ITS BELATED DECLARATION

300,000 Natives to Be Employed at Starvation Wages—"Malays Receive 24 Cents a Day from British, and Liberians Will Work for Less," Says Firestone, Gloating Over Cheap Labor

(From the N. Y. Times, Oct. 16)

Harvey S. Firestone, President of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, said yesterday that the Firestone Plantations Company, of which he is president, would invest $100,000,000 in developing its rubber concession in Liberia, and would eventually have 1,000,000 acres of rubber trees growing on what is now bush and jungle.

Outlining his plans in an interview at the Hotel Plaza yesterday, Mr. Firestone said he had formed twenty planting organizations, and expected eventually to have an output of 250,000 tons of rubber a year, which is more than 50 per cent of the world's present output. At present, America controls 3 percent of the world's rubber production, the remaining 97 percent being controlled by British and Dutch capital.

"This is the first big movement that America has made to obtain her own rubber," said Mr. Firestone.

The rubber manufacturer described how he had sent exploring parties of experts out three years ago to look the world over for vast acreages suitable for rubber growing, after he had been led to the determination to grow his own rubber, because of the British restrictions which kept down the output and kept up the price. Politics, difficult laws, and revolutions kept him out of the Philippines, Mexico and Central America, but his agents reported ideal conditions in Liberia.

To Employ 300,000 Natives

A contract with the Liberia Government enables the American company, Mr. Firestone said, to survey the whole of Liberia and choose here and there the land best suited for rubber productions until 1,000,000 acres have been taken over. His plans call for the employment of more than 300,000 natives, besides a great organization of whites.

One 2,000-acre plantation—a going concern in British hands—was purchased outright by the company, and its production of thousands of pounds of raw rubber per month is coming to this country, though the plantation is being used mainly as a great nursery of rubber trees for the new ones.

His million-acre project will be the greatest rubber plantation in the world, Mr. Firestone said, and America's greatest investment in the tropics, involving practically the physical remodeling of a whole country—the building of harbors, roads, towns, hospitals and other public works.

The new corporation has already let a contract to the J. G. White Engineering Company of New York to build a harbor at Monrovia, the capital and principal city of Liberia. Liberia now has no shipping facilities, the ships riding off the coast and landing and taking shipment with the help of surfboats when the weather favors. A great breakwater will be constructed so that ships may be in shelter and unload from lighters. It will take five or six years for the plantations now being set out to mature, and until then at least two shipping lines which now touch Liberia will be sufficient to carry freight for the Firestone Plantations Company. Later, he intimated, the company might enter the shipping business.

The projected $100,000,000 commercial empire which will be planted in Africa would have gone to the Philippines, according to Mr. Firestone, except for the fact that native politicians two years ago opposed the invasion of American capital on a large scale, for fear that heavy American investments there would postpone the day of Philippine independence. Mr. Firestone said he understood that a change of feeling had taken place in the islands, and that rubber growers would be welcomed there now.

Explorer Praises Climate

M. A. Cheeke, a rubber planter, who carried on part of the exploration work that preceded the negotiations with the Liberian government, said yesterday, that, in spite of its position on the west coast of Africa, within a few degrees of the equator, the climate of Liberia was pleasant and healthy.

"If Liberia was in easy distance of this city, New Yorkers would never go to Florida," he said. "There is a variation of temperature from 55 to occasional extremes of 105. It is very much like Florida, with better fishing. There is practically no hunting, however, the dense population having killed out most animal life. This is one reason for its healthiness, as there are few mammals to carry disease parasites. There is some malaria, but it will be stamped out entirely. The average native is a man of powerful build and a fine worker. This abundant labor supply is one of the chief advantages of the place."

One reason for the fine physique of the natives, it was said, is that they carry burdens of all sizes on their heads, so that they develop tremendous shoulders and necks. Carrying forty or fifty pounds all day long on his head is said to be nothing to a native Liberian.

"If you give a native Liberian a silver coin as a tip," said one of the recently returned members of the Firestone staff, he will put a plate on his head and carry the coin about on the plate. If you give him a letter to deliver he will put the letter on his head and a stone on the letter to hold it in place."

Cheap Labor Supply

Cheap production was assured, Mr. Firestone said, because the native Liberian will work for less than the Malays, who receive a shilling a day for labor on the British plantations. He said that there would be no openings for American Negroes, both because the rate of pay would not attract them and because the Liberians did not welcome black immigrants from America, although the Government and the civilized part of the country was originally founded by American Negroes—escaped slaves and freedmen who were sent to Liberia by abolition societies.

The occasion for Mr. Firestone making his plans public yesterday was his visit to this city to see his son, Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., and Mrs. Firestone, Jr., on their return from Europe.

The son will open an office of the Plantations Company in London. London is the business center of English rubber-producing activities, and Mr. Firestone Jr. intends to keep in close touch with rubber-growing affairs there and to take advantage of the experience of rubber-growing experts.

Mr. Firestone said:

"I have been very active recently in Akron getting together the organization and equipment for Liberia. The country is wholly undeveloped either agriculturally or industrially and my effort is naturally a pioneer one. It is my intention to plant up as much land as quickly as it is physically and economically possible, because all Government and other figures show there is a shortage of rubber now.

"While organizing for the Liberian enterprise I have also taken a lease on 35,000 acres of land in Mexico, upon which there is located 350 acres of Hevea trees—the best rubber-producing tree known today—and several thousand acres of Castilloa rubber trees.

"I have been investigating in Mexico for two years and plan to carry forward an experiment upon this plantation. I sent two experienced planters to Mexico two years ago to look over this property, but they were forced to abandon any attempt at further investigation at that time because of a revolution. I now have two men in Mexico City organizing a force for this operation, and, if political and labor conditions will permit, expect to prove whether Mexico is a suitable place for rubber production."

Why Liberia Was Chosen

Asked why Liberia had been chosen for the development, Mr. Firestone said:

"When I first started on this my preference was for the Philippine Islands. I preferred to go it under the American flag, and I sent three experienced rubber growers from the Malay Peninsula there to investigate. The Philippine Islands have the soil and the climatic conditions and, I believe, have sufficient labor for such a plantation. But their land laws and their governmental conditions made it impossible to go there and invest capital. In fact I don't think that the Philippine Islands at that time—two years ago—wanted us to come.

"When these investigators returned from the Philippines I sent two of them into Central America.

"The 35,000-acre rubber plantation was started. Then a revolution came and they had to go out through Guatemala. They went down through Central America. They found plenty of opportunity for growing rubber in Central America, but the labor conditions and the land laws were not favorable,

"Then I looked toward Liberia, where this country has a moral protectorate, if not a direct protectorate. The experts found conditions there in all respects favorable. The Liberian Government was well disposed toward the project and gave us the greatest concession of the kind ever made.

"American capital has always shied at the tropics and preferred home investments. The British rubber growers have always laughed at the idea of Americans entering that market, because of our attitude toward tropical investments. But I want it understood that this is wholly serious, and the first real American bid at growing our own rubber. We have to start at the bottom, plant the country and build everything we need, but conditions are highly favorable, and our labor cost will be 50 per cent less than in the Malay Peninsula."

Doubts Florida Experiment

Asked about the 300-acre experimental rubber plantation in Florida, Mr. Firestone said:

"I am not interested in that. That is an experiment of Mr. Edison's and Mr.Ford's. I can't see how it can be grown successfully there. In Liberia, we pay practically nothing for a million acres. The cost of the ground in Florida would be heavy, not considering taxes, labor and land laws."

Mr. Firestone said he was not impressed with the possibility of "milking rubber trees by machinery," in place of cheap labor. At present, one native tends about three acres of trees, keeping the sap, or latex, of the crude rubber running the year round, and no practical substitute for the native has yet been proposed.

Asked if Henry Ford was interested in the $100,000,000 investment, Mr. Firestone said:

"I don't want to say anything about that. This is the Firestone Plantations Company. I am not prepared as yet to say anything about the financing of it."

FIRESTONE'S DAZZLING ENTERPRISE IN AFRICA

The most sensational industrial news of the day is announcement that Harvey Firestone will invest $100,000,000 in the rubber-growing industry in Liberia, the land of an ill-fated experiment in negro republicanism.

This is America's answer to the British challenge for a raee to determine what flag shall control the world's raw rubber supply. The British hold a practical monopoly of rubber-growing lands. They have excited much anxiety in this country which is the chief rubber-consumer of the world because of this monopoly and the resolute purpose of the British to make the most of their opportunity by "soaking" the American buyers. This was not reprehensible in the British, in the light of international trade practice, particularly in the light of the high tariff wall which our Republican Congress erected against foreign-made goods; but it was and is proving highly inconvenient and embarrassing to Americans.

The situation forced Americans to employ all the resources of their ingenuity to find a way out. Secretary Herbert Hoover of the Department of Commerce, surveyed the world to find new sources of supply of raw rubber. Private enterprise was encouraged to make experiments in rubber-growing in many places.

Edison and Ford established a 300-acre experimental rubber plantation in Florida, which Mr. Firestone fears does not offer much hope as he does not think Florida is a rubber country. He investigated the Philippine Islands, but found that the Filipino politicians were opposed to the establishment by an American capitalist of extensive rubber plantations in the islands on the theory that the power of such a capitalist might be thrown against the movement for independence. He leased 35,000 acres in Mexico where experiments are being made, but political conditions in the Central American republics are not favorable to experiments in that region, notwithstanding the inviting natural conditions.

Then Firestone thought of Africa, specifically, the Liberian republic. He studied conditions there for two years, finally concluding that he should plunge for high stakes. He will invest $100,000,000 and control 1,000,000 acres of land. He will employ 330,000 workers. Malaria is a menace to health and efficiency in that land, but Firestone believes he can stamp it out. He has no port facilities, but hopes to have some by the time his rubber plants are mature. It will take them five or six years to mature and be useful. An incident of the negotiations was his purchase of a 2,000-acre plantation owned by British interests which he will use as a nursery to produce young plants.

Firestone must build harbors, roads, houses, towns and possibly steamship lines; but he is in no hurry; he can take his time and wait, for he believes Liberia will give the United States control of 50 per cent against the three per cent which it now controls.

This should break the British monopoly of the world's raw rubber supply, as and at least give us an even chance. In the meantime the quest for new sources of supply will continue apace.

This coup forces the quiet and unobtrusive Harvey Firestone into the very forefront in world trade and industry. He now takes his place among the most daring investors of all time.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
NOVEMBER 3, 1925

LIBERIA TO BENEFIT BY SOCIAL PROJECT

Phelps-Stokes Fund and Other Bodies Plan Educational Reorganization.

J. L. SIBLEY TO BE IN CHARGE

Plan Includes Agricultural Development—Dovetails With Firestone Program.

An educational and social project for the little Republic of Liberia, as ambitious and extensive as the industrial development planned for that country by Harvey J. Firestone, has been revealed in the appointment of James L. Sibley as educational representative in Liberia of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the American, New York and Massachusetts Colonization Societies and the missionary bodies of the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran Churches.

Mr. Sibley has been commissioned by these various agencies, acting in concert and with the officers of the Phelps-Stokes Fund directing the work, to formulate plans in cooperation with Liberian officials and representatives of the existing schools, for a complete redirection of all educational effort in the republic. This work contemplates placing the conservation of health and the development of native industries in the foreground and will include farm and home demonstration work similar to that being carried on in the United States by the extension service of the agricultural colleges.

Well Equipped for Work.

Mr. Sibley has been connected with the State Department of Education in Alabama, and has been active in the agricultural extension service of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute and the University of Georgia. He spent three years in the Philippines for the Government, training groups of natives in modern agricultural methods. More recently he was assistant director of the Alabama Child Welfare Department, a position he resigned to accept the Liberian commission. During the war he was in charge of the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. He has done post-graduate work in social, industrial and economic branches at Harvard and Columbia.

Because of his varied experience and his contacts with negro education in this country, Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes chose Mr. Sibley for the new work in Liberia and the appointment was confirmed at a series of conferences of the organizations interested held last week in New York, Hartford and Boston.

In educational and industrial aspects this second phase of Liberian development is considered by commercial authorities as important as the first, which was announced recently by Harvey J. Firestone. The Firestone interests are said to be making a $100,000,000 investment in Liberia and have announced the acquisition of 1,000,000 acres of land for the production of 250,000 tons of rubber annually, the employment of 300,000 natives, improvement of the principal harbor at Monrovia, the construction of railroads from the port to the interior and the building of schools and hospitals equipped on American lines.

The 2,000,000 natives of the interior are said to be strong and comparatively healthy people, but primitive and badly in need of training in the care of their health and in modern agricultural methods if the country is to reap the benefit of the great industrial development planned by American interests.

Based on Dr. Jones's Survey.

The new educational program proposed is based on a survey made in 1920 by a commission, of which Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was Chairman. The report of the commission, written by Dr. Jones and comprising 326 pages, is considered the most informative publication on the education of native Africans ever issued in America. The cooperation of the colonization and missionary bodies with the Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees in the unification of the work in Liberia is said to be the practical application of the lessons contained in the Jones report.

Liberia extends from a point 260 miles north of the equator nearly 600 miles along the West African coast. Its habitable region for the white race is a strip from ten to twelve miles wide, but with the interior it comprises 9,700 square miles, about the size of Texas. Because of the constant presence of malarial fever, the vitality of the people has been undermined, and this has retarded their progress, although the country is rich in both mineral and agricultural resources. The native products are rubber, coffee, cocoa, palm oil and several varieties of nuts, some of which are used for making dyes. No attempt has been made to work the mineral deposits, which are said to include coal and iron.

It is felt by the various American agencies that if the Panama Canal Zone could be made habitable for the workmen and the American forces retained there, Liberia can be made healthful for its natives by sanitation and protection against mosquito communication of malaria. Although the country has a competent native medical force, largely trained in American colleges, its financial resources have been inadequate for such a program of sanitation as can now be carried out.

Race Problem - 1925. Liberia.

Africa.

LIBERIAN HEAD READS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

President King Declares 1924 Prosperous In History Of Republic

MELTING POT OFFERED

Black People Garveyites Expected From All Countries Invited As Settlers

Monrovia, Liberia, Jan. 1 (The African World Says:—

Agreeably with the custom of the Liberian President to place before the Legislature a resume of the events which have transpired bearing upon Liberian affairs, President King read, on December 9, at the Hall of Representatives in Monrovia, the following document of great importance, outlining the progress Liberia has made in various directions within the past twelve months.

Foreign Relations

Our foreign relations, as such, the President stated, have been of a friendly character, barring a single contretemps on our borders with the French, which at one time threatened to furnish a pretext for French invasion into Liberian territory.

Trade Marks And Patent Law

The Secretary of State is in the act of preparing a Bill for legislative approval to meet the requirements of present-day conditions for the registration of trade marks and patents.

Finance

The annual budget for the year 1924 shows an unprecedented increase in the revenue collected within the Republic from all sources. The figure for the total receipts, after deducting the balance brought forward from 1923 of $1,310.53, is $699,723.48; while the expenditure aggregates $681,358.02, the balance carried forward to the ensuing year being $19,675.99.

The increase of the year's revenue over that for 1923 is $205,234.

The port and harbour dues revenue yielded the sum of $34,359.49, an increase of 100 per cent. on that for 1923. This item of revenue collection is more than justified by the three first-class lighthouses recently erected at the ports of Monrovia Cape Palmas, and now Sinoe.

Judiciary

The Supreme Court of the Republic, which had lost its Chief Justice in the death of the Honourable J. J. Dossen, was on November 5 last reconstituted by the President's appointing Senior Justice the Honourable F. E. R. Johnson to the Chief Justiceship, and the Honourable T. E. Bey Solow to one of the Associate Justiceships.

Associate Justice Bey Solow, newly appointed, comes from the aboriginal tribe of the Vais, and has been representing his people in the national legislature for a number of years past.

Postal Department

The Liberian postal administration has also contributed much to the upward trend of affairs in general.

The parcels post traffic amounted to 7,001 pieces, as against 3,425 pieces for 1923, or an increase of over 50 per cent. A parcels post agreement was entered into with Germany, the necessity growing out out of the increased volume of parcels post matter handled between the two countries.

The Interior

Administration.—The hinterland territories, which had previously been apportioned out into districts by natural boundaries, but with no regard to ethnological distribution, have this year been re-apportioned into their correct tribal groups. The measure is found to facilitate control for the right chief over the whole extent of his people, and to favour effective supervision by the Interior Department.

Agriculture.—The agricultural interests of Liberia have received impetus by the encouragement given by the Government to the work of the Bureau of Agriculture in cooperation with the Liberian "Farmers' Association." A tract of land has been granted near Johnsonville for the purposes of a model farm. Already the ground has been prepared, and two species of cotton seeds have been planted and are being experimented with. Other products will be added in time. An agricultural fair in Monrovia is stated by the Government for December, 1925.

Roads

The construction of the Monrovia White Plains motor road (30 miles long) has been completed. The White Plains-Careysburg road, improperly built sixteen years ago by the late Liberian Development Company, has been overhauled and made safer, especially around the curves, for travel. The Monrovia-Sanoquelleh road (about 100 miles), leading into the hinterland as a branding, as well as the Brewerville-Boporah road, are these roads being in Montserrado County. The former is expected to be completed in the latter part of 1925 or the early part of 1926. In Maryland County the construction of the Harper-Gbodobo road (35 miles) is nearing completion.

Ask For Another U. S. A. Officer

Efforts are now being made for the remodeling of the militia system with a view of putting it upon a modern basis. The Frontier Police Force is also effectively overhauled and another special instructor will be obtained from the United States Army for training the officers.

Education

Education in Liberia is still largely in the hands of the missionaries, the number of purely Government schools being only22, and the enrollment only 704 pupils, as compared with the attendance at mission schools being only 22, and the enrollment at schools numbering 67. The President keenly deplores this state of things, and will ask the present Session of Legislature for sufficient appropriation to extend the operations of the Educational Department. Compulsory education is also envisaged in the work of the Legislature this year.

mmigration

The Marcus Garvey spectre being now completely exorcised from the Liberian scene, the country is, at lease for the moment, rid of an insidious propaganda which presented many points tending to mark our good relations with friendly neighbouring States. The President summed up the situation in the following incisive language:—

"The loud and continued boast of members of that association in America to the effect that they had obtained a firm foothold in Liberia, and that the Republic would be used as the point d'appui whence the grandiose schemes of their leader, finding their fruition, would be launched, made it necessary for the Executive Government of Liberia to take such concrete and effective steps as would show to our friendly territorial neighbours and the world at large that Liberia was not in any way associated or in sympathy with any movement, no matter from what source arriving, which tends to intensify racial feelings of hatred and ill will. . . .

"The history of Liberia is the history of a community developing along lines of peaceful endeavour; and this community, both by tradition and inclination, is influenced rather by considerations which tend to secure and strengthen national existence, progress, and stability than racial Utopias.

Cooperation In Commerce Aim Of Sec'y Of Liberia

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 19—Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State for Liberia and Minister Plenipotentiary, who arrived in the United States last week is busily engaged in diplomatic service here. The chief purpose of the statesman's visit is to further commercial relations between his country and the United States.

In referring to the coming American Hon. Barclay stated that his country was in need of their services and offered them unusual opportunities.

WHITES TO GROW RUBBER IN LIBERIA.

AKRON, Ohio, Aug. 29—(A. N. P.) The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company has virtually concluded a lease [illegible] to be devoted to the raising of rubber. This is the first attempt of American manufacturers to grow rubber on such a large scale.

Liberian Minister Arrives To Push Trade Relations

(Preston News Service)

New York, Aug. 20.—Edwin Barclay, minister plenipotentiary from Liberia, arrived on the French liner Paris Wednesday and was met at Quarantine by Henry Carter, special representative of the state department. The Liberian representative said his visit has nothing to do with loan negotiations but was chiefly to further commercial relations between his country and the United States. He will be at the Hotel Ambassador for several days before proceeding to Washington.

Mr. Barclay is forty-three years old and speaks English fluently. He said that Liberia was a country for young men and that if he were asked to speak to American Negro organizations relative to Negroes from the United States going to his country to settle he would be pleased to do so. Referring to Marcus Garvey, he said that neither Garvey nor any one identified with him would be welcome to Liberia.

Asked about rubber concessions, Mr. Barclay said:

"The Firestone Rubber company has a concession, 1,000,000 acres, and can have as much more land as it desires. Rubber is thriving well in Liberia and there will be a good crop this season. Fifteen hundred acres, planted by the Firestone concern as an experiment, have turned out a success, and 20,000 acres are now under cultivation."

$100,000,000 RUBBER CORP. FOR LIBERIA

Deal Reported Closed Between Sec'y. Barclay And Firestone. Leases A Million Acres Of Land

AKRON, Ohio, August 19.—Liberia, the West African Negro Republic, which was founded by the American Colonization Society in 1816 for the purpose of removing free Negroes out of the U. S. and colonizing them in Africa, and whose sovereignty was recognized in America in 1862, in its latest development promises to become the land of golden opportunity.

Demands Recognition

Following close on the little Negro Republic's demand for recognition by the League of Nations, her first big thrust into world's politics,—the country has become the center of a commercial venture that will place her among the world's money-making powers and enable her to attain financial strength.

Leases Million Acres

Word has been sent out that the Firestone Tire and Rubber company of Akron, Ohio, has virtually concluded negotiations for the leasing of 1,000,000 acres of land in Liberia for the raising of rubber. It was unofficially declared that in a conference at Akron, Ohio, Wednesday, between the colored secretary of state Edwin Barclay, and the president of the rubber company, Harvey S. Firestone, the negotiations were virtually closed. An authentic report declared that a $100,000,000 corporation will be es-

tablished soon to operate the plantation on a scale which will assure America of an adequate supply of rubber.

Invites U. S. Negro

The new enterprise will employ thousands of men. It is expected that American Negroes will furnish some of the supply. In a statement last week on his arrival from Liberia, Secretary Barclay made encouraging remarks concerning the settlement of the American Negro in Liberia.

FIRESTONE LEASES OVER MILLION ACRES

(Preston News Service.)

Harvey S. Firestone, President of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., announced last week that he has signed an agreement with the Republic of Liberia, on the West Coast of Africa, by which he has obtained a lease on 1,000,000 acres of land suitable for rubber growing for 99 years and a 2,000-acre rubber plantation fully matured and bearing. He plans to spend over a hundred million dollars in developing the lease.

Firestone Leases Land in Africa To Grow Rubber

New York, October 14.—(AP)—Harvey S. Firestone, president of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., announced today that he has signed an agreement with the Republic of Liberia on the west coast of Africa, by which he has obtained a lease on 1,000,000 acres of land suitable for rubber growing, for 99 years, and a 2,000-acre rubber plantation fully matured and bearing.

He plans to spend $100,000,000 in developing the lease.

Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., sailed today for London to establish an office of the Firestone Plantation Company.

Discussing the project tonight, Mr. Firestone, Sr., said that the concession was the largest ever given to a rubber company, foreign or American. English and Dutch capital now control 97 per cent of the rubber output of the world, he said, and he purposes "to make England realize that America is now in the rubber business in earnest."

The deal was completed in New York recently with Edwin Barclay, secretary of state of Liberia, who sailed for home a few days ago.

The work of organization and equipment will be done at the home office of the company in Akron, Ohio, where Mr. Firestone will go in a few days.

French Debts and Liberian Rubber

HARVEY S. FIRESTONE announces that he plans to invest one hundred million dollars in rubber plantations in Liberia. This, he feels, marks an epoch in American history. Henceforth we shall be independent of the British rubber monopoly. Today the United States (by which he means American capitalists) control only 3 per cent of the world's rubber production; when he has remodeled Liberia it will produce 250,000 tons of rubber a year, which is half as much as the entire world at present produces.

One hundred million dollars is not a staggering figure in Wall Street these days. The federal reserve banks cleared checks worth more than a billion dollars in a single day last week. One day's transactions in the New York stock market recently involved a transfer of two and a half million shares, probably having a market value of nearly two hundred million dollars. Mr. Mellon has just informed Mr. Borah that corporate and government loans floated in the United States in the first nine months of this year totaled about $900,000,000. Mr. Firestone's project is quite in scale with every-day American finance.

To Liberia it marks revolution. Liberia is a strip of African jungle which was colonized by returned American ex-slaves a century ago. A vague American protectorate hitherto has kept it both from incorporation in French and British colonies, and from the intensive exploitation to which they have been subjected. It has a population of fewer than two millions. Of these "about 50,000 of the coast Negroes may be considered civilized," according to the "Statesman's Yearbook." The white colony numbers fewer than 200. There are no railroads and only twenty miles of motor roads. Liberia's exports have been averaging less than a million dollars a year. What an investment of a hundred million dollars, development of a million acres, employment of 300,000 workers—these are Mr. Firestone's terms—means to Liberia is incalculable.

Such investments as Mr. Firestone's do not come within Mr. Mellon's figures of billion-dollar foreign financing, but they may mean just as much to American citizens as any of the government or corporate loans. What attitude will the Government in Washington take in case Mr. Firestone gets into trouble, either with the French and British neighbors who have always watched their chance to nibble at Liberia, or with a native Liberian Government? Shall we send our marines to stop rent riots, if the cost of a thatched-roof house soars too high under the stimulus of Mr. Firestone's enterprise—as we have just done in Panama? Shall we continue to provide American officers for the native constabulary (we do so now) if it is used to conscript unwilling labor for the rubber plantations that are to "make America independent of Britain"? Will our Government build light-draught gunboats to patrol the Liberian rivers as it has already done for the Chinese rivers? Unless American opinion awakens to energetic protest we most assuredly shall do these things.

Meanwhile the Washington Government is taking an energetic attitude toward export of American capital—to France. "America's purse is closed to delinquent European creditors," announces an inspired dispatch to one of the news agencies. "Blunt notice to that effect went out from the White House today to France and other debtor nations." The extraordinary part of this notice is not that Washington wants France to repay and wants France to know it. It is that Washington assumes a control over Wall Street activities. If a Socialist were to arise and demand that the Government be empowered to tell Wall Street bankers just what loans they might make and what they might not make he would be denounced as interfering with business.

It is possible, of course—and even probable—that when Calvin Coolidge tells Wall Street how to act he is merely doing its unpleasant chores for it. One may, knowing Mr. Coolidge's attitude toward business, suspect that the bankers do not like to tell France that they will not lend her money until she has settled her inter-government debts, and prefer to have the Washington Government bear the burden of any ill-feeling which may result from such a message. But whether in this instance Washington is doing Wall Street's bidding or giving it orders it is getting into this foreign-loan business and deep into it. There are implications to this. Thus, if the Government censors loans beforehand it accepts an implied obligation to help carry out their terms. We do not believe the American people want that. As a matter of fact the Government is constantly being called on to clean up where investors and would-be investors have been caught in a jam—whether it be in China, Haiti, Liberia, or France. If the Government is to be the bankers' chore-boy it ought to be their boss as well. The bankers certainly do not want that. Why not let them "go it alone"—and suffer the consequences if their judgment is bad?

Firestone Starts Work On Liberian Rubber

Monrovia, Liberia.—After several months of inactivity during the rubber season, the Firestone Rubber Company has resumed operations at its rubber plantation at Mount Barclay, near Johnsonville. A sawmill is being installed and an order has been received from the head office at Akron, Ohio, to start 500 men to work on the new plantation near the Du river. The Mount Barclay plantation is being put in condition for tapping.

~~Race Relations—1925.~~ Race Problem-1925 Africa.

~~Improvement of.~~

~~AFRICA TO TRY OUT~~ INTERRACIAL PLAN

Atlanta, Ga.—The plan of interracial adjustment through conference and co-operation, as worked out in the South by the interracial commission, is being adopted in South Africa also, according to recent visitors from that country. Dr. C. T. Loram, British commissioner of native affairs, has set up such committees in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Marianne Hill, Durban, Pietar Maritsburg and other centers. These committees meet monthly, discuss interracial problems and the needs of the natives, and seek to influence public opinion and legislation in the interest of needed adjustments.

It is understood that the southern interracial plan was first brought to the attention of South African officials three years ago by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones of New York, who was in Africa making a study of native education for the Phelps-Stokes fund. General Jan Smuts, at that time British premier of South Africa, is said to have been greatly interested and to have expressed the conviction that British welfare work for the natives should be reorganized on the basis of the American plan. Promoters of the interracial movement in the South are gratified to find that it is being observed with favor abroad, as making a significant contribution to the solution of race problems around the world. Not many weeks elapse but that one or more distinguished visitors from South Africa, usually educators or missionaries, call at the headquarters of the commission in this city and make a study of its principles and methods.

~~Race Relations—1925~~ Race Problem-1925. Africa.

~~Improvement of~~

AFRICA ADOPTS THE SOUTHERN PLAN OF RACE ADJUSTMENT

British and Native Committees Set Up For Adjustment of Relations; Meet Monthly.

Atlanta, Ga., May 15—The plan of interracial adjustment through conference and cooperation, as worked out in the South by the Interracial Commission, is being adopted in South Africa also, according to recent visitors from that country. Dr. C. T. Loram, British Commissioner of Native Affairs, has set up such committees in Johannesburg, Capetown, Marianne Hill, Durban, Pieter Maritsburg, and other centers. These committees meet monthly, discuss interracial problems and the needs of the natives and seek to influence public opinion and legislation in the interest of needed adjustments.

It is understood that the Southern interracial plan was first brought to the attention of South African officials three years ago by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of New York, who was in Africa making a study of native education for the Phelps-Stokes Fund. General Jan Smuts, at that time British Premier of South Africa, is said to have been greatly interested and to have expressed the conviction that British welfare work for the natives should be reorganized on the basis of the American plan. Promoters of the interracial movement in the South are gratified to find that it is being observed with favor abroad, as making a significant contribution to the solution of race problems around the world.

AFRICA ADOPTS AMERICAN INTER-RACIAL PLAN

British and Native Committees Set For Adjustment of Relations

Atlanta, Ga., May 11.—The plan of interracial adjustment through conference and cooperation, as work

ed out in the South by the Interracial Commission is being adopted in South Afrca also, accordng to recent vistors from that country. Dr. C. T. Loram, Brtish Commissioner of Native Affairs, has set up such committees in Johannesburg, Capetown, Marianne Hill, Durban, Pieter Maritsburg, and toher centers. These committees meet monthly, discuss interracial problems and the needs of the natives and seek to influence public opinion and legislation in the interest of needed adjustments.

Race Problem — 1925.

Africa.

TOGOLAND.

CENSUS AND WHAT IT MEANS.

By Kue. I.

Census is numerical account of inhabitants. The result is the growth or the decline of the state of a nation. The pre-war Census from 1913—1914 on the list of the late Government was 1,031,715. Of this about 1,245 were foreigners. The Census of the sons of the soil who evacuated the land for want of happiness and comforts etc. in the above years were about 160,000. Deducting the foreigners above from the actual number on the pre-war list, and adding the number of the sons who evacuated the land, representing them as living in the colony we arrive at a figure of 1,190,470 heads of Togoland.

In the year 1919 during the repatriation from a reliable private source the number of the people who returned into the Colony together with foreigners (mostly from the Gold Coast) were about 270,369. Adding this to the pre-war number exclusive of foreigners above we have during the occupation in the above year 1,300,839. Assuming we have all our people returned we have 110,369 friends from abroad.

In the year 1920 greater part of the Colony fell into the hands of the French, seized for mandate. Cutting off Ho and Kpandu, with their 460,000 inhabitants the number remaining under the mandate was 1,140,839. No sooner the mandate fell into the hands of the French than the number was reduced considerably low, and according to to-day's Census the figure is 840,824.

Comparing the above figures the land is becoming barren and practically speaking, it being in the hands of undesirable Government, is more arbitrary to the susceptibility of the people than it was under the German protectorate—Notwithstanding this all sorts of introductions very abnormal are daily at issue and raised on the poor tiny residue of the people. We are not in the slave days which swished away our people but, we have come to the days of aggression which kill them all.

In the address given at the International Missionary Conference, at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, on the 12th September 1924 by a native pastor from Lome, the pastor says:—"We have read enough of the political division....." This supports our argument. The cry of the people of Togoland is not now. It is not a cry for nothing and, not from nothing. It is divine. It is directed by divine wisdom.

Cannot Togoland be pitied and relieved of unbearable burdens for the fact of her smallness and inability to bear what civilized and advanced countries grumble at? If the land depopulates and continues depopulating what does it mean then? Nothing but ruin. Why cling to nurse a child which would not suck the distasteful milk? Perhaps it is sick, you do not know. The cry of Togoland is for her mother. Her mother to collect soms get children who are bewildered and groaning in the wilderness

We appeal earnestly to the League of Nations to find her mother. To the Permanent Mandates Commission, in its various sittings before September we appeal, for high consideration for the state of our people. We appeal to the high authorities of the Council of the League of Nations, for their serious deliberations on what should be done for the return of our people. For though, we know some multifarious duties of high and important nations are daily seizing their attention yet, an attention to the affairs of an insignificant country like Togoland, (the land of our pride) should form part of the League's human duty. Give us our desire that we may live as beings on our land, a happy and paradisaic life.

We prefer quarrelling with our mother than to aggressively bear all the bitterness of a strange woman against our will. The test is a failure Our homes are desolate. We are without brothers, and sisters, and friends. Care for the perishing.

Gold Coast Leader

FOUND EAST AFRICA UNTAPPED WEALTH

300,000 Miles of Healthy Area Ready for Modern Farming, Says Educator.

AMERICA HELPING BRITAIN

Dr. Jones Returns From Surveying Task of Teaching the Natives Sanitation and Industry.

In East Africa where the perils of deadly diseases and savage people are fast becoming a memory of the past, the potentialities for production of wealth "almost surpass the power of human comprehension," according to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission to East Africa, who arrived here yesterday on the Cunard liner Carmania, from Liverpool. Dr. Jones recently completed in London a report of his commission's eight months' survey of conditions in East Africa.

On his arrival here he predicted that before many months the American system of rural education as taught by United States farm demonstrators, and by Jeanes Fund teachers would be adopted in East Africa. Representatives of the British Colonial Office already are in the United States visiting Negro schools and studying American methods of rural education which they intend to adopt in East Africa.

Dr. Jones said, "East Africa's arable acreage, exclusive of South Africa, may in time almost equal that of the United States, being an area three and a half times the total surface of the United Kingdom of Great Britian and Ireland. East Africa, north of the Transvaal, contians 300,000 square miles of high plateaux, free of tropical diseases and capable of producing the crops of the temperate zone. The possibilities are strikingly illustrated by the fact that two years ago in the Protectorate of Uganda about 100 bales of cotton were produced and last year probably less than 500 bales, whereas the estimate for this year approximates 200,000 bales.

New York Times

Teaching Brings New Era.

"The appointment of the British Colonial Office's Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa really begins a new era in African affairs," Dr. Jones pointed out. "This committee already has given a fresh significance to educational undertakings for the African people. Other Colonial powers will undoubtedly follow Great Britain in this direction.

"The commission found the belief current that education, as generally understood, is usually a decorative process unrelated to the life and needs of primitive people. A popular pastime of travlers to and from Africa is the exchange of jokes and ridicule concerning the "mission boys" who are said to represent the futility and harm of educating natives away from "their place" in the colonial scheme arranged by Western civilization for the Africans. Careful inquiry into the origin of these antagonistic attitudes reveals a lamentable ignorance of an education related to the simple needs even of primitive people.

"To avoid the appearance either of pedantry or scientific abstraction, these necessities of sound community life are called the 'simples' of education. They are, first, sanitation and health; second, agriculture and simple industry; third, the decencies and safeties of the home, and, fourth, healfthful recreation. Nowhere has the commission found a difference of opinion as to the importance of these four 'simples' as the objectives of educational endeavor.

Would Train Leaders.

"The great lessons of history, science, art and literature are, however, as essential to Native African leadership of the people of any other continent and the educational system must provide for the training of both—the masses of the people and native leadership.

"The ordinary impression is that the Government is to rule, the settlers and traders are to exploit, the missions are to save and the native people are to be governed, to be exploited and to be saved. There is enough truth in this statement to warrant the suggestion that sound government, sound economics and sound religion require a recognition of the principle that it is better to work with a people than merely for them. The progressive colonies are giving increasing emphasis to the contribution of the native people and their customs."

Before he departed from London Dr. Jones was the guest of honor at a dinner given by the British Government in recognition of the cooperation of the United States in sending the commission to Africa to help formulate plans to meet the educational needs of the native peoples. The investigation was made at the instance of the British Government, and was actively supported by the British Colonial Office, the United States Department of Agriculture, the International Education Board, a Rockefeller organization, and the British and American Missionary Societies.

Native Locations

The constant changes of headmen or dismissals in the district of King Williamstown does not bode well for the general welfare and good of those living in the locations. Men of standing and influence have been dismissed and their places given to their inferiors—thus causing a clevage amongst the people with endless hatred between the parties. Men like Tshefu had to go, as also Dlongwana and others—and now comes Headmen Ngcetane of Mqqwakwebe, a man who has been the envy of many enlightened men in the district for his location was an exemplary one—having put down, as he had done, with a strong hand, the illicit brewing and sale of kaffir-beer which is called by the natives "Imbara," He also nipped in the bud in his location that baneful custom of the young boys from the mines collecting large sums of money for observing what they call "Christmas or Tea Meeting," whereby boys and girls congregate for weeks. He also has had to go. His chief offence is that he spoke disrespectfully to the Location Inspector, and that he gave building sites to people on the commonage. As to the last charge, the Location Inspector or the Magistrate trying his case ought to know that the Government or the Native Affairs Department has long decided not to interfere in the matter of building sites as experience has taught them that natives never stick to their building sites—hence the Government's refusal to survey building sites at Jofta's. Natives in their present stage of civilisation, knowing no rules of sanitation, are perfectly right in spreading out to avoid unnecessary

congestion and to breathe more freely. Take for instance the made to shift to the death trap Healdtown Location, people who of congested locations. have rigidly stuck to their surveyed building plots—they are more than uncomfortably congested, with the result that fevers and various endemic diseases have come to stay. It is to be hoped that people who have built their huts on the Common age—for pure self preservation will not be put into the expens

UGANDA COTTON REPORT.

According to the last cotton report of the Department of Agriculture of Uganda, 147 power cotton ginneries and three press houses have already been licensed this season in the Protectorate. The division is as follows:—90 ginneries and 2 press houses in the Eastern Provinces, 52 ginneries and 1 press house in the Buganda Province, and 5 ginneries in the Northern Province. More ginneries are being built in every Province, including two in the Western Province.

In the Eastern Province cotton picking had almost finished a month ago, when the report was issued by the Hon. S. Simpson, the Director of Agriculture, and plants are being uprooted and burnt. During January and February rather more than 50,500 tons of seed-cotton were sold in that province, while over 6,800 tons were sold in the Buganda Province, the returns from some districts of which are still incomplete.

From districts in the Northern Province further particulars are awaited, the quality generally being reported as good, but the quantity falling below expectations in some areas.

THE EAST AFRICAN NATIVE PRESS.

Reviewed by "Kalambo."

In its March issue *Mambo Leo*, the Tanganyika Swahili paper, has a first-class article from the pen of an African entitled "Why is the black woman not taught knowledge?" The writer points out that everywhere there are schools for men, and that the people realise that their children will have far more opportunities and far greater knowledge than themselves. But what is the use if they have to marry ignorant wives? Further, the men are taught the principles of good health and sanitation. Again, what is the use, seeing that the house-work and the care of children devolve on the ignorant wife?

In an able reply, in which he emphasises that it is not the policy of the Government to neglect or discourage the education of girls, the editor reminds readers that in many centres joint classes may be seen. He also says that mothers are often reluctant to allow their daughters to go to school and often withdraw them at once. (I would add that conservatism on the part of the population in general and the old tradition of the inferiority of woman retard progress in the education of girls.)

The fourth and last part of the story of grandfather appears in this issue. It deals with the arrival of the white man, the Maji Maji rebellion, and the narrator's adventures in the Great War. As a result of this upheaval he is brought back to his own people after an absence of nearly fifty years. An outline of the successions in the chieftainship of Kilwa Kisiwani, one of the oldest Arab settlements on the coast, also appears.

News from the Districts.

Bagamoyo reports plenty of rain and good food crops. The township is much improved and games are becoming general. A fierce storm struck the town in January doing a certain amount of damage. In the district several houses and palms were blown down and a woman was killed. A weekly motor-boat service has been established with Zanzibar.

In Dar-es-Salaam night classes for the teaching of English have been arted, whereat the people are very pleased. They consider that shortly they will be able to talk English "as rain pattering on a tin roof," and then will be able to fill posts which at present are the preserves of Indians and Goanese. Saisi Ali, an old and trusted postal servant, has died, much to the general sorrow.

Lindi is much pleased at a visit from the Acting-Governor, and Morogoro reports that a few women returning from the fields with food were attacked by baboons, set upon and forced to flee. Further, a couple of lions attacked the engine of a train, one of them being killed. An epidemic has carried off fifteen people at Musoma, where a new school has been opened and rains are good.

Mwanza has just been saved from famine by timely rain, but prices of food stuffs have gone up a lot in consequence of the long drought. Songea had a great meeting of the tribes to pray for rain. They went into the bush and arranged a feast, but the rain did not come, and the feast was not a success.

There is a Swahili poem on the alphabet, each line beginning with a letter in its proper order. It is a very good and ingenious bit of work, but the effect would be lost by translation.

Nyasaland's Native Paper.

I have before me a copy of *Zo Ona*, the Nyasaland African's paper, and I must say I am very disappointed. A group of tribes of such outstanding capabilities, energies and worth as those of Nyasaland should be able to produce something better, and more akin to *Mambo Leo* and *Habari*. Neither do I like the general tone of the paper.

The leading article deals with witchcraft, ordeal and medicine. The writer points out the absurdity and ineffectiveness of it all, drawing a comparison between the people who do and do not believe in it. After all, he adds, everyone dies; even the white man cannot prevent this. Had he by witchcraft been able to do so he would not have abandoned it.

There is an absurd article headed "Peace," whose author seems to have a bee in his bonnet. He requires equality in all matters between white and black, and states that people must not be surprised if Nyasaland men go to South Africa and elsewhere where their freedom is much greater. (If the author only knew how blessed are those blacks under Imperial Government, and how much brighter is their future, he would not talk thus.)

An interesting comparison is drawn between the way the European employé works for his employer and the way an African works for an African. The conclusions drawn are not flattering to the latter. An African will work well for a European, but not for a fellow African.

There is an amusing story of a man's journey to Tanganyika, during which he has many adventures. "About the tax" is a scathing indictment of the messenger and interpreter system. Their methods of extortion and general high-handedness are a severe burden on the population. The writer says very truly that the European will never get at the real truth of things, nor will he be able to administer impartially so long as he works through an interpreter.

A couple of articles in *Chi Yao*, one dealing with a journey in South Africa, the other with the origin of the name Wazungu—white men or Europeans—are of interest as showing the extent to which that language is still used in Nyasaland.

At Fort Manning the hospital has been burned down and incendiarism is suspected. The patients were saved, but the drugs lost in the fire.

Native Women and Passes.

Our contemporaries, the Native papers published at Johannesburg are taking the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives severely to task for its proposals that were meant as a substitute for the Pass Law threatened to be resuscitated by the Minister of Justice Mr. Tielman Roos. It will be remembered that it was only at the request of the Joint Council that the Premier suspended the revival of the odious Pass Law for Women for until May next, provided the Joint Council proposed some other effective method for clearing the Rand of disreputable women. The Joint Council has erred in proposing substitutes that are not only tantamount to Pass Laws but are calculated to spread the humiliation and annoyance of the limitations on the movements of Native women far and wide in the Union. The offending clauses in the proposals are numbers 2 a, b and c, 8, 9 and 10, for they reintroduce Passes in a disguised form; and we would suggest that these be cut out altogether. In our view the machinery provided under the Urban Areas Act will adequately rid the big town of the "idle, disorderly and dissolute" people, while clause 2 (d) will help the chiefs and headmen at home to control the exodus of undesirables from their homes. In place of "Record Offices" we would prefer Native Labour Exchange Offices where servants may apply for work and where employers may seek for possible servants. In such a system the result would be to eliminate passes and certificates and at the same time rid the towns of disreputable idlers.

Race Problem — 1925.

Africa.

Natives and Labour Party.

Mr. I. B. Nyombolo writes thus:

TO THE EDITOR, "CAPE TIMES."

Sir,—The efforts of the Labour Party to demonstrate the recorded the native of being capable to exercise the franchise is discreditable to a degree. I would perhaps have been disappointed had that Party not lost its identity by selling its principles in order to acquire positions in the Cabinet, in Commissions and other highly paid jobs of the Government. Neither the leaders of that Party nor its members in Parliament can boast of being truly representatives of the workers, for if they were, they ought to serve as an example to the rest of the employers of labour by paying adequate and a living wage to their domestic servants now that they earn £500 £2,000 a year. What, for instance, have the members of the Labour Party to boast about when, in two solid days and nights at Kimberley instead of bringing forward schemes by which the workers would benefit, they merely resorted to cheap vituperation, cheap oratory, and abuse of the native worker?

I do not, as yet, know what the bulk of sane white workers think of them, but of one thing, I am confident that this sort of thing will not continue without doing the cause of the working class in this country as a whole, harm. When the I. C. W. U. deputation interviewed the Government in September last re the Government circular of replacement of non-European labour in the railways, that deputation was assured that no native or coloured worker would be dismissed, and that only native wastage would be replaced by white labour. However, hardly did a month elapse than reports were received by the I. C. W. U. officials from all over the country stating that coloured and native labour was being replaced by "poor white" labour, at a "Kafir wage." When this matter was reported to the Minister of Railways and Harbours, the reply was that, after investigations, allegations of pilfering or laziness had been preferred, hence their dismissal. And these men have been in the service most of them, for terms ranging between three and five years, while others had a service record of over ten years!

Ever since Labour leaders sold the soul of the Labour Party the gulf between white and black workers is being widened by constant misrepresentations, made by Labour members of Parliament, against the native for the mere purposes of exploitation in order to further their own mercenary ends. For instance, there are in the Lisbeek Division, roughly, only 600 native voters, five-eighths of them being resident at Ndabeni, and the remaining three eighths scattered in the division. One half of those voters at Ndabeni, if not more, are what is known as detribalised Cape Town being their home, and the 2,000 stated by Mr. Reyburn is an imaginary figure which I can only attribute to the usual oratory and misrepresentation which one nowadays expects from the quarter.

It is not enough for Mr. Boydell to say "we will deliver the goods" without outlining at the recent Conference the method by which the "goods" would be delivered; and it is not sufficient for the Government to boast of solving the unemployment question when it is done at the expense of another section. What we would like to see is a definite and sane method being employed, in the interests of the workers as a whole, for the ultimate solution of this economic question.

Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje on Pass Laws.

Writing to the "Star" recently Mr. Plaatje in characteristic vein says: The thanks of the native people throughout the Union and the Protectorates are due to the Joint Council for the definite stand and active protest made by its leaders and members in the matter of the night passes which the Government propose to enforce against native women at the beginning of February. Only those of us who for years have shouldered the thankless task of bearing "the black man's burden," before the existence of native welfare societies, appreciate fa full the value of the work done by Mr Howard Pim and his associates; and we cannot but bespeak for their effort a definite and more decisive result. One need only read the jibes of Mr. Tielman Roos and the hot reception encountered at Newcastle by the Native Affairs Commission, on another phase of the Native question, to realise that the job of championing a Native cause in this Union is no "bed of roses."

Returning to the subject, I may be permitted to add that the pass law was originally instituted with the laudable object of suppressing stock-thieving. The pass was a certificate that the driver came by the cattle honestly. In America it was used for the recapture of runaway slaves. And whereas in America the pass law was abolished with slavery in 1863, here it has been extended, amplified, abused and misused until to day, 62 years after its abolition in the United States, the Minister of Justice is trying to enforce it upon every native woman in the Transvaal. Ostensibly this Transvaal medievalism is intended to prevent night prowling on the part of native females; and because there are loafers in the Transvaal, every native house wife on a legitimate errand must in future carry a pass to certify that she has not stolen her legs, so to say. Yet the same authorities have a more sensible and effective method of suppressing vagabondage among the whites.

The contention of the Joint Council that the proposal of the Minister of Justice will create greater evils is fully borne out by history. I well remember arriving at Bloemfontein one early morning when there was a police raid between the location and the town. Native girls on their way to service, were marched to prison by the shoal as some had none and others had left their passes at home; and while lofers were comfortably asleep at the location, housework in town was at a standstill because domestic servants had gone to gaol

People who support the Government in this matter seem to think that the pass is the last word in human perfection; but what are the facts? Your leading article of January 21 struck the right keynote thus:

"We are manufacturing enough male native 'criminals' on the Rand and elsewhere for offences which are not crimes in the ordinary sense of the word, without including women in the process. . . . . We have in this city the most elaborate machinery of pass-cum police administration to be found anywhere in South Africa, or probably anywhere in the world—outside of Russia. Yet, in spite of it all we have a larger proportion of the native criminal or hooligan element than in any other South African town."

Writing hundreds of miles from my library, I cannot from memory give the exact chapter and page from the last annual report of the Department of Justice, the department administered by Mr Tielman Roos. It showed a gratifying diminution of crime all along the border districts of the Cape, where a pass is unknown, and alarming increase of drunkenness and crime on the Rand and in Griqualand West—the only Cape area where natives are forced to carry day and night passes.

The pass therefore does not seem to bear the virtues attributed to it As the late Mr Sauer once very truly asked in Parliament: "How can a chip of paper in the pocket of kafir prevent him from committing a crime?"

A Retrospect of 1924.

(By the S. A. Outlook.")

In looking back over the year nearly ended hopeful signs of real progress towards a bettter understanding between the races are not lacking. Barring some sudden interposition from the unseen, there is a long, long road to travel before the ideal is reached. But we are on the road,—an uphill road, indeed, and rough and winding, and on the

An awakened interest in the world-wide problem is one of the hopeful signs. J. H. Oldham's *Christianity and the Race Problem*, reviewed on page eight of this issue, and Basil Matthew's *Clash of Colour* are, we believe, meeting a real demand for enlightenment on this growing perplexity which faces civilization. Professor Brookes' *History of Native Policy in South Africa* deals in an enlightening and constructive way with the problem as it confronts us, more particularly in this southern end of our continent. A more wide-spread and intelligent study of racial relations within the Union is most earnestly to be desired. How else can we be delivered from the ill-informed, unconsidered and irresponsible shibboleths on Native Affairs which are passed from mouth to mouth by so large a proportion of the white people of the Union?

The opportunities now offered at two of our Universities for the Study of Bantu Anthropology and Ethnology and the vacation courses in African Native Studies, being organised at different centres, if they receive the attention they deserve and become popular among the rising generation, should work a big change and deliverance in the course of a few years. Leaders in our education could give a directive impetus by introducing into the Matriculation and Degree courses the study of books which would provide students with an informed and intelligent background to their thinking on race relations.

The Native Welfare Societies are another hopeful source of potential advance. Men and women of goodwill could render fine service by organising such societies in centres where a beginning has not yet been made. The Conference held in Johannesburg at the end of October, of representatives of these Welfare Societies and others interested in Native Affairs, should be productive of much good. The resolutions passed at that conference will be found on another page.

club for Rand Natives to be used as a Bantu Men's Social Centre and, in Pretoria, of a Bantu Girls' Home. It is to be hoped that these good examples may be followed in other towns.

Beyond the change of Government, and an untimely replacement of Native labour by Whites, there has been vouchsaved no clear lead in the political arena. The Prime Minister's pronouncement is still awaited. We sincerely hope the Natives will receive a fair deal. To us it seems unrighteous to close avenues of occupations, up till recently, open to them, before the new avenues promised have been provided. The coming into operation of the Natives (Urban Areas Act, and proposals for an equalising of Native taxation throughout the Union, have come in for a good deal of attention. Legislation, it is anticipated, regarding taxation will come before Parliament when it meets.

The public conscience has been outraged by certain happenings in the Law Courts and there has been a strong protest regarding what appears to be lack of even-handed justice as between whites and blacks.

In the Mission field an outstanding feature of 1924 has been the regional conferences in Moslem lands followed by the World Moslem Conference at Jerusalem. One looks confidently for a new start both as regards forces and methods in this great field. South Africa has on a small scale its own Moslem problem. In Africa the Dutch Reformed Church is taking a large share in mission work. It is anticipated that the United Missionary Campaign, planned to begin in February, will give a further impetus to those missions which have their home base in South Africa. The Union of the two Scottish Missions in Nyasaland and the prospect of further Unions there, give ground for hope of consolidation and advancement of the Missionary force in Central Africa. Within the Union the second General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, which met at Pietermaritzburg in July, passed off in a way which was a real encouragement to those who had to do with this development in church government.

Notes.

Lord Milner, in a farewell message written to the "Cape Times" makes the following worthy observations:—

There is the native aspect of the population problem. Lord Milner holds that we must allow the native free scope to advance to the highest point of his capacity. "The attempt to maintain European supremacy by keeping the native down is futile and mischievous. European leadership can only be maintained by the inherent superiority of the European in certain qualities of brain, a character which have given him his position of command, and by virtue of which alone he can keep it. If true to himself he need not fear meeting competition. It is part of his duty to try to raise the native and improve him in the direction in which he is capable of improvement." In their own territories, Lord Milner holds, the natives should be taught to cultivate better. "It is melancholy," he said, "to see how poor are their agricultural methods, how uneconomically they use the lands they possess. That of course is not an argument for dispossessing them of their lands. It is an argument for teaching them to make better use of their opportunities. They might also be encouraged to become skilled in other industries for which they are naturally fitted. Educate the native by all means so long as it is the right sort of education. The great mistake that has been made in many parts of the Empire in the education of the Natives has been that they have been given mainly literary education, from which very few of them are able to profit and which in most cases does harm rather than good. Elsewhere—I am not now speaking of the Union—what our education has done has been to create an inferior intellegentzia, turning men who might have made good as skilled workmen or agriculturalists into bad clerks, very bad journalists and often poor politicians. That is leading them into a blind alley. The best of the natives, man like Booker Washington, have been the first to recognise this."

Africa, is not the "White Man's Country."

It is a characteristic of the white man that he claims everything, wherever he is, whether he owns it or not, leaving the rightful owner to make good his ownership if he can. Very often he cannot, because the odds are against him. It was that way with the Red Men of the America and the West Indies; it is that way with the Malays of the Pacific and with East India. These have been claimed and the claim confirmed by the might which the white man's morality makes right, and their peoples have been conquered and subordinated to their conquerors, and when this could not be done they have been exterminated, as the Red Men of the United States and Canada have been, and as the Malay races are fast being. The Red Men may be said to be an extinct race. In Latin America the Red Man has been very generally absorbed, amalgamated with the Spanish conquerors making very largely a mixed race in which there is a very great blend of African blood.

The belated efforts of the English speaking people, who want to be styled as Nordics, in North America, including the United States and Canada, to keep their previous blood free from the admixture of the Red Man and the Black Man, may have succeeded if they had begun to practice what they now preach in the beginning; but they have gone too far, and the thing has been going on for too long a time of mixing their blood with that of the Red and the Black races to have any success whatever now in striving to unmix it or prevent further admixture.

It has become the common thing for white Europeans to speak of Africa as "The White Man's Country." It is true that they have gone in and taken possession of the land and subjected the people to their rule even when tribes are left free to exercise a qualified independence, but they have not as yet conquered the people nor reconciled them to the overlordship of the white man. Will they do it? Can they do it? They talk as if they have already done it, but talk is often loud and long to conceal a bogus claim. The Black people of Africa have just begun to be aroused to themselves; their sub consciousness has just begun to assert itself. They are just beginning to wake up to what is being done to them by the white man. There may be a struggle of a century, of two centuries for the ultimate mastery of the Continent of Africa, but whether the white or Black Man will come out of the conflict as the master remains to be seen.

A. H. Tatlow, of the South African State Railway, is in the United States and he is one of those white men who speak of Africa as "The White Man's Country." He invites Americans, only white Americans, as black ones are not desired, to visit his country. Among other things, he says:

"Africa ever has been the enigma of continents," he declared, "although the first to appear in the history of mankind, it has been the last to be known and explored. Vast, strange and incredibly rich, it remains a lonely and distracting figure among the countries of the world, commanding the interest of many by virtue of its fascinating exoticism and brooding aloofness."

Now, what is the white man fighting for in the Black Man's country? He is fighting for one of the riches of the continents. Mr. Tatlow indicates the wealth they are fighting for in the following summary of Africa's wealth:

"Despite the fact that 58 per cent. of the world gold supply comes from this portion of the earth, and 95 per cent. of all the diamonds, agriculture is the chief industry of the country. Corn (or (maize as it is called there), is grown in large quantities and much of it is exported to Europe. Wool, cotton, sugar, large amounts of fruits, ostrich feathers, mohair, hides and skins, constitute the remainder of the constantly growing volume of the exports. There is also an inexhaustible coal supply. Travel is cheap and comfortable in South Africa where the railways are State owned. Three cents a mile is the average rate, which includes Pullman accommodations.

It has been said that an English man will chase a pound note around the globe and be satisfied in the end if he can collect 5 per cent. on it. The American has developed a like selfish thriftiness." "The Negro World."

Race Problem—1925.

Africa.

THE LAND QUESTION.

COMMENTING upon the recent changes in the organisation of the Colonial Office, our contemporary "West Africa" has some very apt points on the Land Question, which it is desirable to emphasise; and in doing so we may record our view that our able contemporary now and again touches the very root of African problems with considerable understanding. After suggesting that the change in the form of administration at the Colonial Office goes deeper than the official statement, it proceeds to analyse the new attitude involved. It says: "Perhaps a better way of putting it is to say we see firm adoption and assertion of an attitude which the facts have forced us regularly to adopt. We will state that attitude by saying that it is summed up in the broad position that the Dominions are placed predominantly for our European Empire-stock and the Dependencies predominantly for our non-European stock." This, as a fair statement of what the equitable adjustment between the different Empire groups should be, admits of no question. And it is equally plain that if the Empire is to be kept together it must be on some such basis as that. The European Empire-stock cannot have it both ways. They cannot monopolise the Dominions and also overrun the Dependencies. They cannot monopolise the economical and industrial position in the Dominions and also in the Dependencies. This is so far well recognised that our contemporary continues: "Grasping and acting upon that truth firmly and consistently we should whenever desirable reiterate Sir F. D. Lugard's and Sir Hugh Clifford's policy in assuring the people of British West Africa that their lands are theirs forever, and we wish only to assist them, by scientific research, clean government and Institutions for Agricultural credit and other branches of development to make the very most of their lands, by which means, intelligently and consistently pursued, we are confident the result of increased production rightly urged by Lord Kyslant in his speech last week can be reached." In other words, the British public must not run away with the idea that they have got undeveloped estates in the Tropical Dependencies, which, in a moment of impatience, they can proceed to cultivate under the monopolistic system, turning the owners of the soil to mere wage-earners, which will be unrighteous. As a matter of fact, the only safe course in the interests of the Empire is to recognise the ownership in the people, and to help them to develop the natural resources for the good of all.

We come now to the root of the matter when the writer adds: "We should in our dealing with Union Governments keep at the back of our heads the fact that European Africa is and ever will be a small-possibly a lessening—Island in African Africa, and that the Last Continent is and will be in the main the country of the Africans; the African members of the Empire." Heaven knows that this is only just, and all right-minded persons must hope that the Empire will follow justice and equity, and avoid going the way of other Empires which, not observing justice and equity, have gone to rack and ruin.

But there are other considerations, says "West Africa:" "We should not hide our conviction that the European settled in, at the most 10 or 15 per cent. of East Africa which will ever do for European settlement, would be much wiser in their own interests to transfer themselves to South Africa or New Zealand or Canada, because as goes on the East African Aboriginal races are bound to become producers on their account as the West Africans are, and will be less and less available as wage-labourers." This is also mere commonsense. Surely, it is not too much to ask that at least on the African Continent the Aboriginal African may have the assurance of undisturbed possession and freedom from becoming the football of European economic aggression.

Concluding, our contemporary says: "And in London—what will seem trifles to many, but not to those of the subject race, we should in official documents refer to sections of Africans as Africans of this or that race of Africa and not lump them together as "natives," as if all were of the same stage. And if a London theatre manager allowed players to refer from his stage to British Africans by impudent and insulting epithets, we should warn him to change his language or forego his license. Acting in such a spirit towards the Native Africans we should make our trade with them flourish to the greatest extent of which it is capable, and if the supreme test came again, as it came in 1914, we should find to our credit a store of warm-hearted loyalty and affection upon which we could repose as on a great rock." This also is sound sense. It recognises essential human nature. You cannot kick a man about and insult him as you would a dog, and expect him to remain warm-hearted and loyal. If you are indiscreet enough to make that assumption, time will prove that you have made a very big mistake, and, in an evil hour, when you least expect, a volcano may break forth under your very feet.

Europe has in past centuries treated Africa as if she had no soul, no feeling, no understanding. But the soul of Africa is not dead. She feels as keenly as any, and she understands the everlasting import of justice and equity. Nay, all these years she has cried to Heaven for justice and equity, and, we believe, Heaven will hear, and, indeed, has heard. That is the great significance of these voices in the wilderness, which, if unexpressed, the very stones would give utterance on behalf of a down-trodden people. On the whole, we thank "West Africa" for drawing attention so opportunely to these grave and vital issues; and we trust in all sincerity, that the warning shall not be lost upon Imperial Statesmen and responsible ministers of the crown.

An Epoch-Making Report.

Many of our readers will recollect that four years ago the minds and hearts of all intelligent people in this land were considerably stirred with appreciation by the public speeches delivered by Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey an African Native of the Gold Coast whose grasp of the essentials of the philosophy of interracial questions and adjustments gave us a new orientation of the possibilities of good will [illegible] He was a member of a commission that produced the volume "*Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa*" in 1921—a volume which was then fully noticed in these columns. He has since been a member of another commission that has toured other sections of Africa under the chairmanship of Dr. T. Jesse Jones who has now published its report "*Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa*" under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund—a book of over 400 pages obtainable for 10/- at the Lovedale Bookstore and elsewhere.

As a book the work is one of excellent workmanship, with a strong cover, illuminating maps and copious photographs that do justice to every department of African life. It is a considerable improvement upon the report of 1921 with regard to the better exposition of the authorities responsible for the diverse subjects as well as the systematic collation of geographical data of the countries. From the nature of the subject there is much that is common property to all modern educational theory, yet it is here expressed not in the tedious impersonal style of officialdom, but with a direct and virile comprehensiveness that transcends its obvious prolixity. There is an attractive freshness about the sections and chapters that deal with Recreation, Co-operation, the Education of Women and Agriculture. Each of the first three chapters that occupy the first hundred pages of the book deserves to be published in a separate pamphlet form, the topics being "Educational Objectives and Adaptations;" "Educational Administration" and "Co-operation for Africa and Africans." The eleven intervening chapters deal with the different territories that comprise the commission's sphere of work, namely, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, The Two Rhodesia's, Basutoland with Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Ruanda, Portuguese East Africa, and Abyssinia. Under each country we get an account of economic and sociological background, the people, the influences, and then a summary with recommendations. The book then concludes with chapters on the Education of Women and Girls, Native Agriculture, and a selected bibliography.

To do justice to this remarkable treatise is not possible within our limited space, but we hope, in a series of articles, to make certain observations and quota-

tions that may enable one to catch a glimpse of the quality of a report that deserves to be read in full in order to be adequately appreciated. ■—TO

The personnel of the commission stamps the book with the imprimatur of unchallengeable authority for it consisted of Dr. T. Jesse Jones Ph.D, Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey Ph.D., Dr. J. H. Dillard L.L.D., Dr. H. L. Shantz Ph.D., Rev. G. Williams O.B.E., M.B., B.S., Major H. Vischer C.B.E., M.A., F.R.G.S., Dr. C. T. Loram Ph.D., Messrs J. W. C. Dougall M.A., and G. B. Dillard B.A.

The great aim of the commission is to establish a direct relationship between education and certain vital factors of real life, such as character, health, agriculture, industrial skill, family life, care of children, food, sleeping facilities, sanitation, recreations, music, dancing and other amusements. In Africa these factors must be included under education because there are no other facilities for their development in the social scheme such as obtain in Europe in the form of the modern home, the Church, and the press. Hence "in primitive Africa, the school has a larger responsibility for the elevation of the people than any other institution."

African Explorer Dies

BERLIN, Sept. 20.—Georg August Schweinfurth, the noted African explorer, died here today. He was 89 years old.

Schweinfurth, who with Livingstone, Nachtigal and others, was a pioneer explorer of Africa, headed a botanical expedition in the Nile Valley from 1864 to 1866. He discovered the Welle River in 1870. His works include "In the Heart of Africa."

It was Dr. Schweinfurth who gathered, in the course of many years' search, the collection of ancient Egyptian flowers, fruit and vegetables which Professor James H. Breasted recently gave to the University of Chicago. Dr. Schweinfurth proved the existence of a dwarf race in tropical Africa when he discovered the pygmy Akka.

SHAMA HEALTH WEEK AND BABY SHOW.

A RECORD OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.

The 18th of July will go down to posterity as a red letter day in the history of Shama. On that day was held a Baby Show which was a record of great and noble achievement. I have seen one or two Health weeks and baby shows in my time but this is one of the most successful I have known.

You will be interested perhaps in a bit of history. Three months or so ago a Shama Health Committee was formed with Major A. L. Otway, M.O.H., Sekondi, as President Mr. H. P. Horne, a European Superintendent Sanitary Inspector, *ex officio* member, Mr. J. W. French, Rev. K. A. Blankson, Superintendent of the Shama Circuit, and Rev. Father Mulberg of the Catholic Mission as Vice-Presidents. with Mr. R. R. Bassaw as Secretary and Mr. J. P. Ashon as Assistant Secretary. Immediately this Committee was formed the need for great sanitary improvements in the homes of the people was realised, and accordingly a Health week was proposed to take place from the 13th to the 17th July finishing up with a Baby Show on the 18th. This Committee, I understand, is not a private enterprise but one recognised by Government, His Excellency the Governor Sir F. G. Guggisberg being its most distinguished Patron among others.

On the day appointed a number of African Sanitary Inspectors together with one European Sanitary Inspector arrived, and with the loyal co-operation of the members of the Committee, the school children, together with the many football teams and the two companies with the Nquanta Boy Scouts the work of general cleaning was seriously taken in hand. Tons of rubbish were put into the main thoroughfares and were picked up by lorries provided for the purpose. This went on for five days and to-day the sanitary condition of Shama is good, whereas some few days ago "it was anything but clean," to quote a leading official's view on the matter. All the local companies worked hard very hard indeed.

The Baby Show took place on the 18th. The number of babies presented was 204. This is quite good considering the history of baby shows on the coast. These were divided into three classes:—1. one month to six months, 2. six months to one year, 3. one year to two years. There was also a special class for twins up to one year. To each baby was given a ticket on which was written its name and the class to which it belonged. Marks were given for the following points 1. General Development 2. Cleanliness 3. Nutrition. All competitors were in their places in the market shed which was gaily decorated with streamers and flags, and arranged in the three classes at eleven when judging commenced. The following were the judges, Dr. Chappel, Mrs. Otway, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Crowther Nicol, Mrs. Moir all from Sekondi and Mrs. Mildred Blankson of Shama. The best six babies in each class were chosen and were decorated with rosettes.—These 18 babies together with 8 twins were finally judged at 3 p.m. The babies presented were quite good, but the standard of test was high and the judges were taken to task to find out who were the best six in order of merit. It was very difficult to say. However the judges knew their job and by 4 p.m., the pick amounting to six and two twins were seen wearing the winners' badges.

At 3 p.m., the Hon. Commissioner of Western Province, Mr. Jones, had arrived with certain high officials at the front of the fort where many Chiefs and councillors, competitors, school children and other visitors were assembled. After the Band had played the National Anthem, Mr. Jones, with Nana Kukum Wireku II and the members of the Health Committee with Mr. Otway, District Commissioner, Mr. Holstbaun, Hon. Casely Hayford, Mr. Crowther Nicol amongst others, went round the town on inspection. Visits were paid to Apu Wesleyan Mission Compound where great interest was aroused by the 'fly catch' in connection with the school latrine (Dr. Otway's invention) and great sanitary improvements noticed. Then came the visit to Catholic Hill also to the satisfaction of all, not forgetting the visit to the church. Then off to Bentsir to see the new streets and then back to the fort where the people were all assembled. Here the officers and members of the Health Committee were formally introduced by the Secretary, Mr. R. R. Bassaw to Mr. Jones, the Commissioner of Western Province, and after interesting addresses by Mr. Jones, Mr. Casely Hayford, Mr. Crowther Nicol on Sanitation and what the people could do for themselves, prize giving commenced.

His Excellency the Governor's Prize of £4. 4. for the cleanest ward in Shama went to Rev. K. A. Blankson, Superintendent of the Circuit. Then followed the prizes to babies.

Class I. 1st prize, Kwesi Andoh, father's name Kwamina Akun, Shama £3. together with silver medal.
2nd prize. Effiah, mother's name Aba Mansa, Konfueku £1. 10.

Class II. 1st prize, Mami Effua Arba, father's name J. H. T. Otoo, Shama £3. together with silver medal.
2nd prize, Kabeyday, mother's name Abunaba, Shama £1. 10.

Class III. 1st prize, Kweku Prah, mother's name Kwesiwa, Shama £3 with silver medal.
2nd prize, Kwesi Akun, mother's name Kwegirba, Shama £1. 10.

Twins, 1st prize, Ata Kakra & Payin. mother's name Kakun and Anwiaba £1. each and silver medal.

Thanks was given to Mr. Jones, the Hon. Commissioner of Western Province by the Chief Linguist in which permission was asked that the street from Apu to Sekondi Road, Bentsir, be known as Otway Street, and that from Bentsir to New Sekondi Road be also known as Horne Street in honour of the interest they have shown for Shama and for the noble work done,

A vote of thanks was also given to all visitors by the Rev. K. A. Blankson, and amidst three hearty cheers to the Hon. Commissioner of Western Province the day's functions were brought to a happy close.

The following amongst others were visitors:—Mr. Summer Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Moir, Major Kinsford, Capt. and Mrs. Taylor, Capt. Hall, Mr. West, Mr. England, Mr. Harper, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Holstbaum, District Commissioner. The Inspector General of Police Mr. O'Connor, Police Commissioner, Capt. Gowing, Assistant Police Commissioner, Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford, Mr. Crowther Nicol, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. McLagan, Miss Murchison, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Atterbury, Miss Brown.

All thanks to the Shama Health Committee by whose loyal co-operation the 'show' was made possible and successful. Special mention might be made of the services of Mr. R. R. Bassaw and Mr. Wood. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" I say, "come and see."—*Communicated.*

The Native Franchise.

The Butterworth speech of the Prime Minister dwelt closely with the Native franchise as it obtains in the Cape. General Hertzog in behalf of the Northern Europeans declared that the Cape Native franchise was very strongly opposed by the Transvaal, O.F.S. and Natal, because it aided Europeans to bid for the Native vote at every election in a Parliament that was intended for white men. He therefore preferred a different sort of representation that would be enjoyed by the Native not in conjunction with, nor on the same footing as, the white man but "alongside, as it were, of the white man" His alternative is a glorified Transkei System applied to every Native territory. This appears to be the essence of political segregation. He envisages the development of the Bunga system under the annual Government Native Conference until "that body may eventually "be the "Parliament of the Native. Native "education, Native taxation and "other matters of considerable im-"portance, to day in the hands of "the Union Parliament, may slowly "be entrusted to them as far as "their interests are concerned."

The great danger in all this philosophy is its practical application during a time when the Northern whites are only concerned with taking away the Cape Native franchise without offering anything else but the Bunga system which is merely a local advisory Divisional Council. That is what we fear. And it was indicated by our worthy correspondent R.W.M., himself a Transvaaler, in our last issue. Our opinion is that the first step is to grant local councils or Bungas to all the Natives of Transvaal, Natal & O.F.S., before any specious interference with the Cape Native vote is attempted. Let construction in the North precede destruction in the Cape, not vice-versa.

Native Treaties broken ! !

"In his (Mr Wellbeloved's) and Mr Thompson's opinion there were NO FAIR MEANS whereby a larger number of Natives could be recruited from the Territories for work in the mines. If the Native was taxed off the land, or treaties broken whereby his land could be taken when he got in debt, then no doubt a greater number of Natives would be forced to the mines"

This excerpt is culled from the evidence given on behalf of the Native Recruiting Corporation by Messrs. E. C. Thompson, H. C. Wellbeloved and Major C. T. Rayner, before the Economic and Wage Commission at East London on the 19th ult., Comment is unnecessary, beyond asking our readers to compare the substance of our editorial in our last week's issue (27th Oct.) under the heading "Native Affairs and Recruiting" and to observe how it blends with the above evidence

Race Problem — 1925. I.

Africa.

SIR F. G. GUGGISBERG'S ADDRESS TO THE GOLD COAST COUNCIL

SOME FURTHER AND CONCLUDING EXTRACTS.

The second portion of the Address, the survey of departmental activities, was less detailed than usual, Sir Gordon's chief aim being to show how all departments were trying to train Africans as far as possible. He referred to the general shortage of staff, and defended the Government official against the "fashion in presumably witty circles" of regarding him as leading a life of leisure—an unnecessary measure, for while headquarters staffs of all kinds everywhere are considered fair game, everyone knows, and the progress of the Colony demonstrates, that the rank and file of the Government service contains many of the most practical and hardworking of the friends of West Africa.

Two references were made by Sir Gordon to the return to Ashanti of ex-King Prempeh, and the probable value to the country of his keen and intelligent interest in its welfare. The Governor of the Seychelles, Sir Jersey Burn, had reported that the behaviour of the Ashanti party had been all that could be desired, and Prempeh's simple farewell, as published in the Seychelles press, was further evidence of the reciprocal good feeling.

Sir Gordon mentioned many officials for their good work on long service. Among the chief were Sir Philip Crampton Smyly, about to celebrate his silver jubilee as a Chief Justice, Mr. C. E. Woolhouse-Bannerman, the well-known African Police Magistrate, the Attorney-General, Mr. R. W. H. Wilkinson, who, beside his normal duties, had drafted the Order in Council for the new Constitution, Mr. John Maxwell, the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, Mr. H. M. Lewis, the retired Treasurer, Mr. S. D. Quaynor, an African Customs Supervisor, with an unblemished record of 33 years' service, Dr. Mary MacGill, who was retiring, after useful work in school inspection and child welfare, and Mr. W. S. D. Tudhope and Lieut.-Col. Ogilvy, who had retired from the Agricultural Department.

In the training of Africans for higher posts, a great hindrance was still the lack of sufficient education, Sir Gordon said. Among departments specially mentioned in this connection was the Printing Office, where Africans were being turned into good operators and printers, but nothing higher; the Veterinary Department, and the engineering branches—Railway, Post Office, Telegraphs, and Public Works. In the Survey Department, the interest of the Staff in African instruction was such that the Department was likely to be the first to have 75 per cent. of its higher posts filled by Africans, with consequent economy of working. In the Customs and Treasury, and in clerical work generally, there was much scope for training Africans, and in the Colonial Secretary's office, a certain amount of efficiency had been deliberately sacrificed to train African clerks. In one or two departments—the Supreme Court was one—no organised training of Africans for the higher posts seemed possible at present. The principal departments where "European" responsibilities were already being taken by Africans (although in some cases they had not the substantive appointments), were the Treasury, Customs, Education Department, where there was an African inspector, a head master, and a head mistress, the Survey, and—an exceptional case of a man who had had special educational facilities—an African probationer-engineer in the Public Works.

Other important steps forward had been the Court of Appeal Conference, the report of which was before the Secretary of State, the classification of the records in the Colonial Secretary's office, the reference library of books bearing on the Gold Coast instituted by the Secretary for Native Affairs, and Sir Gordon's own recognition of the growing importance of the local press, and its steady progress from the production of destructive, sometimes merely abusive, criticism, to the carefully pondered and constructive articles now making their appearance. The Department for Native Affairs had also considered the question of a common basis for writing the local languages, but Sir Gordon's hope that "the result of the deliberations will be of value," has not an optimistic sound, especially in view of the difficulty already found by many independent inquirers into the problem, of expressing a tonic language and new sounds in a simple alphabet founded on European principles.

Among minor questions of education, Sir Gordon explained that the troubles at the trade schools had been due to a misunderstanding of the system by the scholars. No fees were charged, and the boys received food and clothing, with "proficiency pay" according to the standard of work they produced. This pay had been awarded rather freely in the past, and a tightening up of conditions had caused some feeling. With regard to wearing "uniform" at school, Sir Gordon said that it was not only more convenient in clerical work and games than African dress, but it was easier to control the cleanliness of the scholars when all were dressed alike. (The former reason, as so-called "denationalised" Africans will point out, is equally a justification of *their* adoption of European dress in post-school days.)

Many Africans will be sorry to hear that the reorganisation of the Gold Coast Volunteers has again had to be postponed, and it is a pity, because under occasional military discipline the educated African would have an opportunity to learn to subordinate his sometimes too independent will to that of others, as well as a chance to foster his patriotism by adding practical service to his oratorical and literary efforts on behalf of his country. A sub-head of "communications" not previously touched upon by Sir Gordon, was the Transport Department, which, he said, was improving in efficiency and economy, and might benefit by the introduction of a scheme of pensionable appointments on incremental salaries. African lorry-owners are hardly likely to welcome this hint that the service, necessary though it may be in development days, is to be a permanent one. Practical experience in the Public Works Department seems to have shown that the reduction of staff following the Crookshank report has not been really economical, for with excessive sickness among the officers, and the serious delay in finding suitable men to fill vacancies, adequate supervision of the works in hand has proved impossible.

In conclusion, Sir Gordon expressed his great satisfaction at the results of "Poppy Day," when £1,730 had been given by the community, over £1,000 more than in 1923. Looking back at the relations between people and Government, Sir Gordon felt that never in his recollection had there been heartier co-operation between all sections. The difficulty of affording education to Africans while keeping in view the range of employment available on the one hand, and the maintenance of the system of Native administration on the other, was a great one, especially as at the same time revenue had to be amassed without placing too great a burden on the people. To this end mutual goodwill was necessary, and the present flowing tide of fortune was due to the loyal work of the Chiefs, the Unofficial Members of the Council, and the Government Service, while Sir Gordon was especially indebted to the Colonial Secretary, Dr. J. Crawford Maxwell, C.M.G., for his invaluable experience and advice.

RACIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—A correspondent in South Africa who has great knowledge of the country sends me the following comments on the allegations which have been made by contributors to the *Spectator* about the exclusive racial policy of General Hertzog's Government :—

"So far there has been much talk and little action—beyond a rather unblushing seizure of spoils. The Labour section seems to have no Imperial feelings, and the two portfolios will be clung on to at any cost. When brother Boer thinks he can ignore them (if that time comes !) he will scrap them ruthlessly. There are two paramount dangers : (*a*) hostility to England ; (*b*) a desire "to put the 'nigger' in his place." If things develop (as appearances seem to indicate) not only England but the other Dominions, may have to say, perhaps the, something. I have no doubt that if the Press in England and in the other Dominions adopts a wakened attitude, and expresses some anxiety upon the political tendencies here, our present rulers may pause.

One of the worst statements Bonar Law ever made was to the effect that England would not attempt to coerce any member of the Empire desiring to secede. I think it was both impolitic and untrue. What would Australia or Canada say if the important strategic position of the Cape were in hostile hands ? The effort to create a new language, 'Afrikans,' will be expensive, but it is too childish to do much harm. Insidious proceedings designed to weaken the link with the Empire, or to deal unjustly and harshly with the native races, are in quite a different category ! You must remember that the natives are developing. At a meeting recently the statement was made that they could appeal to England formerly, but that now they are told to look to the Government here ! The other day there was a strike of Kaffirs at Port Elizabeth. The ringleader was a boy from Nyassaland. I know a native from the Sudan who came here lately. So the attitude towards the natives should be considered from the all-African standpoint and not alone from that of the Union."

MIXED PICKLES.

BY EBO.

OUR WHITE FRIENDS AND SUBJECT RACES.

A friend has suggested that, in the interest of truth, I should continue the discussion anent the proposition that generally speaking our white friends are not disposed to deal fairly by any people whose standard of civilisation they consider *inferior* to theirs, unless and until they are compelled so to do. I have pleasure in resuming the thread.

In proof of the above proposition, I dealt with the anomalous system of the administration of justice which still obtains in Ashanti, which is next door to the Gold Coast, whose inhabitants are loyal subjects of the British Crown.

To-day, let us discuss *Sanitation* with reference to the same proposition. If you have ever read the Honourable Casely Hayford's *Gold Coast Native Institutions* you will be struck with the succinct account given of how our ancestors kept clean their towns and villages. Places of convenience and rubbish heaps were always provided at the outskirts of each town or village. Each morning the inmates of each house swept all around their house to a distance until they met sweepers from the neighbouring houses. The result was each town and village presented a *clean healthy* appearance.

If a town or village was situated a little away from a stream, the youths thereof rose early in the morning and went for water in *clean receptacles* which was used for cooking, bathing, and drinking. Mosquitoes were about then, but they were not *dreaded* with the same degree of dread with which our white friends dread mosquitoes now. I understand the reason of our ancestors was, if mosquitoes were of no use to the world, the *All-Wise* God would not have created them. Plagues, or anything bordering on them, were unknown in those *happy* days because they never occurred owing to the *cleanliness* of the towns and villages. All villages teemed with *healthy*, joyful children.

Then came the turning point with the arrival of our white friends and that was this. As regards *Public places of convenience*, we were compelled to abandon our system which I have described above, as being insanitary and for a substitute, other conveniences were provided right in the midst of the towns. These give out *bad smell* to the inhabitants thereof throughout the day and night. The result is obvious It is the numerous plagues which have visited the country since the arrival of our white friends. Our white friends know that the best system in their line of removing the night soil is by the sewage syetem, but, following the proposition which I have enunciated above, they will refuse that right to the natives of this country whose standard of civilisation they consider *inferior* unless and until they have been compelled so to do.

Let us next consider *Water*. Our genial white friends have suggested that the water which we drink from wells and streams is impure and unhealthy, but, following the same principle above enunciated, they will refuse to give us what is the best substitute, without compulsion. It is generally agreed by all parties that, our white friends have been with us for about 200 years. For all that period, would it surprise my readers to know that they have installed pipe-borne water in only 3 towns in the country and there are hundreds of towns here. What is the reason? I suggest that it is due to the same spirit of unwillingness on their part to do what is right for any people whose standard of civilisation they consider *below* theirs unless and until they are compelled to do so.

In discussing *Public Health*, there is also to be mentioned *Medical Services*. Before the advent of our white friends, we had our own African Therapeutics which stood us in good stead Because the process adopted in applying the medicine to the sick appeared to differ widely from that adopted by our white friends, they rashly classified our Therapeutics as being *heathenish*, *fetishism*, and called it all the bad names in the world. On the other hand, they suggested that theirs was the best in the world and induced our Native Medical men not to practise their profession by inducing their patients to fly into their arms for salvation. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that throughout the world, European Therapeutics was the best, the question arises, knowing that theirs is the best for the salvation of mankind, how many *Hospitals* have our white friends built in the country for the treatment of our sick. What encouragement do they give our brethren who, following their inducement, have expended money and faced danger in studying the practice of medicine according to European Therapeutics? Poor salary, as compared with their European colleagues, and without the right to private practice. I suggest that these are some of the vital questions which our white friends are called upon to answer to satisfy us that they have not been impartial with us because they consider our standard of civilisation to be *below* theirs and that we belong to a *subject* race.

Sitting On Gunpowder

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, attempting to establish a Pan-African Congress where colored folk of the world will meet and discuss racial welfare, and Marcus Garvey with his vision of Africa for the Africans, are but yet voices crying in the wilderness.

Nevertheless rumbles from South Africa recently attest the fact that the echoes at least have been heard there.

Bastards in Southwest Africa staged a serious revolt, which required the presence of troops. Natives in Bloomfontaine staged an outbreak which shook the foundations of the Cape colony, founded as it is on the theory of white supremacy and native segregation.

At several points there were national conferences of non-European elements all shouting the same cry; more recognition, better treatment, association with the East Indians, the Japanese, and the Negroes of America in order to compel concessions from the whites.

How soon and in what form this native revolution will come depends more than anything else on the whites themselves. Theirs is the opportuity to direct native ambitions now. Stifling them will prove about as safe as sitting on a keg of gunpowder with a lighted cigarette in hand

LIBERIA AGAIN SEEKS BIG $5,000,000 LOAN

Plan Now Backed By Big American Rubber Manufacturing Company

ALSO AFTER SHIPS FOR COAST TRADE

Dr. Ernest Lyon Asking U. S. Shipping Board For Idle Boats

Washington, D. C.—A renewed effort to negotiate a $5,000,000 loan and incidentally to develop a huge rubber industry under American control, became known last week when the Firestone Rubber Company headed by Harvey Firestone, made public negotiations now in progress between the American government and the Liberian Republic.

Gets New Impetus

The basis upon which the new loan is being sought, it has been pointed out, underlies a plan to break the strangle hold which British interests have maintained over the rubber production in the Republic.

Some time ago the Firestone interests were granted wide concessions to develop the rubber industry. That they have found the project promising, is believed, and hence their willingness to exert every effort to develop the Republic into a progressive and stabel government.

There is also seen in the renewed fight, an effort on the part of business interests to get an economic foothold in Africa.

It is said that the price of crude rubber rose from 17 cents a pound to 85 cents, under British development, and, the suitability of this soil for rubber production promises enormous profits.

In a report recently to the Liberian Congress, President King pointed out the necessity of geting natural resources of the Republic.

The failure of the last attempt to put over a Liberian loan was a serious handicap. The new movement, it is believed, will be backed by powerful business interests which believe that this government will be greatly benefitted financially by forming a business alliance with Liberia.

According to those who know, the terms of the loan are expected to give the United States some kind of supervision over Liberian finances.

Also Asks Ships

According to Dr. Ernest Lyon, Liberian consul, his government is also seeking to induce the State Department to turn over to them one or more vessels now owned by the United States Shipping Board.

"Primarily," says Dr. Lyon, "I am trying to find out whether or not the United States government wishes to maintain a helpful attitude toward the Republic.'

"If it does, I can see no better way at present, for its showing its interest than to turn over a number of these vessels which now are rotting and unused in our harbors."

He pointed out that during the war, all of the Liberian boats were sunk by submarines, and that financial conditions had made it impossible to replace them.

Native Farmers.

The thirty second quarterly meeting of the Native Farmers' Association of the Keiskama River Valley, met at Emnqaba near Dohne Nek Rail on the 16th May, 1925 in favourable weather, when there was an excellent attendance by both members and visitors. The new President Mr. Shelton Peteni opened the proceedings with a pointed address during which he remarked that the main object of the Society was to ensure the food supply of every man in these times of scarcity. He urged the association to maintain its reputation as a progressive body of intelligent men, and to strive for racial unity as against current disruptive influences.

Race Problem - 1925 II

Africa.

The meeting was welcomed locally by Mr. Jabez Ncapayi, who said it was appropriate that the society sought to direct the attention of all men to the first avocation of created men, inasmuch as the Almighty after creating Adam placed him in a fruit garden, whilst his first born son was an agriculturist and the second a pastoral farmer (Hear, Hear). In replying in behalf of the meeting, Mr. Stephen F. Sonjica commented on the necessity of improved methods of agriculture, especially the use of manures to rehabilitate outworn soils. He remarked that this was the only type of Native association that was heartily supported and encouraged by all the Government Ministers, the simple reason being that it aimed at solving the difficult problem of developing the great productive resources of the land amongst the truest section of the population. According to his own personal bitter experiences, the Government was most negligent in responding to the request of individual natives, but in the case of the present society, they were not only prompt in replying, but actually disbursed funds for the attainment of some of its objects. The Secretary (Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu) read the minutes of the previous meeting and they were confirmed. He then perused the reply of the Secretary for Native Affairs to the Association's request for a Native Agricultural Demonstrator for the Keiskama Hoek district, which read thus:—"Although the Honourable the Minister of Native Affairs is in sympathy with the proposal for the appointment of an Agricultural Demonstrator to be stationed at the Fort Merriman Government Farm, it has not been possible owing to the exigencies of the financial position to make the necessary provision.

"General Hertzog hopes that with the passing of the Native Tax Bill and the establishment of a central benefit fund, it may be found practicable to give effect to the desirable suggestion of the Native Farmers' Association."

The Secretary then announced that the Native Endeavour Syndicate had completed the purchase of a Threshing Machine and Winnower for the benefit of the association, at the price of £86. This announcement was greeted with cheers. The question of the purchase of a Forage Pressing Apparatus was then discussed at length, among the speakers being Messrs. F. Cweba, S. F. Sonjica, D. Time, L. Nkonyeni, D. D. T. Jabavu, S. Peteni, E. Shosha, A. Kwetshe, and it was decided that steps be immediately taken for the purchase of apparatus. Mr. S. Tonta then proposed that a central fund be instituted to meet exigencies and to purchase lands. This was also discussed fully, the following taking part in the debate: Messrs. Stanford Sonjica, J. Gxashe, D. D. T. Jabavu, W. Njaba and E. Shosha, but the result was nugatory. Then Mr. Stanford Sonjica, Agricultural Demonstrator explained the details of the forthcoming Native Agricultural Show at Fort Hare on 17th and 18th June, and answered many questions on minor points. An interesting lecture was then delivered by Mr. Robert Sitela, another agricultural demonstrator who raised the listeners to a high pitch of enthusiasm and answered questions with marked ability.

Subscriptions realised £2/13/-, and after the expenses of 13/ were deducted, the balance at bank stood at £32/16/6, and the net roll of members was 103 to date. Interesting speeches were made by Messrs R. F. Haya, Time, E. Seti, A. Ngxoweni and then the Secretary reported that the Government Drought and Distress Commissioner, Mr Joubert was strongly in favour of natives developing their winter crops everywhere. the Government, being anxious to help with advances towards fencing for such purposes. Next meeting was fixed for Zanyokwe, Rabula on the 29th August next. The meeting was entertained with an excellent repast by the local village people, among whom the activities of the association seemed likely to wield a profound influence.

AFRICANS SEEK EDUCATION IN OLD ENGLAND

John P. Davis Finds 175 Natives In Eight British Colleges

CAN'T WORK ONE'S WAY THRU THERE

Poor Boy Or Girl Has Practically No Chance For Schooling

By John P. Davis, with the Bates College Debating Team, abroad. Writen exclusively for the Afro-American. Republication forbidden.

London, England—It is rather too bad that Afro-American students do not travel abroad in any large numbers. They might be well surprised at the considerable number of their African kinsmen, whom they will find matriculated at English institutions of higher learning.

Too frequently is it true that the average students in America jumps to the conclusion that Africa and its natives are still laboring under the most primitive of conditions. Educated men in English Universities are Africans.

My travels led me to visit eight English institutions. At no place did I fail to see several negro students. There were more West Indians than Africans. However true this may be of the majority of the tribes in Africa, it can certainlynot be denied that some of the most brilliant and cultured men of whom despite their very dark complexion, ally themselves with the white race. However, the number of students of African descent studying in England is approximately one hundred and seventy-five. The majority of the students come either from the Gold Coast, or Nigeria. A very few come from the less economically fortunate portions of Africa, the East and South. Some come from Jamaica and the West Indies.

John Davis

As there are no scholarships available for African students, it is only at tremendous expense that Africans matriculate at English schools. Unlike conditions in America, it is well nigh and unheard of thing for a student to "work his way through" an English University. There is neither time nor opportunity. Thus many students, especially from East and South Africa, although eager to study in England, are robbed of a chance because of inability to support themselves.

If it is "hard going" for the male students in England, it is, for obvious reasons, doubly hard for the woman student. This accounts for the fact that hardly more than five per cent of the total number of African students in England are women. The majority of them enter women's colleges in London, where they study domestic science, medicine and music. There are, nevertheless, Negro women at both Girton and Newnham Colleges of Cambridge University.

The male students as a rule, enter the fields of law and medicine. There are a few studying engineering, one or two, scientific agriculture and one, philosophy.

The social relations of these students with English students varys. In London, where the American tourist has made his headquarters, Africans I have met are reporting a certain amount of ostrasism, not hitherto felt. Despite this increasing coolness on the part of some English students, there still exists, luckily enough, many Englishmen who willingly invite Africans into their homes and treat them as equals. Especially at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, towns, pure and simple, where American prejudice has not yet filtered in, the African student is the recipient of every privilege granted anyone else. That they take part heartily in all of the extra curriculum activities of their colleges is not to be denied. Among students of prominence, studying at these two institutions, I might mention, Mr. D. Whittle of St. John's College, Oxford and Mr. Cecoletse of Fitzwilliam Hall, Cambridge who attended for a short time Howard University.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

JUN 24 1925

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AFRICA

The Columbia State is impressed by the information that:

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes fund, founded in 1908 to promite Negro education in the southland in Africa, finds after long months of study and investigation in the Dark Continent that the Negro is not prospering in any way.

Richly endowed by nature, Africa has been losing ground in the manpower essential for unlocking this great physical wealth. The heritage of the slave raids, the ravages of disease and an ignorance which permits malnutrition in a land of plenty are all given as causes for the sparse population. The problem, says the doctor, is a problem of saving and restoring the population.

What is particularly interesting in the United States is the class of education Dr. Jones recommends to save the situation in Africa. Here are his "simples":

(1) Health and sanitation for a land where the infant death rate ranges from 300 to upwards of 600 per thousand; (2) training in crop production, animal bushandry, food preservation and the farm trades for a people who are often decimated by famine in a land of plenty; (3) proper understanding of the "decencies and safeties of the home," including preparation of food, provision of proper clothing and care of the ill; and (4) healthful recreation and amusements for a people notorious for the physical and sexual excesses of their primitive games. He pays high tribute to the character building influence of the Christian religion; at the same time he would salvage as much as possible of native traditions and customs, modifying them and directing them into the proper channels.

The State's pertinent comment upon the foregoing is as follows:

How much more benefit would have been derived by the Negroes of the South had those Northern persons philanthropically inclined in the '70s and 80s had a survey made of the needs of the Southern Negroes, before making indorsements for Latin and Greek chairs? What the Negro needs in Africa is not essentially different from what he now needs in those sections of the Black Border where he has been living

for a half century practically isolated from whites.

Whatever the negro may not be doing i Africa, he is doing in the United State particularly in the South. He may be lagging in his native land, but in the Southern United States he has adapted himself and is going forward splendidly and quietly, and holding the good will of the whites.

ST. PAUL, MINN. PRESS
JUNE 1, 1925

France in Africa.

(W. E. B. DuBois in Foreign Affairs.)

France's attitude toward black and colored folk is peculiar. England knows Negroes chiefly as colonial "natives" or as occasional curiosities on London streets. America knows Negroes mainly as freedmen and servants. But for nearly two centuries France has known educated and well-bred persons of Negro descent; they filtered in from the French West Indies, sons and relatives of French families and recognized as such under the Code Napoleon, while under English law similar folk were but nameless bastards. All the great French schools have had black students here and there; the professions have known many and the fine arts a few scattered over decades; but all this was enough to make it impossible to say in France as elsewhere that Negroes cannot be educated. That is an absurd statement to a Frenchman. It was not that the French loved or hated Negroes as such; they simply grew to regard them as men with the possibilities and shortcomings of men, added to an unusual natural personal appearance.

But for Black Africa Germany would have overwhelmed France before American help was in sight. A tremendous wave of sentiment toward black folk welled up in the French heart. And back of this sentiment came fear for the future, not simply fear of Germany reborn, but fear of changing English interests, fear of unstable America. What Africa did for France in military protection she could easily repeat on a vaster scale; wherefore France proposes to protect herself in future from military aggression by using 500,000 or more of trained troops from yellow, brown and black Africa.

Her military program brings France face to face with the problem of democratic rule in her colonies. French industry has had wide experience in the manipulation of democracy at home but her colonial experience is negligible. Legally, of course, the colonies are part of France. Theoretically Colonials are French citizens and already the blacks of the French West Indies and the yellows and browns of North Africa are so recognized and represented in Parliament.

But beyond this more or less nebulous theory looms the immediately practical problems of French industry. The question is, is France able to make her colonies paying industrial investments and at the same time centers for such a new birth of Negro civilization and freedom as will attach to France the mass of black folk in unswerving loyalty and will to sacrifice. Such a double possibility is today by no means clear.

Africa Conference Finds Many Problems

By W. W. REID

MOVEMENTS looking toward a closer co-operation between missionary, governmental, scientific and commercial agencies interested in the development of Africa, toward the development of African Negro culture and of a higher civilization founded upon the values in that culture, toward a concerted effort to wipe out the sleeping sickness in central Africa, toward applying to Africa educational methods the accumulated experience gained in the education of Negroes in southern United States, and toward a central bureau for the study of African languages and for assisting in the production of a suitable literature in these tongues—all these movements were inaugurated at the "African Conference" held in the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn., Oct. 30 to Nov. 1, under the auspices of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

More than 100 African missionaries, board officers and authorities from the United States were in attendance. Dr. Thomas S. Donohugh, chairman of the Africa Committee, and associate secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presided. Among the authorities present were J. H. Oldham of London, and Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, of New York, secretaries of the International Missionary Council; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, chairman of the commission of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation which recently made a study of educational conditions in East Africa; Dr. Homer L. Shantz, pathologist of the United States Department of Agriculture; Dr. E. C. Sage of the General Education Board; Dr. J. H. Dillard of the Jeanes and Slater Funds for the Education of American Negroes; Prof. D. Westermann of the University of Berlin.

Can Eradicate Sleeping Sickness

Perhaps for Africa the most important and far-reaching feature of those three days was the announcement by Dr. Mable Pierce of the Rockefeller Foundation that after six years of experimentation the Foundation is ready to pronounce the success of its new cure for sleeping sickness. "Tryparsamide," the only known effective remedy for the disease, is now on the market, its efficacy in the most severe cases being assured by numerous tests over the years, and the world may look hopefully to the early eradication of the dread disease from off the African continent.

This pronouncement is all the more significant at this time when Europe is turning its attention to the development of Africa, pouring its capital into mines and industries, and when Henry Firestone announces his plan for a huge American rubber development in Liberia. According to Dr. Pierce, no colony in central Africa is free from the disease, and the white men in these settlements are not exempt from its effects. Its extent varies from 12 to 15 per cent among the people in some colonies, though in others as many as 50 or 60 per cent suffer from it. She points out that it is wholly impossible to wipe out the carrier fly because of the enormous territory and the tropical condition of the country; the only practical way to combat the disease is to treat the affected person.

While the remedy is at hand it is very costly and the treatment of one person extends well into a year's time. The problem now faced by the Rockefeller Foundation and others interested in wiping out sleeping sickness is to find the agency for carrying on the work. Shall it be through the separate governments in Africa, through the missionary and philanthropic agencies, or through some agency set up by the League of Nations? That problem will engage the attention of the Foreign Missions Conference and other agencies this winter.

A New Basis for Education

Mr. Oldham pointed out that the pouring of European and American capital into Africa since the World War for the development of her industry and commerce has given rise on a gigantic scale to all the capitalistic problems of the West, all the political, racial, educational, social and cultural problems which have for generations been awaiting solution in America and in Europe. "We are living in a fool's paradise," he said, "if we think that missionaries are to maintain their present influence in Africa. Missions are now, relatively speaking, at a standstill compared with the other influences — economic, political, governmental—which are changing the whole life of Africa. Industrial, commercial and government forces are now having a great influence, and there ought to be a greater co-operation between these agencies of civilization and the missionary and educational bodies working on the continent."

One of the most important questions raised at the conference was "What kind of an education should we give the native African?" Several speakers pointed out that the purpose of schooling should not be to make "pale copies of Western peoples" but to give the African a knowledge which would enable him to live better in his native village, to improve his health and the sanitation of his village, to understand and to use the mineral and vegetable resources of his own neighborhood, to improve the home and family life and all the while to preserve those values which are to be found in his own civilization, such as music, Negro history, art, etc. This, it was pointed out, required the development of a new method of teaching, based on conditions and experiences in the native village, rather than book lessons based on European experiences and of little value when the boy and girl return from school to take up life in their own community.

Gardening — Sanitation Health — Diet

Dr. Shantz and a number of missionaries suggested that in any education given African boys and girls there should be included a simple course in nature study, in the rudiments of gardening such as can be carried on in Africa, in simple methods of caring for health, and in sanitary methods that can be appied to the grass-roofed hut and to the entire village. It was felt that the physical well being of the African through good sanitation and through a sufficient and varied diet must be the understructure for any plan of higher education.

In this connection Dr. Sage and Dr. Dillard were of the opinion that missionaries to Africa and those planning to go to that field could learn much from the experiences and methods used in Negro education in this country. They advised especially the use of trained educational supervisors, somewhat like the Jeanes Fund supervisors of education employed in many Southern states, for the purpose of training and stimulating the teachers in the small rural schools. They advised that the work of Hampton, Tuskegee, Penn School and other such successful institutions should be studied for methods and plans that can be applied to primitive African conditions. Plans are now being made by Dr. Jones and others to have a large group of the African missionaries now in Africa on furlough visit some of these schools for a period of weeks before returning to their respective fields.

Bureau of African Languages and Culture

Missionaries pointed out that one of the greatest barriers to educational progress is the fact that Africa speaks about 800 languages and dialects; that there is scarcely any literature in these tongues and that the personnel and means of translating seem almost unavailable at present. In only three or four of the more largely used languages of the continent, it was pointed out, could one gather together a library of 20 books, while in most of the few that have been reduced to writing the entire available literature could be wrapped up in a handkerchief —two or three very small books. Mr. Oldham and Professor Westermann announced that there is under way a plan for the organization of an "International Bureau of African Languages and Culture" in which mission boards of America, Europe and Africa and learned societies from all parts of the world will co-operate for the study of these languages, for the production of educational literature in them, and to serve as a clearing house and information centre for those engaged in translating work. One of the first activities of the proposed bureau would probably be to prepare a number of necessary volumes—such as an agricultural primer, book of health rudiments, etc.—in a basic tongue and founded on African experiences and conditions; it would then be translated into various tongues and dialects. It is believed that this plan would prevent much unnecessary duplication of translation work, would provide a proper material for translation and

Race Problem — 1925.

Africa.

Address of Loyalty from the African Native of the King Williamstown District of the Cape Province, Union of South Africa, to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales.

May 19th, 1925.

May it please Your Royal Highness:

On behalf of the large masses of our Bantu people in these Districts, we, the undersigned, desire to proffer to Your Royal Highness our sincerest sentiments of loyalty and feelings of congratulations, and it has fallen to the fortune of Your Royal Highness to establish the happy and propitious record of being the first Prince of Wales of the British Imperial Throne to visit the unpretentious valley of our war famed Keiskama River.

We deem it an inestimable privilege to be allowed to partake in this unique occasion of a Royal reception, and welcome into our humble neighbourhood.

Unbounded is our reverence and love for the memory of your noble progenitor Queen Victoria, under whose maternal tutelage we were originally initiated into the political protection of English rule. The Government of this country during the days of the beloved Queen was characterised by the everlasting principles of undiluted justice and equality of opportunity unto all British subjects without the discrimination of racial ancestry and facial pigment.

Our devotion to the magnificent Empire you represent, Sir, was attracted, indeed compelled, by the fundamental belief that the essential nature of the British constitution was based upon the Christian ethic. This we discovered from the practices of the representatives of your respected ancestor Queen Victoria.

It is for her sake, and by implication for your sake, and for the invisible spirit of her sympathy as reflected in your signal visit, that we, in all humility, offer Your Royal Highness our most heartfelt greetings of welcome, trusting that your visit will prove influential in confirming the ideals of all your subjects in this land in the essential principles of the ancient British tradition.

Wishing you the richest blessings of life wherever you travel and sojourn.

We are,

YOUR LOYAL SUBJECTS.

A Native Interpreter:

Mr Charles Sinxo who has been interpreter at the Magistra-te's Office, Fort Beaufort for a good many years is about to retire from the service on a well earned pension as he has reached the age limit prescribed for civil servants. He is one of those natives in the civil service who have served their generation well in being loyal and civil to their masters and obliging to a fault and doing his duty without a murmur. What we cannot understand in men like Mr. Sinxo and other Civil Servants who are in the fixed establishment is that they have not ere now formed themselves into a society for fighting for the rights of native civil servants to be recognised in the Service. As things are the lot of native civil servants is pitiable—dismissals being frequent, and no security found in the service.

But what the natives are more concerned about is that the Pact Government in their present mood of replacing natives by whites may appoint at Fort Beaufort as a successor to Mr. Sinxo a European interpreter who may not be competent, and the result would be miscarriage of justice. Fort Beaufort is a purely native district and ought to be served with natives who are familiar with the peculiarities of the native language. The experiment of European interpreters was once tried at Keiskama Hoek without success. Their incompetency was exposed by the late Mr. Daniel Dwanya who was agent-at-law practising at Middeldrift and Keiskama Hoek at the time, and Government was forced to abandon the experiment to the great delight of the native people. It is to be hoped that Government in the appointment of successor to Mr. Sinxo may not only study the wishes of the native people but also the interests of justice.

East London Native Teachers' Association.

At a meeting of the above body held in the Independent Higher Mission School Room, on the 8th ultimo, the following revolutions were passed to be submitted to the Cape Native Teachers' Association:—

1. That this Association while appreciating the efforts that have been made by the Education Department to create the new Certificate viz; The Native Primary Higher, which is recognised as necessary and efficient to teach Standard V and VI, is of opinion that many teachers will be handicapped to acquire this Certificate through lack of funds, and appeals to the Department to help these practising teachers who may be desirous of furthering their education by paying their salaries when they are in school.

2. That this Association is of opinion that all school material should be supplied free to the native schools as it is done in poor European Schools, because all native parents are poor and cannot afford to pay for same.

3. That this Association is in favour of a deputation being appointed from the Parent Body to interview the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Administrator, and the Superintendent of Education, and the Chief Inspector for Native Education, re the matter of Augmenting the Native Teachers' Salaries and framing a definite scale for Native Teachers.

P. E. MAHLANGENI, (Sec.)
East London Nat. Teachers' Association.
East London C.P.

Recruiting of Native Labour.

[By P. B. D. Max Mashicila]

My attention has been drawn to a paragraph about "Recruiting of Native Labour," by S. M. B. Nowana which appeared in your issue of 28th April 1925.

I wish heartily to support what is mentioned in the paragraph by my friend Mr S. M. B. Nowana. In doing so, I am going to explain the recruiting system in South Africa. It is true that the native has been a victim of this recruiting system since its inception. This system is carried on on the principles of slavery and barbarism, and as such, there is no difference between it and the "Slave Fleet" that carried thousands upon thousands of black souls from the coast of Africa to work hard in the plantations of the new colonies in the Western Hemisphere. The white trade unionists advocated the necessity of this practice to avoid competition with African Labour, and the Government, without giving the matter serious consideration, welcomed the suggestion, and took the initiative by making it lawful for African black workers to come under this system.

When I was in Johannesburg last year but one, I used to witness my people groaning, early in the morning and late at night, in all kinds of weather, forced by their masters, who cared not a brass pin's head for the health of these poor people, recruited from distant territories and not dreaming to quit. If they made any attempt to quit, they were immediately lodged in jails. A funny thing is that a native worker can be dismissed from work without notice, inspite of the existence of a contract between him and the employer, whilst such worker, should he absent himself from work, is there and then made a heinous criminal.

Under the above stated system our fellow-workers are debarred from forming themselves into Industrial Unions. They are forced and bound to take any miserable pittance offered, which does not include his expenditure to his poor family, nor is it the full value of his labour; but simply what one would pardonably call hand-to-mouth wages.

Ultimately we have another scandal which manifests the brutality of the authors of this recruiting system.

If you visit the offices of the Clerks and Time-keepers in the mines, you find that the native labourers are engaged to do piece work, some of these poor souls take forty-five days to complete a task of thirty days' shift. This is effected in a most devilish manner. At the end of every book where the number of days worked are marked, is appended fifteen [15] or twenty [20] "Loafers' Tickets" or paper forms. In short, the native labourer works for twelve months for six months' wages. Our Native labourers are paid in the mining industry a maximum of fifty cents per day while his fellow white labourer earns his five or six shillings per day.

Is there any justice in that?

NATIVE OPINION

OF SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLISHED :: :: WEEKLY.

ESTABLISHED IN 1884

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, MAY 26, 1925

Cis-Kei Native Councils.

It is disappointing to observe that nothing is being done by the Government officials concerned, to meet the united desire of the Natives of the King William's Town districts in their repeated requests for the application of the Council system. The year 1925 is now nearly half over, and it is a critical year inasmuch as the new Native Taxation measure passed by Parliament comes into

force by the first of January of next year, and under this scheme, the natives are to control their own funds for their own benefit only as they come under a Council system. That the funds will run into considerable proportions is evident from the fact that revenue will accrue from three sources:—

(a) Four shillings from every pound of Poll Tax;
(b) All Quitrent money;
(c) Ten shillings extra from each resident in every location on Crown Land.

The obvious and anticipatory "Chief Magistrate" to preside over the prospective Ciskei General Council is the official known as the Ciskei Commissioner resident at King Williamstown, the natural capital of the Cape Province so far as the Natives are concerned.

This commissioner was appointed by the Government some four years ago avowedly with the express purpose of paving the way for, and expediting the establishment of the Council system. It is passing strange that he seems to have done nothing to hasten the existence of the Councils during all these years. On the contrary, it is the natives themselves who have frequently sent up deputations to him to beg for the Council system, but to no purpose this far All such consultations have produced no tangible result. We are far from thinking that he is opposed to the system; but we cannot understand his apparent inactivity in the matter. For instance in all his term of office he has never summoned any conference combining all the chiefs and representative leaders of native opinion in and around the hundred locations of the district. To visit individual headmen is to toy with the affair. He has never summoned the recognised joint committee of representatives that was frequently summoned by the Native Affairs Commission up till 1921 when the whole work was handed over to him by the Commission.

The Natives of the Ciskei who represent the districts of East London, Keiskama Hoek, Middledrift, and King Williamstown—to name only those who have distinctly declared their desire for a Council—have for a long time now been respected by the Government for their intelligence sanity and ability in debate and administration, as well as progressiveness in the arts of education and agriculture. If only they had a live pushing and progressive commissioner at their head they would soon show the capacity in managing a system of self government such as they vainly clamour for under the Native Affairs Act of 1920. In our opinion the only justification for the expenditure involved in the continuation of a Ciskei Commissionership is that the position shall be held by an industrious official who will lose no opportunity of holding "indabas" with combined representatives of the Natives, organise a Council for them, guide them personally in ways of self-improvement, bestir himself in evincing his sympathy and be continually at their disposal. We fancy a man of the type of Mr. Joubert, who was recently sent round these parts by the Government as inspector of the drought distress among the Natives.

The office should not be allowed to deteriorate into a formal red-tape bureau like an ordinary Pretoria government department. It needs a stirring personality. An official of the right type by temperament can do a great deal both to allay Native unrest and to advance the progress of the Natives in their own areas under a Council system, just as we see in the Transkei.

We hope the Government will pay attention to this matter and make use of the opportunity while it is available.

TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

[By S. M. B. Nevaia.]

As the heir apparent to the throne of Great Britain and the first gentleman of the British Empire, I take this opportunity, in accordance with the manners and constitutions of His Royal Highness' ancestors of extending to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales a very hearty welcome to this sunny land and to the homes of the black peoples of South Africa on behalf of the Native agitators and millions of discontented and suffering natives under the British dominion of South Africa.

I wish to assure His Royal Highness that the natives of South Africa, in their sad plight of political, social and economic strangulation, are not, in any shape or form, lacking in their loyalty to the British Crown. But, as our ancestors inhabited this part of the globe long before any European settlement, we refuse all compromise; we spurn all concealment; we hate all disguise; and take a serious view of all principles of false charity as against true liberty, unlimited freedom and unmixed justice for all black people of South Africa.

I wish most respectfully to say that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was present at the Royal Review of the South African Native Labour Contingent which took place at Abberville during the summer of 1917, when His Majesty the King, accompanied by Her Majesty the Queen and Earl Haig, on behalf of the British commonwealth of nations, expressed his gratitude for the splendid manner in which the Native of South Africa responded to the call for "liberty and freedom of all races under the British Flag."

Thousands and thousands of our loyal black South Africans who spoke the language of the natives suffered and died in the memorable battlefields of France and Belgium; hundreds and hundreds of our cheery lads are to be found buried at the bottom of the deep blue seas. They fought and died for the honour and glory of the British Lion. But when the war was finally won, the natives of South Africa were thrown overboard—into that abyss of agony—where no British Lion strong enough can save them.

I shall not undertake to detail or even to summarize those events to His Royal Highness. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us in the name of His Majesty the King by the sinister masters of South Africa have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true Britisher to need rehearsal. But I shoud like most respectfully to ask His Royal Highness to consider again, and with very grave scrutiny that the spirit of liberty and freedom has entered into the heart of every suffering South African native under the most pressing laws of the present Government of South Africa.

As a nonentity who offered his life during the world war to help to crush militarism of the Central Powers of Europe I should very much like to ask His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as the loyal ambassador of the British nation in South Africa:

1. What the Government has actually done, with its high principle for humanity, for the natives of South Africa since the Anglo—Boer War 1901 to the year of our Lord 1925.

2 What has been the reward of our self-sacrifices for the glory of Great Britain in all the wars in which we, as a race, participated.

3. Where is the monument to the patriotism of the black people of South Africa

4. Why has Great Britain dishonoured the high promises of His Majesty the King to the representatives of the South African Native Labour Contingent at Abberville in 1917.

5. Why has Great Britain sold our human right to live in the land of our forefathers to the soulless Government of South Africa.

The thought of the plain native here and everywhere throughout South Africa, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is that Great Britain has utterly failed in its duty towards the native races of South Africa, and that Great Britain cannot therefore be regarded as a trustee and protector of the African native. We have often been told by the masters of this country that Great Britain has no more right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Union Government than the man in the moon.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs committed upon helpless native people of South Africa since the war by the Government of this country, supported by British money. British power and the British navy, have tremendously unsettled the minds of the law—abiding section of the Bantu race. His Royal Highness might observe that an evident principle runs through the whole tenor of my letter. It is the principle of just es to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak, under the British Flag. I would not be loyal to black South Africa and to the people of the whole continent of Africa if I did not say to His Royal Highness once more that the African people have now entered the struggle for liberty and freedom upon no small scale, and that we never can turn back from a course chosen upon lofty principles It may surprise His Royal Highness to know that blackmen in South Africa are not accorded equal treatment with whitemen, although in the same situation and circumstances, but on the contrary, are discriminated against and denied the common rights due to human beings for no other reason than their race and colour. The natives of South Africa are discriminated against and denied an equal chance to earn wages for the support of their families, and in many cases are rigidly refused admission into labour Unions; and everywhere the natives are paid smaller wages than white men. In the civil service and departmental offices the natives are everywhere discriminated against and made to feel that to be a blackman in South Africa is equivalent to being an outcast and a leper among the races of men, no matter what the character and attainments of the blackman may be. In the four Provinces of the Union black people are secretly and cunningly discriminated against and denied those fuller rights of government to which white citizens are eligible, nominated and elected. The native races of South Africa are forced to work for lower wages than the average standard of whitemen, and are kept in conditions repugnant to good civilised tastes and customs. The black people of this country are paying heavy taxes to the Government without represent-

Race Problem - 1925

Africa.

ses of the sons of the government officials educating outside the territory. There was thirty pounds (£30) paid by the government on every son of an officer not exceeding three in number. That is £90 on three sons of an officer. That money was paid out of the revenue.

Asked if the sons of the Basuto were given such aid, he replied that in respect of the sons of the Basuto that had been withdrawn because there was not sufficient money to continue it.

Cr. Chokebane said the Great Chief Moshesh paid cattle to bring the missionaries who brought with them education and therefore educated his sons. He also reminded the Council how the Late Paramount Chief Lerotholi raised the fund for the erection of the present Industrial School at Maseru. He wished the present Paramount Chief would continue the work that was started by his predecessors and to pay attention to the educational needs of the Basuto nation. He conceded the argument advanced that the nation would resent the two shillings increase on nut-tax but that increase was for their benefit. He was sorry to hear that the Council would have no right to control the education fund, and that they would also have no right to complain if they received no beneficial results from that fund.

(to be continued)

THE SEQUEL TO THE NSAWAM MEETING.

SINCE the rising of the conference of the Natural Rulers of the Gold Coast with the Aborigines Society a copy of a booklet, entitled "Memorandum and Draft Native Jurisdiction Bill suggested at a Conference of Paramount Chiefs at Nsawam in May, 1925," has reached our office. The post mark on the wrapper bears the impression "Kibbi 28 September, 1925." The said Memorandum is signed by the following "F. Kwasi Akuffo, Omanhene, Akwapim; Kweku Boateng, Omanhene, New Juaben; Ofori Atta, Omanhene, Akyem Abuakwa; Essandoh III Omanhene, Nkusukum." It is dated at Nsawam, May 15, 1925. The Memorandum is a closely printed matter of 13 pages foolscap, and the Bill itself takes us on to page 36. We are informed in a note that Nana Kweku Boateng, Omanhene of New Juaben, arrived at Nsawam by the afternoon train on Thursday the 30th of April; Nana Ofori Atta, Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa, at 6 p.m., on Thursday the 30th of April; Nana Akuku II, Omanhene of Mankessim, at 6 p.m., on Thursday the 30th of April; Nana Kwasi Akuffo, Omanhene of Akwapim, on Friday the 1st of May. We are then informed that Nana Akuku II left Nsawam on the morning of Saturday the 2, owing to a threatened disturbance between certain of his sub-chiefs. Togbi Sri II Awame Fia of Awuna Ga is said to have arrived at Nsawam at 2 p.m., on May 4, but drove back to Accra and returned back early on May 5, remaining until the afternoon of May 8, when he returned to Accra to attend a Court case and a call of the Provincial Commissioner. Nana Essandoh III, Omanhene of Nkusukum, arrived at Nsawam on Monday the 4th May.

The meetings were held at Nana Ofori Atta's residence on Tuesday, 5th May, 8 a.m., till 1.30 p.m.; Wednesday 6th May, 8.30 till 12 noon; Thursday 7th May, 9 till 12 noon and 3 p.m., till 5 p.m.; Friday, 8th May, 8.30 till 2 p.m.; Saturday 9th May, 8.30 till 11.30 a.m.; Monday, 11th May, 9 to 1 p.m.; Tuesday, 12th May, 8.30 to 10 a.m., and 4.40 to 5.30 p.m. On Thursday, May 14, we are told that the Memorandum and Draft Bill were prepared. The report was read on Friday May 15 at 2 p.m., and the meetings were apparently brought to a close with singing.

We have entered so fully into the circumstances of this meeting at Nsawam to enable our readers to judge for themselves. It is somewhat significant that the Memorandum is signed by only four of the Amanhin, three of whom are Akan Paramount Chiefs and one a Fanti Paramount Chief. Again, out of the number two are Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council. It is also significant that the Hon. Nene E. Mate Kole was not present at these meetings, nor was the Ga Manche, the leading Paramount Chief of the Eastern Province. From the post mark above referred to it is evident that the distribution of the Memorandum and the suggested Draft Bill was left with the Hon. Nana Ofori Atta who also, apparently, took the most prominent part throughout the proceedings.

Of the Amanhin present and actually taking part in the conference the only one who may be said to be educated, besides Nana Ofori Atta, is Nana F. Kwasi Akuffo. When it is recognised, therefore, that the Memorandum consists of 13 pages and the suggested Draft Bill takes up the space to the 36th page, the question naturally arises, whose handiwork is the booklet before us, and what prodigious task it must have been to produce it between the hours

RACE CONSCIOUSNESS.

BLACK RACES LINKING UP.

The seeds of Race Consciousness, which have been lying dormant in the black man's make-up ever since his conquest and subsequent enslavement by the white man, are undoubtedly beginning to sprout now. The world over the black "movement" is steadily diverting itself into one river, one flood, of brotherly love and unity. The South African Native is also beginning to throw his energy into this flood. They have discovered that they, too, not merely "hewing machines" of the white man, to be exploited and harassed at the bequest of any Tom, Dick or Harry with a white skin. Conversations are now extensively carried on between the South African black man and his brothers of similar hue in many parts of the universe, especially America and in other parts of Africa beyond the boundaries of the Union. This flood of exchange of views, suggestions and constructive advice, will ultimately swell into an ocean of irresistible force that will have to be recognised and listened to if universal peace is to be assured.

It has been the policy of the white race the world over, for the past two thousand years, to ruthlessly attack, conquer, subjugate and exploit native coloured peoples in Asia, America, Africa and Australia. This mad career of infamy and devilment received its only check when the Japanese (a coloured race) rose in their just wrath and smote the Russians on land and sea, and drove them out of Manchuria and Corea. Wherever he has gone among the black races of the universe, the white man has displayed his low moral character, and he has raped, defiled and seduced black women to such an extent that in many parts of the world we have now a huge population of hybrids and half-castes. In America the Red Indians have almost become as extinct as the dodo. Unable to conquer and tame the Red Indians by fair and civilised means, the white man resorted to tactics almost too despicable to put into print. The same system of annihilation and legislative slow-poisoning is being attempted in this country. But thanks to the hardihood, intelligence and inherent docility of the African, the process of obliteration is laughably futile, and will die the death of many other unjust and unchristian acts of the white man the world over. To blacks begin to understand and view each other in a holier and nobler light, the spirit of "white lawlessness" attend a "tripe-supper" in honour of an acquitted we are disappointed, murderer. Standerton, Utrecht, Cathcart, and many that from the day the more, are all places that remind the black man of his country, and subse- European injustice, and these things are bitterly engraven arliament, the lawlys upon the African mind and conscience. We therefore nands of the clock of this spirit of race consciousness among the oving backwards, We Natives to back up our state- in the African Continent.—*The* selves can reveal the *Herald.* July 20, 1925 k man is legislated for the British Empire. bassador of Peace" (?) ought into direct touch expect justice to flow. ustice. When a case white and black comes lly between white ... the black ... that justice will be ... many concrete instances ... These things are

African National Congress.

The President, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, has addressed the Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs and Leaders of the Bantu Race, on the political situation in the following letter:

Honoured Gentlemen,

I respectfully beg leave, in my capacity as President-General of the African National Congress, formerly the S.A. Native National Congress founded at Bloemfontein in the year 1912 at the instance and inspiring leadership of Mr. Attorney P.ka Isaka Seme, LL.D., to call your ser ous attention to the politico-social situation of this the land of your fathers in its relation to the Bantu population of the Union of South Africa.

Every keen observer of the trend of events occurring in the political and industrial field of this country will be deeply impressed by the gravity of the situation, and the true patriot cannot but be moved by a sense of duty and grave responsibility to action of some kind or other.

Since the year 1912 there has been talk in European circles of introducing a scheme of SEGREGATION of the Black from the White races of this country, which is claimed to be the best solution of the problem of the relations subsisting between the two races. The first instalment in this colossal proposition was the passing of the Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, the second being the introduction of the Natives (Urban Areas) Bill of 1923, which came into operation on the first day of January, 1924, to say nothing of the Native Affairs Act of 1920. This measure, to my mind, was the first formal declaration by the Union Parliament that "there is no room for the Blackman in the political organism of this country," or in plainer language, "that the Blackman can have no direct representation by members of his own race in the legislative councils of the land." The the advent of the Hertzog Government in July, 1924, brought in its train the introduction and enforcement of what has been defined as "the Civilized Labour policy," whereby Bantu labourers engaged in the various and multifarious industries of the country have been replaced by poor Whites. This is being done after the African workers have done pioneer work in the field of labour and helped to lay the foundations of the industrial system of South Africa upon a firm and lasting basis.

The climax of all this policy of steadfast differentiation, discrimination and Segregation upon colour lines will be reached when, early next year, General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG in his capacity as Minister of State for Native Affairs will introduce in the House of Assembly an important measure, having for its object the bringing within the realm of practical politics his idealistic principles of SEGREGATION. Hitherto we have had just an inkling of the lines upon which this big scheme is likely to proceed. It is clear therefore that the political cow of South Africa is heavy with calf; what the colour or sex of the expected calf will be when it is born no prophet can foretell. The poor voiceless Bantu people are being carried away as it were in a whirlwind; they are "brought as a lamb before her slaughter, and as a sheep, they are dumb before the shearers, "so they openeth not their mouth;" where this whirlwind will ultimately land them no seer can foresee. It therefore behoves every Leader of the people, be he Chief of royal blood or a Headman or Preacher of the Gospel or any other Commoner, a Leader in the political or industrial sphere, to look the facts of the position in the face, and ask himself what part he is going to play, in the big task of shaping the ultimate destiny of the race in the direction of safety, and the PRESERVATION of our national entity. The masses of the people are looking to the Leaders to save the situation. Gentlemen, even as the gravest responsibility rests upon the shoulder of a mother for the safety of the life of a newly-born child during the period of infancy and of utter blindness and helplessness, even so upon the shoulders of the leaders rests the gravest responsibility and answerability for the security of the life of the masses of the African race.

To reach our great objective, even the political and industrial salvation of the race from extermination as well as the redemption of Africa for the free habitation of the black race, every leader of the race must be prepared for the supreme sacrifice, the sacrifice of position and of self and of possessions. It is imperative that the material resources of the race be effectively and fruitfully utilized in the direction of sending a deputation to Capetown during the sessions of the forthcoming Union Parliament, whose duty it shall be to watch the proceedings of Parliament, when the great Government scheme of segregation is being evolved into some tangible shape.

Chiefs and Gentlemen, is it not high time when Black South Africa should take definite steps in the direction of the realisation of the great slogan of our Chiefs and Leaders, past, present future: "Mayibuye i Afrika," "Afrika a e boee?"

With these observations I humbly and yet strongly and confidently beg to appeal to our Paramount and other chiefs ruling the great territories of the Transkei, Zululand, Swaziland, Sekukuniland, Bechuanaland, etc, to take into their serious consideration the question of the advisability and expediency of meeting with other representatives of the race in a National Convention at some centrally situated centre, say Bloemfontein, during the next New Year's Holidays when a review of the whole position would be made, and ways and means devised for the safeguarding and protection of the land, civil and industrial rights of their followers, the sons and daughters of Africa. The times demand the unreserved sinking of all differences of tribalism or language or country. "Come, let us reason together," even though our position may appear to be one of utter hopelessness and helplessness, we should emerge from such "round table conference" triumphant, and posterity will bless our memory for the great sacrifice we make to-day.

"Ma-Afrika, zemk'inkomo zoyihlo,
Magwalandini!"
"United, we stand, divided, we fall,"
"Ekuhlung go chwarangwa ke dikgobo."

Evangelising Africa.

The report of the sixth General Missionary Conference of South Africa, that took place last June and July at Johannesburg, has just been published by *Die Nasionale Pers*, sold at 4/- by The Secretary Rev. J. W. L. Hofmeyr B.A., P.O. Box 1012 Cape Town. It is an excellent book of 185 pages in a strong cover.

The contents cover a wide range, including vital aspects of the conditions of the Bantu people. Apart from the minutes and other interesting information, it contains a splendid Opening Address on "Native Development" by Dr. J. D Taylor, D.D.; "Spiritual Emphasis in the Life of the missionary and Native Pastor" by the Dean of Johannesburg; "The Economic Life of the the Native in relation to his Evangelisation" by Dr. J. Henderson M.A., D D; The Relation of European Christianity to the Success or Failure of Native Evangelisation," by Dr. J. Talbot D.D., Bishop of Pretoria; "The Arrest or Progress of Native Evangelisation" by Rev, J. L. Dube and Rev, J Hofmeyr; "The Student Christian Movement among Native Students in South Africa," by Rev Max Yergan, B.A.; "Native Evangelistic Agency" by Rev. Z R. Mahabane & Rev. J Reynolds. "Bantu Psychology in the presentation of the Gospel" by Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A. and Dr C. T. Loram M A.; "Native Separatist Churches" by Rev. B. Dlepu and Father F. Hill; "Evangelising the Heathen Woman" by Mrs. A. C. Murray and Mrs. C Maxeke, B.Sc and four addresses by Dr. S. M Zwemer the world's foremost authority on Islam.

It is no exaggeration to say this book constitutes a distinct contribution to the stock of information on the wide Native problem as viewed from the angle of religious effort. We hope our readers will not neglect to secure it.

Native Women and Girls.

The most dramatic appeal for the effective education of primitive Native women is in the appallingly high death rate of infants, says the Phelps-Stokes report. Civilized people are only beginning to realise the tremendous significance of the death rate that ranges from one third to three fourths of the total number of infants born. While there are many causes that combine to bring about this tragic result, it is probable that the ignorance of the women is one of the most important factors.

The first responsibility of the women is for the supply and preparation of food. In primitive society the woman is not only the cook who prepares the food for consumption, she is also the gardener and the field worker who cultivates the soil. Her second responsibility is for the habitation. While the man shares in the building of the house, it is the woman who first of all has care of its decencies and comforts, guaranteeing proper facilities for refreshing sleep. As civilisation advances she can aid her husband to escape from the evils of a one-room dwelling to a home where she can supply ideals for the better relationship of children as well as of adults Closely connected with all this is the whole question of clothing. Here we must beware of those who would unreasoningly impose upon the Africans a Europeanised dress entirely unsuited to the demands of climate of Native habit. These three elemental necessities of human life, the most concrete expression of the responsibilities of women, would alone offer sufficient ground for the large expenditure of funds, of thought and real concern for the well-being of Native girls and women.

Equally important is the woman's control of the recreations of the children, for in this, her influence can be potent even to the extent of determining character formation and radical improvement in relationships. Tragic results will follow if the education of the African woman does not develop on parallel lines and simultaneously with that of her husband in regard to the African for leadership of the masses and for participation in the widening opportunities of modern life. The influence of ignorant and uncivilised wives and mothers upon semi-educated men and boys can do nothing but hamper and delay the development of civilisation. Together they must advance to the full development of civilised life in all its phases.

Race Problem — 1925.

Agrica.

PRESIDENT KING AT THE KRU COURT KROOTOWN ROAD, FREETOWN.

On Friday the 23rd January, President King, accompanied by Mrs. King, and some Members of his Suite, were present at the Kru Court, on the invitation of the Kru Community in Freetown. His Excellency Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Colony, with the Hon. C. May, Consul for Liberia, and many other distinguished persons were also present, His Excellency the Governor presiding.

The occasion was introduced by one Potie Robinson, a man of the Kru Tribe who, in a short address referred to the coming of President King to Sierra Leone which furnished them the opportunity of expressing their gratefulness to him for the good he was doing for their people in Liberia. They were pleased that he had come to Freetown; and that upon their invitation he was kind enough to be with them that morning. They were also pleased that His Excellency the Governor was also present and has kindly consented to preside on this occasion.

His Excellency the Governor followed this speaker with his introductory remarks, in the course of which he stated that:—

"When the Tribal Ruler of the Kru residents in Freetown approached me and asked me to preside on this occasion, I accepted with pleasure. Between the British and the Kru there exists a peculiar sympathy. Both are sea-faring people. The stalwart Kru men were fitted for work on the sea. We notice the Kru men who work on the gun boats have the great privilege of wearing the King's Uniform. I suppose it is now over a hundred years since the first Kru men came to Sierra Leone to earn their livelihood as boat headmen and in other ways. I am pleased to have the opportunity of testifying that the Kru people in Freetown, with but few exceptions, are law abiding. The few I except are those who have had to come in during times of trade depression. Their condition was the result of economic failures. Outside of this, we have nothing to complain of the Kru residing in Freetown. They are being very well looked after by their Tribal Ruler. They have managed to save a considerable sum of money, which is deposited into the Bank. Out of this fund they provide for their sick and for the education of their children. The working of this fund has caused dissention; and last year I had to enquire into the working of the fund and the Tribal Ruler was authorised to work it.

"I am glad to preside this morning at this meeting with your President, and I will ask your Tribal Ruler to say something on it."

The Tribal Ruler now arose and, in a very sensible speech thanked His Excellency the Governor for the courtesy of presiding on this occasion. He said:—

"As I stand here to-day, I have been forty-one years in this country. It does not say, however, that when I see my President I should not show him appreciation. I must let the President know how many Kru people there are in Freetown. It is not necessary to tell the man in the street that 'Oh, there are so many.' There are four thousand one hundred and seventy persons of Kru origin in Freetown. It is no use to call a man and then take him to another man's house; it is for this reason that we have asked our President to come to us and he has kindly come.

"Although I am here, yet I do not forget my home; and so I have at Elder Dempster's in Monrovia a son, and I am very glad to have the President come to Sierra Leone. I have not been able to go to Monrovia since coming here; and I think it is God's wish that my President should visit Sierra Leone."

The Band of the West African Regiment here played a selection, after which the Governor requested Mrs. Lewis, the wife of the Tribal Ruler, to make the presentation of the souvenir given by the Kru community in Freetown to Mrs. King, which comprised two lovely solid gold serviette rings.

Mrs. King, in acknowledging this token of affection and esteem said:—

"I thank you very much for this present which you have thought so much of me to present me. I can assure you I shall treasure it. I think the reason why the present is so lovely is because of the motive that is behind it.

Representing the women of Liberia, I shall endeavour to bring you into closer touch with the Republic of Liberia. I hope your stay in Freetown will always be characterised by loyalty to the British authorities.

I shall cherish the memory of our visit to you, and shall carry your names to Liberia. I shall convey the feelings of felicitations to your sisters and brothers in Liberia which you have expressed."

After this speech and the rendition by the band of the "Lone Star Forever" the following Address of Welcome was read:—

May it please Your Excellency,—As the Chief Executive and President of the Republic of Liberia, our dear Fatherland, we, composed of no less than twenty-seven different tribes of the Kru people resident in Freetown, under the benign and sympathetic protection of the Sierra Leone Government where we have for over seventy years enjoyed peaceable and uninterrupted settlement in this historic ward of the City—the West Ward—and in which, as our adopted home, we have received nothing but the kindliest consideration, deem it a fitting opportunity of extending a hearty welcome to Your Excellency and Party and of participating in the cordial reception which has been arranged by the Government and various sections of the Community on this your visit.

2. It will be well to say at the outset that our feeble efforts this morning are actuated by no other desire than to demonstrate our highest respect for and tender our heartiest congratulations on the eminently successful way in which you have administered the affairs of our Homeland in all its many-sidedness.

3. The struggles and conflicting aspirations of a growing Negro State like Liberia are complex and they require a master-mind such as you undoubtedly possess to cope with and tackle them. It has filled our hearts with joy that since the last Quadrennial Elections by which you were returned as President by substantial majority—thus justifying the confidence of the people of Liberia—we have throughout your Excellency's Administration followed with great interest the various reports which have reached us of your high statesmanship, your breadth of view on all public questions, your sympathetic dealings with the natives of the far Interior and above all of the deep concern for the development along all lines of a country over which we believe an All-Wise Providence has appointed you.

4. We recall with pride the fact that seventeen years ago one of your illustrious predecessors in office, Ex-President Barclay, arrived here under Civil and Military honours. To-day, the privilege which the British Admiralty has accorded Your Excellency and distinguished party in travelling on the H.M.S. Dublin is in our opinion an indication of the happy relations that exist between the English Government and the Republic of Liberia.

5. It will no doubt interest Your Excellency to learn of the progress we have made through the fostering care of the Sierra Leone Government since domiciled here. Under the Tribal System we have been led and guided by our enlightened and indefatigable Chief, John Lewis, formerly known as Gbartro Jahwre, born in King William Town, Sinoe County, Liberia, whose career has been so graphically portrayed in the latest issue of "West Africa" under date December 13, 1924. Chief Lewis has actually succeeded by his devotion to duty and interest for the general well-being of the Kru Section to capture the confidence not only of the Government and Elder Dempster's Shipping Service but of the intelligent portion of the Community.

6. Our progress, religiously, has been most gratifying as apart from the two Churches maintained exclusively by the Kru, there is a large following in each of the leading denominations and year by year Missionary Reports tell of the many converts that have been won and of the numerical and financial gains derived.

7. Educationally, the Parents have realised more than ever the need of their children attending either our own or some other Elementary School and the result has been cheering.

8 Kru Fund. Under a strong Committee, the Kru Fund which is a benefit fund provided among other things, helps to the sick and indigent poor and also looks after the education of the children.

9. Consular Interest. In the Liberian Consul the Honourable C. May, J.P., Mayor of Freetown, the Kru have found a true friend whose advices on all occasions have been invaluable and tonicsome.

10. British Justice and Fairplay. We have come to appreciate more than ever the justice and fairplay with which our grievances either in Court or out of it have been settled and thus our stay here has been safe and pleasant.

11. We have read with great delight Your Excellency's efforts for the establishment of that mutual help and understanding between the people on the Coast line and those of the Interior which alone can build up the Republic.

12. We are glad to learn that those petty feuds and fights which were at one time the order of the day have been bridged over by a more tolerant and sympathetic attitude and that age-long hostility has been replaced by mutual respect and confidence.

13. The new roads which Your Excellency opened with great pomp and ceremony in 1923 and particularly the Brewerville-Boporo Road is an outstanding achievement of your Administration. The manner in which that occasion was celebrated by Your Excellency and Officers and the dinner given to the working men will not soon be forgotten.

14. We believe with Your Excellency that the vast virgin wealth of Liberia in waiting for the touch of the trained agriculturist and that Liberia, if continues to be judiciously governed will soon sing a new song of agricultural and commercial prosperity.

15. It has been agreed by all that Your Excellency's Administration has been throughout successful in reference to its Boundary Survey, its Public and Internal Revenues, its Postal Service and last but not least its amicable settlement of grievances at a Conference of Chiefs at Suehn in the Teh-Geveh District of the Interior of Montserrado County.

16. Lastly, we pray for Divine favour that not only will this trip be a pleasant one from the point of view of physical enjoyment, but it may result in untold blessings morally, politically and spiritually for the Republic of Liberia. Also that the health of Your Excellency and your amiable Consort who deserves all the praise for her silent but powerful influence, Mrs. Grimes and your Aide-de-Camp who travelled on the H.M.S. "Dublin" as also your distinguished Officers of State who accompany you may be preserved and that as you leave on Sunday with the Commissioner of the Central Province passing through the Sierra Leone Protectorate for the Anglo-Liberian Boundary into Liberia, you will have pleasant recollections of this your visit.

We beg to remain, Your Excellency's humble and obedient servants

his
John x Lewis, Kroo Chief.
mark

Seaky Williams, Tarsur, Kpahdeh Williams, Rockceso, Tarpeh Toby, Pattay, Jim Manneh, Tartowah, Members of Committee.

Kru Court, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
23rd January, 1925.

At the end of this address His Excellency the President rose and thanked His Excellency the Governor for presiding, and the Kru Tribal Ruler with his people, for the reception accorded himself and Mrs. King as well as the gentlemen accompanying him on this mission.

His Excellency the President said:—

"We are very pleased," he remarked, "to be with you and to hear all the commendatory remarks which have been pronounced both by His Excellency the Governor and your Tribal Ruler. As I heard His Excellency's reference to the feeling of sympathy which subsists between the British and the Krus and of the latter's usefulness and loyalty in the British service, this fact came at my mind—that Liberia being the home of these stalwart Krumen, it is gratifying for her to know that she has been privileged to contribute something to the British Navy.

The Tribal Ruler has also said that he was pleased to invite us to come to them; and that although he himself has never returned to Liberia since he first came to Sierra Leone, yet we have come at his request. Well, this is a question of Mohammed going to the Mountain if the Mountain would not come to Mohammed (laughter).

This Court that you have erected bespeaks much for your taste and development; and on my return to Liberia I shall tell your brethren what you are doing.

I am pleased to say that the conditions in Liberia are now changing, and we are reaching a period of peaceful understanding among all the elements of our populations. Most of our conflict in the past was due to misunderstanding. Our policy is now that of unification. We are now trying to break down all differences of caste. In our administration we know of no difference of Vey, Mandingo, Bassa, or Kpwessi but we are all regarded as Liberian citizens. I have associated with me as Vice President of Liberia the Honourable H. Too Wesley, who is a Grebo. Recently I had the privilege of commissioning Mr. Bey Solow of the Vey tribe Associate Justice of our Supreme Court. I have also in my Cabinet as Secretary of Education the Honourable B. W. Payne, a man from the Bassa tribe. It is scarcely 100 years since the first missionaries came out to Liberia to Christianize and educate the Natives and we have to-day at the head of the educational system of Liberia a man of aboriginal extraction. You see what difference is made.

I wish the Kru people to forget the past: my policy is to heal all the old sores. We must get together and work for Liberia.

I am glad to hear how loyal you have been to the British Authorities. I would advise you to get not only money, during your sojourn in this Colony but also all the advantages of education as well. This is only one of the greatest facilities that you can ever have; but in trying to get instruction strive to acquire a practical education so that you may become useful to yourselves and to Liberia as well.

As President of Liberia, I thank you for the expression of loyalty on your part; and I am sure when I return to Liberia and tell your compatriots of all I have seen and heard, they will be delighted."

The Mayor of Freetown, Hon. C. May, who was asked to offer a vote of thanks to His Excellency Governor Slater for presiding at this function remarked as follows:—

"Your Excellency, Tribal Chief and Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My duty this morning is to return the thanks of this audience to His Excellency, Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Colony of Sierra Leone and Protectorate, for presiding on this occasion. In doing so, I should like to take the advantage of saying that this is a unique occasion.

Years ago we have had Governors endowed with physical advantages, and now we have a Governor who, into every thing in which he goes, is nothing if not thorough. Last night when I heard his eloquence I felt small before him. He has acquired in a remarkable manner the history of Liberia and has displayed it. We have all seen how well he has grasped the condition of the Kru people residing in Freetown. Into every subject the Governor enters with a spirit of sincerity. Every thing in which he engages is a pleasure to him. It was pleasing to me when I heard his speech to the Kru people in which he intimated that he would accept the Chairmanship of the occassion. He has given to the people of our Colony that which no other has given, that is—the granting of franchise to elect our own people to the Legislative Council."

Addressing himself to the Governor, Mr. May continued:—

"You have conducted the affairs of this meeting appreciably; and we are hopeful that you will not be translated to Ceylon and other parts (laughter) and that the Government in England will see fit to return you to complete the good work you have so well begun in this Colony. When we wish to differ with you then we become mindful of your building scheme and are anxious that you will continue the Governor of Sierra Leone. I have great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the Governor."

The Governor in replying, said:—

"I thank you very much for the kind expressions you have made with regard to myself. I personally have no wish to leave Sierra Leone. I agree entirely with what you have said, Mr. May: I would like to see the results of my work in Sierra Leone. I have yet one or two surprises for you which you do not know of. I thank the Kru Tribal Ruler and Committee for the successful manner in which you arranged this meeting."

DEPUTATION TO THE MAYOR OF KING WMS. TOWN.

In compliance with resolution No. 13 passed at the All African Convention last Wednesday, a deputation waited on his Worship the Mayor of King William's Town (Col. S. R. Style, M.B.E.) at 11 a.m. yesterday. The speakers were led by Mr. S. M. Bennett Nowana, of Port Elizabeth, the others being Chief B. Tele, Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, Messrs. F. H. M. Zwide and A. M. Jabavu.

A round-table discourse was opened in the Mayor's Parlour on the question of the new Curfew law operating from 9 p.m. till 4 a.m., the delegates pointing out that provision has been made for the curfew in the model regulations framed under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which the Council could take advantage of. They endeavoured to show the disabilities suffered by the Native people in that it curtailed their privileges in holding evening meetings for social and religious services.

The Town Clerk (Mr. E. J. C. Woodrow), who was also present in conjunction with the Mayor, explained that it was not the desire of the Council to curtail the privileges of the native people; but that this position was created by the repeal of the old by-laws through the introduction of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which in turn made no provision for the curfew. Dec. 30, 1924

In reply to further questions the Town Clerk explained that the model regulations had no force of law, and therefore, could not be adopted by Council. The Act, 30 of 1895 was the only law that provided restrictions re curfew, and in it no elasticity could be found to alter the hour from 9 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Satisfaction, however, was felt by the delegates when the Town Clerk informed them of pending legislation to be introduced at next Parliamentary session which would provide for the curfew to operate as heretofore (10 p.m.); and that recourse to the Act of 1895 was merely a temporary measure.

MEETINGS IN LOCATIONS.

For the information of the All African Convention and the general procedure adopted in other municipalities throughout the Union, the deputation requested to be furnished with the Council's reason for refusing permission for meetings to be held in its Native locations.

The Mayor replied that this was done in the interests of the Native people themselves, and at their own wish, as they (the people) said they do not desire any meetings to be held among them by outsiders in the evenings, which is their time of rest.

At this explanation, one of the local delegates at once pointed out that this was not in accordance with fact. It was the bulk of the location Natives themselves who belonged to the very Union that requested permission to hold meetings; therefore they were part and parcel of the petitioners.

Mr. Zwide pointed out that in Port Elizabeth, at the New Brighton Location, far from being prohibited to hold meetings, the Council there built halls for them for the express purpose of holding meetings, and the procedure adopted here seems very strange.

His Worship voiced the intention of Council to protect the location residents from outside exploiters, who very often came there in large numbers; in reply to which a local delegate said the bona-fides of a Union like this could not be doubted or challenged, and as such could not be confused with other similar requests.

The Town Clerk brought to notice the fact that in January, 1925, Advisory Boards would be instituted in the locations under the new Act (1923), and he did not anticipate any difficulty in getting such permission if the Board recommended it.

On being asked for an assurance of the initiation of Advisory Boards in January, 1925, the Town Clerk definitely gave out that such would be the case.

After a few words of thanks to the Mayor for sympathetically receiving the deputation and a request that their views be conveyed to the Council, which the Mayor willingly agreed to, the deputation retired.

BILL.

TO CONSOLIDATE AND AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO THE TAXATION OF THE NATIVES AND TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIVES.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

1. Taxes Levied. From and after the first day of January, 1925, there shall be charged, levied and collected in respect of every calendar year for the benefit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, except as hereinafter expressly provided, the general and local taxes payable by natives in accordance with section *two* of this Act. Dec. 30, 1924

2. Central and Local Taxes. (1) A tax (hereinafter called the general tax) of one pound sterling shall be paid by every adult male native who is domiciled in the Union or who has resided therein for a continous period of twelve months immediately preceding the date on which the tax becomes due.

(2) A tax hereinafter called the local tax) of ten shillings shall, in addition to the general tax be paid by every adult male native whose permanent home is in a native location within the Union: Provided that such local tax shall not be paid by the owner of any allotment of land held under quitrent title in the location which is his permanent home. Dec. 30, 1924

3. Due date of Taxes. The general and local taxes shall be due on the first day of January in each year and shall be payable at such times and places and in accordance with such requirements as may be prescribed by regulation.

4. Exemptions from Taxes. (1) There shall be exempted from payment of the general tax and the local or of either the general tax or of the local tax

(a) any native who satisfied the receiver that he is indigent and is prevented from working by reason of age, chronic disease or other sufficient cause or that he is in necessitous circumstances and is prevented by causes not within his own control from earning sufficient to enable him to pay the tax;

(b) any native whose permanent residence is outside the Union but who is residing within the Union to perform labour therein and produces proof that he has discharged his liability to pay the current taxes imposed under the law of the territory of his permanent residence;

(c) any native who satisfies the receiver that in consequence of his regular attendance at an educational institution approved by the Native Affairs Commission he has been precluded from earning wages which would enable him to pay the tax;

(d) any native who has paid income tax to the Government of the Union of South Africa for the year ending on the thirtieth day of June previous to the date on which the general tax becomes due

It shall be in the receiver's discretion to determine what exemption shall be made under this sub-section

(2). Every native who has satisfied the receiver that he is exempted under sub-section (1) shall be furnished by the receiver with a certificate to that effect in a form to be prescribed.

(3), Every certificate of exemption shall be valid only in respect of the tax or taxes for the year which it is granted.

5 Extension of time to pay tax. A receiver may in his discretion grant any native an extension of time in which to pay any tax under this Act and shall thereupon furnish such native with a certificate of extension in the prescribed form.

6. Returns by land-owners on which natives reside. Every owner or occupier of land on which natives reside shall, on demand, furnish to the receiver within thirty days of the date of such demand, a return in the prescribed form giving such particulars as may be required for the purposes of this Act in regard to every native who resides on such land.

7. Production of certificates (1). Any receiver or person authorised by him, any European member of the police, any native chief recognised by the Government or a Government headman may demand from any native whom he believes to be liable to any tax under this Act at any time after the expiry of three months from the date on which the tax becomes due, the production of—

(a) such native's tax receipt for the current year or any duplicate thereof;

(b) his certificate of exemption; or (a) his certificate of extension, and after inspection shall return the document so produced to such native.

[2]. Any native who fails on demand to produce one or other of the documents which he may be required to produce under sub-section [1] shall be guilty of an offence and may be arrested, without warrant, by any person authorised to make such demand.

[3]. If it appears to the court before which any native who has been arrested under sub-section [2] is charged, that he has not in fact paid any tax for which he is liable under this Act, such native though charged with a contravention of that sub section shall not be convicted thereof but may be convicted of a contravention of sub-section [1] of section *nine* notwithstanding that he has not been charged with the last mentioned contravention.

8. Misuse of receipts or certificates. Every person shall be guilty of an offence, in respect of any receipt or certificate mentioned in sub-section [1] of section *seven*

[1] if having obtained such a document under section *seven* he fails to return it to the native who produced it;

[2] if, without being authorised under section *seven* to demand such a document, he unlawfully deprives a native of its possession;

[3] if, such person, whether or not the lawful holder of any such document is in possession of another person with intent that it shall be fraudulently used as evidence of the payment of tax, extension of time for payment of tax or exemption from the payment of tax;

[4] if, being in possession of such a document belonging to another person he represents it to be his own;

[5] if, with intent to defraud, he forges, imitates, alters, defaces, destroys or mutilates any such document;

[6] if, not being authorised by the receiver he makes any entry, writing or mark of any such document.

9. Failure to pay tax. [1]. Every native who fails to pay any tax which he is liable under this Act within three months of the date on which such tax becomes payable by him, shall be guilty of an offence.

Race Problem – 1925.

Africa.

OUR NYASALAND LETTER.

Paying Attention to Tea.

From Our Own Correspondent.

Limbe.

NOT long ago—to be exact, last November—I enlarged in these columns on the beauty and desirability of the Mlanje district in the Shire Highlands. Since then I have heard of several "nibbles" for tea land in this very attractive part of the world.

Now there comes straight into the heart of things Mr. Charles Lyst, who is very well known in London business circles, and, seeing the future of tea in this country, has begun negotiations to acquire a very considerable acreage, which will be put exclusively under tea. This is indeed good news, and what makes it more significant is that Mr. Lyst has come here direct from Bengal and Assam, the tea garden of the world.

The tea industry has had a very successful season; one estate, comparatively speaking new, shipping over 230 tons, which is a result calling for sincere congratulations. Almost all the others have done equally well. We have now tea factories built right up-to-the-last-minute as regards improvements, and much is being accomplished every week. That there is a big future in tea in Nyasaland is assured, and I think interested parties would have nothing to regret if they went into the question early. The Mlanje district is ideal tea land, and yields a very good average quality.

Everything, after being grotesquely abnormal in the beginning of the year, has now settled down again. All said and done, it is much better to have one's bad luck as one sets out instead of finding it overwhelm one at an unsuspected corner almost at the journey's end. This is what happened, but, having passed the corner, Nyasaland finds itself not so badly off as was anticipated.

Tobacco, the most important crop of the country, has turned out more than passing fair, and only a very few planters will have to economise on their sundowners till next season's "brights" materialise. In any case, their luckier brethren will always supply this "necessity" at any old time.

"Anither Saxpence."

It is a matter of history that Nyasaland certainly, the rest of East Africa probably, was discovered, founded, staffed, maintained and pushed along the road of progress by Scotsmen. Its chief commercial . . . er . . . city is Scotch both in letter and spirit, and a scrutiny of its postal directory almost makes one visualise the "purrple heatherrr."

All this preamble is not without a definite object. As a humble Sassenach I am seeking to inquire the reason for the most pernicious custom of what is locally known as *posho*. Translated into the coin of the realm it means "anither saxpence"—or its equivalent in foodstuffs—over and above the wages of every labourer paid out to him every Saturday morning. This is an unwritten, but far more inexorable, law than any scheduled in the "book of words" in every boma. But I *would* like to know the reason of the custom.

Boys are given good wages, often for bad work, and the worse the work the greater the assurance in your servant's reminder on Saturday morning. There is nothing for it; that sixpence *must* be paid. It is certainly very seldom used for either food or cloth, but I have not discovered either its fate or its further journey. I cannot imagine the transition of sixpence in a Scotch country without a reason, so perhaps some "braw lad fra Glesca" will enlighten me. If Kenya or Uganda or Tanganyika are under the same disability, will somebody tell me why?

NYASALAND'S NATIVE PAPER.

To the Editor, "EAST AFRICA."

IN your issue of April 23, your contributor, "Kalambo," has some remarks on the Nyasaland Native paper *Zo Ona*, and compares it unfavourably with *Mambo Leo* and *Habari*, of Tanganyika and Kenya respectively. Possibly your reviewer is not aware that the Nyasaland paper is not, like the two papers mentioned, a Government publication; hence in format and general style it is entirely different from them. The Nyasaland paper has not the advantage of Government funds, Government printing and Government organisation, and therefore is probably more truly a Native paper than either of those mentioned. *Zo Ona* depends entirely on the Natives for its support and continuance.

The policy of the Nyasaland paper is to allow the Natives themselves to do most of the writing, and to permit of the utmost latitude of expression, in the belief that when Natives are allowed to air their grievances, real or imaginary, to discuss them, and to have wrong impressions corrected, nothing but good can result.

For example, your contributor refers, evidently with approval, to what he calls a scathing indictment of the usual Court messenger and interpreter system, and it is by such letters that the Government learns of certain real deficiencies in their practice and is enabled to apply the appropriate remedies. I venture to think that such an expression of opinion would not have been allowed to appear in the official Native papers of either of the two territories mentioned above.

It is true that some Natives write a lot of absurd nonsense and that people with "bees in their bonnets" are in evidence—but where are they not? Nyasaland's Native paper is an interesting experiment, and the fact that it is not a Government publication shows that the group of tribes which "Kalambo" refers to as being of "outstanding capabilities, energies and worth" have shown their "worth" by supporting and contributing to a paper of their own. The difficulties in Nyasaland are much greater than in the neighbouring territories, as Swahili is not a *lingua franca* in Nyasaland, and hence whichever language is used necessarily only appeals to a section of the population.

To prevent misconception I may say that the paper is published by the office of the *Nyasaland Times*, and that, while the policy is as stated above, care is always taken to repress anything in the nature of a seditious or purely mischievous tendency.

I am, yours faithfully,

COLOUR PREJUDICE AT SIERRA [illegible]RE-ITE LEONE.

I have read with keenest interest the comments of the Editor of the *African World* in his Supplement of the 25th April last, and published along with the Sierra Leone WEEKLY NEWS of the 30th ultimo. I sincerely appreciate the feeling the Editor evinced within these lines. And yet however much one might not have appreciated here in Sierra Leone the *Admission* of the Second Urban Member of the Legislative Council, as well as the general sentiments expressed in "Fairplay" referred to in the *African World* Supplement, I do not for one moment agree with the Editor of that journal that "the sole endeavour apparently is to sow the seed of mistrust among the people of the Colony and render the task of the Government one of increased difficulty." I really do not even believe the Head of the Executive here could share this view. If I remember rightly, before the draft programme of the Visit of His Royal Highness to this Colony went out, suggestions were invited, and subsequently the draft programme was published for general information, opinions and criticisms. As in all civilised circles, and with the English nation in particular, whenever some subject of very great importance affecting the nation is on the floor, we naturally find some gentle criticisms and some very sharp ones too. For example:—The contest recently in England between the Labours and the Liberals, what hard things were not said, one party against the other's policy—sufficient in some instance to provoke a duel. Yet the world did not cry us down. Those who were successful and are now in office, must, from those very criticisms have gleaned some helpful hints to aid them in serving faithfully our King and Empire. And it cannot be denied that that article of "Fairplay," as well as that motion of that Urban Member of Council, somehow or other helped the Committee in its deliberations, and ultimate success. Anyway there was marked co-operation, and a co-operation not forced by arms. For the present, it is very unnecessary to comment on the third paragraph of the Editor's remarks, as those who have the pleasure of knowing the man—this Second Urban Member—and his communications, most proud[illegible] admit he is not of that *stuff* that could ever [illegible] be hostile to any smooth workings of the British Throne than Sierra Leone? If not, Government and so be hostile to the welfare or diplomatic speech of his own Race and Country. We must of the Second Urban Member of Council be painfully admit, that there are countries in interesting any way, with his hundreds of years ahead the civilised world to-day where men are in civilisation. It is blank folly. Rather, if afraid to voice out their candid opinions, a public journal, is unfortunately very misleading. It is most But, "Slaves cannot breathe in England," smooth workings of the British Empire. And whoever he is, to note in the Editor's fourth ay, this, and say it in African could not cherish a prejudice for the may be, whether European, Caucasian, he does not believe in "Colour Prejudice African, or Hindu, since our time-honoured existing in West Africa. Yet in the very Union Jack maintains its worth, the freedom of the term of "Educated Negro" instead of the subject and the liberty of the individual "Educated African" there is much in the will always continue to be the first and present day to bespeak "Colour Prejudice."

The Weekly News 7/5/25 p 9

Editor

Sierra Leone

Race Problem - 1923.

Africa.

OUR NYASALAND LETTER.

Paying Attention to Tea.

From Our Own Correspondent.

Limbe.

Not long ago—to be exact, last November—I enlarged in these columns on the beauty and desirability of the Mlanje district in the Shire Highlands. Since then I have heard of several "nibbles" for tea land in this very attractive part of the world.

Now there comes straight into the heart of things Mr. Charles Lyst, who is very well known in London business circles, and, seeing the future of tea in this country, has begun negotiations to acquire a very considerable acreage, which will be put exclusively under tea. This is indeed good news, and what makes it more significant is that Mr. Lyst has come here direct from Bengal and Assam, the tea garden of the world.

The tea industry has had a very successful season; one estate, comparatively speaking new, shipping over 230 tons, which is a result calling for sincere congratulations. Almost all the others have done equally well. We have now tea factories built right up-to-the-last-minute as regards improvements, and much is being accomplished every week. That therein is a big future in tea in Nyasaland is assured, and think interested parties would have nothing to regret if they went into the question early. The Mlanje district is ideal tea land, and yields a very good average quality.

Everything, after being grotesquely abnormal in the beginning of the year, has now settled down again. All said and done, it is much better to have one's bad luck as one sets out instead of finding it overwhelm one at an unsuspected corner almost at the journey's end. This is what happened, but having passed the corner, Nyasaland finds itself so badly off as was anticipated.

Tobacco, the most important crop of the country, has turned out more than passing fair, and only a very few planters will have to economise on their sundowners till next season's "brights" material. In any case, their luckier brethren will always supply this "necessity" at any old time.

"Anither Saxpence."

It is a matter of history that Nyasaland certainly, the rest of East Africa probably, was discovered, founded, staffed, maintained and pushed along the road of progress by Scotsmen. Its chief commercial . . . city is Scotch both in letter and spirit, and a scrutiny of its postal directory almost makes one visualise the "purple heatherrr."

All this preamble is not without a definite object. As a humble Sassenach I am seeking to inquire the reason for the most pernicious custom of what is locally known as *possho*. Translated into the coin of the realm it means "anither saxpence"—or its equivalent in foodstuffs—over and above the wages of every labourer paid out to him every Saturday morning. This is an unwritten, but far more inexorable, law than any scheduled in the "book of words" in every boma. To prevent misconception I may say that the paper is published by the office of the *Nyasaland Times*, and that, while the policy is as stated above, the reason of the custom.

Boys are given good wages, often for bad work, care is always taken to repress anything in the nature of a seditious or purely mischievous tendency.

I am, yours faithfully,

COLOUR PREJUDICE AT SIERRA LEONE.

I have read with keenest interest the comments of the Editor of the *African World* in his Supplement of the 25th April last, and published along with the Sierra Leone Weekly News of the 30th ultimo. I sincerely appreciate the feeling the Editor evinced within these lines. And yet however much one might not [illegible] Sierra Leone [illegible] Urban Member of the Legislative Council, as well as the [illegible] expressed in "Fairplay," referred to in the *African World* Supplement, I do not for one moment [illegible] with the Editor of that journal that "the sole endeavour apparently is to show the [illegible] the people of the Colony and render the task of the Government one of increased difficulty." I really do not even believe the Head of the Executive here could share this view. If I remember rightly, before the draft programme of the Visit of His Royal Highness to this Colony went out, suggestions were invited, and subsequently the draft programme was published for general information, opinions and criticisms. As in all civilised circles, and with the English nation in particular, whenever some subject of very great importance affecting the nation is on the floor, we naturally find some gentle criticisms and some very sharp ones too. For example:—The contest recently in England between the Labours and the Liberals, what hard things were not said, one party against the other's policy—sufficient in some instance to provoke a duel. Yet the world did not cry aid them in serving faithfully our King and Empire. And it cannot be denied that that article of "Fairplay," as well as that motion of that Urban Member of Council, somehow his communications, must protest boast of the true-hearted Britisher. Can England boast of more loyalty to the British Throne than Sierra Leone? If not, why should the opinion or diplomatic speech of the Second Urban Member of Council be calculated to upturn the smooth workings of the Government? To say this, and say it in a public journal, is unfortunately very misleading. It is most interesting any way to note in the Editor's fourth paragraph, that he does not believe in "Colour Prejudice" existing in West Africa. Yet in the very term of "Educated Negro" instead of "Educated African" there is much in the present day to bespeak "Colour Prejudice."

NYASALAND'S NATIVE PAPER.

To the Editor, "East Africa."

In your issue of April 23, your contributor, "Kalambo," has some remarks on the Nyasaland Native paper *Zo Ona*, and compares it unfavourably with *Mambo Leo* and *Habari*, of Tanganyika and Kenya respectively. Possibly your reviewer is not like the Nyasaland paper is not the people [illegible] Government printer [illegible] Government organisation, and therefore [illegible] Government [illegible] Government [illegible] Government

World might have referred to any of these new meanings. I forget, the English language is redundant, and it is hoped that when the Colonial Secretary as Acting Governor on Empire Day advised that African children be *persuaded* to speak (learn) English language (as was communicated in the last issue of the WEEKLY NEWS), he warned them of its redundancy. English language is wonderful for African children, but have Africans languages? Original languages? Languages to help them with their African brothers in the interior? Languages to bring them into actual fraternal unions with their Nigerian brothers?

I repeat that if the meaning of the word Prejudice is one and the same then the African can never be prejudiced against his *European Confreres*. In passing then I may advise the Editor to be cautious how he uses the words "European Confreres" in places where Criminal Code operates in West Africa, or he may likely find himself hurled over the coals. *We do not tolerate it. It is iniquitous.* What then is the situation? Unfortunately again for the Editor, he gave himself away when he stated "We have met practically all those who in years gone by, have administered or held senior administrative appointments in our African colonies, as well as those now doing so, and from and all we have gathered an impression, not of prejudice, but of intense liking, for the indigenous peoples of the continent." One can never expect that those who administer or hold senior administrative appointments in our West African Colonies would in any way dare to express to an outspoken and liberally minded Editor like that of the *African World* that there is lack of sympathy from Europeans in many quarters of West Africa. Yet it is an open secret and most of them could recollect how many times they had the painful duty of checking other Europeans and perhaps under a censure, whenever these latter exhibited in their actions some traits of Colour Prejudice burning within them. There are many who are sworn Negrophobists, and who naturally feel that the best type of the Educated African is but a trained monkey. And yet on the other hand, there are and have been Europeans whose names are always sung by Africans. Men of sterling worth in the Government and Mercantile circles, and who would do all for the African, and are ready to stand by things lawful and honest. Fathers they are and were. One could remember Africans harping on Colonel Faunce with his fine looks and genial smiles as if he were an African. What of "Daddy Newton"—Mr. J. C. Newton the Agent of "Elders." Then everyone seems to know Car No. 2—Boys and girls, men and women exclaiming "Here's 'O.G.' coming!" And yet Mr. O. G. Price the Sanitary Engineer does his work without fear or favour. They like him because he is sympathetic, and is really interested in the African. They call him "A Creole Boy. And many others too, whose names are too numerous to mention, especially attached to the Mercantile, whose stay in Africa however long will never be tarnished.

Then the famous Governor Slater whose movements in and out among his people have won for him a position no other Governor has excelled. I quote few lines from what will shortly appear in "A Souvenir of the Visit of the President Liberia to Sierra Leone. These lines speak for themselves :—

"Sir Alexander you could find—
His uniform so stylish grand.
He always sympathise with us,
He's homely quite with ne'er a fuss,
And Lady Slater too is nice—
The Girl Guides love her, oh so much ;
The Mammies too, but now they're cross
That Baby Slater's not with us!
But Governor Slater's getting fame
Since Duty down on sugar came ;
With twent' per cent, and more and more,
And old days coming back, for sure!
He is with us, Sir Alex. is,
We'll criticize him, still he is ;
He seems to like us and he's kind,
But Afr'cans too are ne'er behind"

It is true, Sir Ransford Slater does take interest in his work and people ; and the African, in spite of his being so far behind in civilisation, yet can fully appreciate those who sympathise with him, and barely tolerate his white detractors. As I have mentioned before, opinions may differ, but that does not say those statements were meant to upturn the government. I read them myself, and put them for their real worth. I had my own opinion myself, and can safely say I did not fall in with some portions. But they were sincere and out-poken, and I commend them. In closing, I sincerely thank the Editor for this and many other like editorials in the *African World*. They encourage to better understanding among the people of our Empire, and make West Africans feel many there are keenly interested in Africa and the Africans.

"Be still sad heart and cease repining,
Behind the clouds is the sun still shining."

God bless the Prince of Wales!
God save the King!

N. E. BENSON GARRICK.

Freetown, Sierra Leone.

THE SIERRA LEONE DELEGATES OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AT BATHURST GAMBIA.

HOWEVER much we may have regretted the circumstances which have led to the postponement of the sittings of the Third Session of the National Congress of British West Africa, which had been advertised to begin on the 17th of May last at the Gambia, yet we are glad that through the foresight, resourcefulness and capacity of the Sierra Leone Delegation which left this port on the 13th of that month, some very important spade work has been accomplished in that Dependency, as may be gleaned from the report which we publish to-day, presented at a meeting of the Local Branch held on Monday last the 22nd instant, at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall.

For some time, as may be known, the position of the Congress in relation to the Government, the Churches and some of the principal men of that centre has been rather disquieting and un-satisfactory; the **rapprochment** which had taken place at the Gold Coast and Nigeria had seemed a dismal possibility in that little Colony; and one began to wonder what there was in the movement which had caused so much antagonism and unrelenting opposition from the Government to the peaceful functioning of an institution, which, whatever the misunderstanding at its incipience, had impressed the unprejudiced and liberal-minded observer as a natural and peaceful development of that spiritual force of Race-consciousness into the building up of sane and healthy Nationhood.

From the report we publish to-day, the position the Government of that Colony felt itself justified to take is now made clear and the whole circumstance affords a striking object lesson to us Africans, how they have become wilfully blind, have been disappointing students of Ancient and Modern history and consequently, fail to detect and seize the pyschological moments for action which come to every people however debased and sodden in their moral and spiritual outlook. At the end, these so called leaders do not help the situation on either way they do not deliver the goods. The position His Excellency the Governor Captain CECIL ARMITAGE had hitherto taken towards the Congress might have been changed long before the arrival of the Sierra Leone Delegates to that Dependency, if the majority even, of leading Africans had taken the same attitude as our distinguished and Honourable President, Vice-President and others have taken at the Gold Coast, amidst the determined and violent opposition, Sir GORDON GUGGISBERG, who has now become the friend of the Congress, felt himself justified to take at the outset. In the light of this failure, this remisness in the performance of a high and patriotic duty, we do not see how we could attach much blame to Captain ARMITAGE for the attitude he felt himself obliged to take on account, as he told the Delegation of the *modus operandi* of the Congress within the purview of his administration. Be that as it may, we are glad that His Excellency has given assurance of an attitude of friendliness in the future to the efforts of the Congress. For this, all friends and supporters of the Congress will be grateful. The very pronounced friendliness manifested by His Excellency to our Representatives during their stay at the Gambia, is worthy of much praise; and we are sure it will delight the heart of Sir RANSFORD SLATER to note one solicitude with which his colleague at the Gambia has received and entertained the African elected representatives of his Council, as also the consideration and respect paid to them. Hitherto, Sir RANSFORD has maintained an attitude of friendly neutrality towards the Congress, when elsewhere, it had been active and undisguised opposition. But the pendulum has appeared to have swung and the most determined of the Governors in his opposition to the Movement has become the best patron. Sir GORDON GUGGISBERG was pleased to allow the Congress to present an Address of Welcome to H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES on his recent visit to that Colony and now Captain ARMITAGE has received welcomed and entertained the Delegation of the Congress from Sierra Leone and has given practical evidence of the sincerity of his mind by the effort he made to help on the mission of the Delegation.

After all, what is the position of things? One question emerges—Is the attitude of the Congress antagonistic or disloyal to the aims of Government? We reply—*neither by word or by deed* has there been one evidence of this. What then is the reason for this unfriendliness and hostile attitude? We venture a reply. It is the effect on the mentality of our Rulers who, before the Great War, felt it almost impossible that any prolonged united effort would take place amongst Africans. The formation of the National Congress created a surprise in official circles; the rush to London brought on a nightmare and the support of unbiassed English men and women was only a little less than the force to create a panic. But events are becoming normal, and it is being evident that the Congress movement is the result of the Education, first, the Missionaries afterwards the Governments have spent their monies and blood to impart; it is the result of Evolution; it is the fruit in the bud of the tree of Christian Emancipation which is the Gospel of Free and Enlightened England. It is the work of GOD. If then, this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown but if it is of GOD, then—*Jacta est alea.*

Race Problem — 1925.

Africa.

EASTON PA PRESS
FEBRUARY 11. 1925

INDEBTED TO NEGRO RACE FOR CIVILIZATION

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, the negro author and editor, writes in The Forum that civilization is indebted to his race for three things: beginnings of civilization, the village unit, and art.

During a period that may vary from ten to fifty thousand years, mankind struggled with the first steps of advance. It was during these years that the black race seems always to have been first. To be sure, blacks were not the only beginners, but they seem to have been the successful and the persistent ones. Thus Africa appears as the father of mankind, and the people who eventually settled there form the largest and often the only group of human beings successfully advancing from animal savagery toward primitive civilization. In the African village, were bred religion industry, government, education, and art. The primitive religion of Africa underlies the religion of the world.

The African villagers from early days wove cloth, baked earthenware manufactured instruments, arms baskets, shoes, soap and glass. They worked in iron, copper, brass, bronze gold, silver, bone and ivory. They built in fibre, wood and stone. Out of this industry developed the African market-place which knit the continent together with paths and trade centres, from the Gulf of Guinea to Zanzibar and from Walfish Bay to Lake Chad, long before the modern coming of Europe.

The sense of beauty is the last and best gift of Africa to the world We have long known of the African artist. Traces of his work have been found in prehistoric Europe, in parts of Asia, and of course in Egypt. Later, rich centres of African art were brought to European knowledge on the African western coast. The primitive art of Africa is one of the greatest expressions of the human soul in all time; "black men invented art as they invented fire", they spread their ideas of art among their white neighbors, and their earliest expressions had an originality and fidelity of purpose that the primitive world never surpassed.

The Trial and Conviction of John Ketani.

The trial and conviction of John Ketani by the Magistrate of East London for having constituted himself a magistrate, and to have set up his own court in the location of Cambridge with his own public prosecutor and police, and to have used coercion and threatened to have them expelled from the location—was therefore charged with extortion on four counts—will have far-reaching consequences than appears on the surface. The effects of the conviction will be far-reaching because it upsets and undermines the whole fabric of the Bantu social life, and encourages endless trivial litigation: the only people to benefit by the decision are the lawyers, for whose benefit the gates have been opened wide for endless litigation. These native arbitration courts in many places have been found very helpful in sifting many intricate trivial cases which would have taken the times of the courts days and days, and have come to decisions satisfactorily to both contending parties—and what is more without any expense worth speaking of. Many magistrates encourage these native courts, and sometimes cases brought before them are sent back to these courts for more elucidation; and should anyone appeal from the decision of these native courts the Magistrate very often upholds them.

Therefore instead of the courts being jealous of these native arbitration courts they ought to encourage them, as they save the time of the courts, and what is more, economical to the Native people. Rev. B. J. Ross sometime back wrote in this journal deprecating the present tendency of the native people of running to courts with trivial cases. As an instance he said: A. owes B. 10/-. Instead of both parties taking their dispute to a native arbitration court which, after hearing both sides orders A. to pay B. his 10/- and is also fined a sheep or goat to be killed for the men who have been trying this case—A. goes to his attorney and pays £3 and B. does the same, and, said the reverend gentleman, before the case is over £9 would have been spent, and that is being done by a people who are very poor. Exactly so.

What has been called extortion in the present case may not be so—but simply what the natives call "coffee and tobacco money," for surely it cannot be expected that the headman will treat these people—litigant and others, out of his private pocket. A small fine is generally imposed on the guilty party to meet this "coffee and tobacco money"

It is good that the case was sent to the higher courts for review—and in the meantime it is said that Ketani has been expelled from the location, and himself practically ruined by this case. But we suppose the time is not far off when these native arbitration courts will be legalised, thus saving these headmen from the fate of John Ketani.

Native Industrial Unions.

South Africa is witnessing great activities on the part of Native intellectuals to bring together the millions of unskilled Native labour. Already there is sufficient evidence to show that the unskilled Native labourer is beginning to realise that his salvation, in the betterment of his economic position, lies in group action and group ideals. It was in America that the question of industrial unionism first came to the front; and it was from America that the earlier advocates of it in Great Britain, France and Germany borrowed their ideas and arguments. The first purpose of an industrial union is to fight for collective wage-bargaining. Any other activities in which they engage should always be regarded as secondary and in comparison, unimportant But, as structure is determined by function, it is clear that the whole system of control and management in the unions must be so ordered as best to further their main object. The industrial workers of the world of the United States of America (I.W.W.) was the first to recognise that the day of successful long strikes is past. Under all ordinary circumstances, a strike that is not won in four to six weeks, cannot be won by remaining out longer. In trustified industry, the employer can better afford to fight one strike that lasts six months, than he can six strikes that take place in that period. Facts are facts, and it is on facts that we can build an irresistable industrial organisation. At this hour of great economical upheaval, resulting from the unfriendly attitude of the government of the Union towards the successful employment of Native labour, it is the arch enemy of the Natives who would advocate a disastrous policy of "down tools." With the split of Native labour unions existing at the present time, it is irrational to conceive so pernicious a militant action. We are uncompromisingly against the attitude adopted by the Native labour leaders of the only two industrial unions in South Africa. We rather fall in with the idea of both these unions sinking their differences in favour of one big industrial union to save the position of the unskilled labourer. Clearly, control may be either central or local, sectional or general. Wages-movements and disputes about the conditions of labour may be kept under strong central control, as in Germany, or a fairly full measure of local freedom may be granted to each locality, as usually happens in France. As conditions are at the present time, it is clear to us that, the unskilled labourer will never derive any benefit. It is unpleasant on our part to have to make these remarks, but we have no alternative, for the responsibility of enlightening the Native public on these matters reposes heavily upon us. Industrial union, then, is the most powerful weapon in the workers' hands and, for that very reason, the greatest educational influence at their command. But industrialism itself demands of its members a certain standard of intelligence, and requires, for effective working, a large proportion of membership with a keen understanding of the situation in which they are placed. There is therefore a very real place in the labour movement for education in a more restricted sense, for the great movement of working class education whose beginning we are watching at the present day in all industrial centres of the Union. No doubt much of this education in a wider outlook can be obtained by the workers through their industrial societies and trade unions. Native labour leaders should make an effort to bring their heads together, and overlook their differences, to bring about a better system of organising South Africa's millions of unskilled labour. We will take off our hat to the man who succeeds in organising the workers under the banner of one industrial union.

South African Justice:

Col. Bouwer, District Staff Officer at Pretoria is charged with culpable homicide in the Magistrates' Court. It is alleged that on Feb. 4 he drove a car negligently with the result that he killed a Native riding a cycle. Bail was fixed at £50! At Kokstad a Native riding a run-away horse accidentally ran-down an European who died from the effects of the accident. Bail in his case was refused. Presumally the native should have controlled the horse in any case in spite of its obduracy, and the driver of the car in Pretoria could not possibly control his car, whose mechanism lies at his hands.

Land Tenure.

There is no question of more import ance to the Native [illegible] of the Union of South Africa than that of land tenure; and that, the unskilled labourer will never derive any benefit. It is [illegible] so large in the eyes of the European. We quite sympathise with the government in its efforts to solve this burning question of the day to finality, but it is evident in this region, Europe public opinion is averse to the idea of Segregation when it comes to the point of providing more land for the Natives. Through no other channel of administration can any government, with good intention, so completely establish satisfactorily the economic status and social relations of the black tribes of the Union or, on the contrary, so surely and completely reduce the Natives to a state of poverty, mutual discord, grumbling and resentment against its rules than by the adoption of right and wrong tentative measures in respect of the tenure of land by the ever increasing Native population. The attitude of the Natal Province to refuse to discuss and recommend areas

which are suitable for Native occupation is an unusual occurrence which has caused consternation and anxiety. The Transvaal Provinces is also developing a strong and formidable biassed opposition in favour of the Natives slogan: "No more land for Natives." It is rather early to express an opinion with regard to the Free State. The Cape Province has a Native population of about 2,000 000, and about three-fourths of a million are landless As a result, Native reserves are perniciously overcrowded. The Natives of the Cape Province are interested in the government's scheme for setting aside land for Native occupation only. It seems highly probable that the Minister for Native Affairs will, in the end abandon the levity of consulting an indifferent peremptory public opinion which, from time to time, constituted itself an obstacle to the materialisation of the government's Native policy, contrary to the best interests of the country. This much however, we believe to be certain, that any system of Native government which is based on the assumption that the Bantu peoples will, even a hundred years hence, be in the same stage of development as they are to day, stands foredoomed to bring about hardship, discontent and disaster. There is no power on earth to control the natural development of literally hundreds of millions of human beings that constitute the Native subject races of the African Continent, and our knowledge of the Native conditions in the sub-Continent compels us to presume that the government cannot promote the development of the Native races on sound and most reliable lines if it confines itself to supplying their material wants only.

The Natives are still in the feudal condition, with the swell of veneration developed to a great degree, from time immemorial. This is their sheet anchor, and if a government removes it, it produces chaos there and then, as it has nothing to replace it with. The Native worker has been deprived of his place in the labour market has no alternative but to fall back to land. Give the Natives more land and solve the black problem.

WEST AFRICAN LAND AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—To what Lord Leverhulme promulgated in Great Britain since his return from West Africa the widest possible publicity should be given in West Africa, both in foreign and vernacular languages. But this is not sufficient. We cannot sit with hands folded and leave any lands yielding little or nothing. The British Government have preserved the land for us and that is all they can do for us. Our duty is to work out our own salvation through self-help. We have to educate Chiefs and rulers to spend their money in sending out our youths of ability to various countries to learn the branches of arts, science, mechanics, engineering, industry, etc., on modern lines. The West African National Congress should revise its programme and make it more constructive. Its programme seems too negative, calling upon Government to do this and that. We have to do something for ourselves. We want a West African national endowment fund of not less than £1,000,000 to be raised for educational (not for agitating) purposes. The missionaries have done enough for us; the Government have done enough. We cannot continue sleeping. We cannot continue like the Roman Plebs crying to the Government for "panem et circenses." We have to wake up and use our education in the more beneficial way. We have to show that we had organising ability before the Roman brought civilisation to Britain. We have to give up the mean spirit and degrading policy of a race of beggars and incapables. Above all, we have to give up selfish policy and exploitation habits which have alienated the sympathy of our uneducated Chiefs from us, have made them distrust us, and prevented unity and co-operation between them and us.

The eyes of the world are now on the formerly unknown West Africa, especially Nigeria, that "continent" of vast undeveloped resources and of wonderful possibilities. What we need in all West African Protectorates, especially Nigeria is mass education. There should be compulsory education in such towns as Lagos, Abeokuta, Calabar, Ibadan, and Oyo. Political agitation should be left to only a few who seem to love and understand it, because that is a necessity to keep up the dignity of the franchise granted to the Colonies; but our real work lies in the education of the masses of our people. Take, for instance, the case of that Calabar Chief who went to invite Lord Leverhulme, as the latter states, to come and seize his lands; he did not understand what he was doing. He did not know that he was running into the jaws of death in the action he took, but if he were really educated he would think only of how he might send his children to Europe to learn all that Lord Leverhulme thought he knew better than the Chief, for the purpose of developing the land on "an ownership basis."

Unless we wake up in time to adopt the above measure it may be too late for us. It is no more a matter of talking but rather of acting. otherwise our opportunities may pass away for ever, and our future fate may be that of the Natives of the Congo, East and South Africa. The policy briefly enunciated above is the policy underlying the programme of the "Nigerian Progress Union."

Yours faithfully,

LADIPO SOLANKE.

University College,
London. March 25th.

WHY SO SUPERSTITIOUS?

ASKS DR. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIYA.

It is a decided fact, and one that cannot be denied, that the majority of people in this country are steeped in superstition.

Every death that occurs in the town is attributed to some superstitious practices by some unknown enemy. Every sickness that suddenly attacks anyone does not escape the same verdict of being done by some one. This unreasonable belief in some supernatural power has taken such root in the hearts of the people, including some of the so-called educated classes, from whom one should have expected better that it is not at all surprising to find the Churches in difficulties and financially deficient.

Faith in religion has given way to faith in the country-fashion-man or diviner, who by his skilful wiles has in many cases been able to dupe successfully his poor blind adherents. But there have been instances in which some of his enchantments have failed totally to effect what was expected to the utter disgust and disappointment of the person concerned.

If people would take the trouble to find out from the doctors of medicine who have gone to England to study hard for fully five, six or seven years the anatomy and physiology, of the human body, the causes of diseases and the cure, and one thousand and one things in the pharmacopiea, and try to put into practice the practical methods of hygiene and sanitation they would see their folly in superstitious practices, and refuse to believe these SILLY NONSENSES as a well-known doctor once said.

For example: It has been said that there are many cases of Lung Troubles at present in the town. People do not seem to know that most of the ignorant classes who have some disease like diphtheria, tuberculosis, or so, spit the phlegm in the street as they coughed. This phlegm contains the germs of the disease in quantum. When the phlegm dries up, it is blown about with the dust cloud by the wind, or by motor-cars that run swfitly ahead raising clouds of dust behind; and people inhaling this stuff take into their Lungs the germs of the disease. Nature has provided the white corpuscles to fight these disease-germs that enter the body. But if the person is in poor health, due perhaps to irregular habits in eating and drinking, or filthy habits in not bathing and wearing clean clothes, residing in dirty and filthy houses, houses in which all the windows are shut up and the air stuffy—and there are a good many such houses in the town to-day—the disease germ overpowers the corpuscles and the result is, the person becomes a prey to Tuberculosis or Comsumption or Pneumonia. How did he get it? Again: another fact due to blatant ignorance is the fashion of the young girls of to-day who go about in such dresses which are not suitable, and which ought to be pointed out to them by those who know better as injurious to their health. It would be better if these young ladies rather than imitating French styles in dress, would imitate the natives (Timnee or Mendi girls) and tie wrapper with bubah over. This dress is absolutely handsome and healthy.

The young girls should be taught at home and at school that a woman's body is different in construction to that of a man's. A woman breathes more from the upper regions of the throat or chest; and consequently should protect the upper parts of her body and not unduly expose herself. In this part of the world we perspire or sweat very profusely especially in the dry season; and to expose one's self during this period would certainly mean courting disease such as preumonia pleurisy, neuralgia, etc.

Let the young ladies be warned in time against this unhygienic method of dressing in this country if they wish to become healthy mothers in the near future. The native girls are by far handsome and hygienic in their dress; and when they are in their country they do not imitate any other people.

Another very important fact is, that people do not know the real value of sunlight and fresh air. They do not know why their houses have windows and doors. They shut up the windows all day and all night. thereby excluding all sunlight and fresh air from their rooms. How can such people be healthy? Their houses are the breeding cages of disease-germs. The air in such houses are stuffy and unbearable.

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE.

SERVICE AT THE CATHEDRAL.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—Will you kindly help me to make known as widely as possible that past students of Fourah Bay College together with Graduates of other Universities are cordially invited to attend Divine Service at the Cathedral on Sunday, March 5, at 5 o'clock p.m., in academicals. The service is intended as the first of an annual series of gatherings for corporate worship its special features being: (a) thanksgiving to God for His continued goodness (b) recollection before Him of the goodness of past benefactors (c) an act of remembrance of members of the College who have passed away within the year.

The sermon will be preached by the Venerable Archdeacon Willson.

His Worship the Mayor has been asked to lend Wilberforce Memorial Hall for robing purposes, and the procession will be marshalled at 2.45.—Yours truly,

JAS DENTON.

Freetown,
March 4, 1925.

THE KENYA LABOUR PROBLEM.

Demands of White Settlers.

Nairobi, March 19, 1925.

THE Convention of Associations has debated the labour question in a two days' session. Addressing the meeting, the Acting-Governor said that the Government did not want to shirk responsibility. It was unthinkable that the Government should contemplate the efforts of the settlers being rendered useless for lack of labour, where it was possible to secure the active assistance of the Natives without prejudice to their interests.

There was the strongest moral obligation upon the Government to give fullest assistance in securing to the white settlers the benefits of the development of their land. The Government expected its administrative officers to give all possible encouragement to Natives to work on the land of the settlers. The Native worked only part of the year on white farms, therefore there was room both for the interests of the Native and the European if there was organization and combination.

The Convention is asking the Government to appoint a Commission to ascertain the exact position of agricultural development in the reserves in relation to the economic value of the Natives in working on their own reserves or as employees of the whites. The Convention contended that the dual policy of simultaneous development of the reserves and the white areas was unsound, because the experience, training, and discipline gained by the Natives while working for Europeans was a necessary part of the education of the African. The Convention also maintained that development of the reserves meant a greater burden on Native women workers.

Lord Delamere did not agree with the total condemnation of Native production, but said that if the dual policy proved impossible, Europeans, for reasons of self-preservation, must prevent its operation. The Convention further pressed for a declaration of labour policy, and the strict application of present legislation.

Race Problem - 1925

Africa.

THE NIGERIAN SITUATION.

EVENTS have moved with such extraordinary rapidity in the Nigerian kaleidoscop that those who are in the drama must themselves be bewildered if not dazed. The situation presents an interesting study in national psychology which must be approached with patience. In trying to sketch the situation, as it occurs to an onlooker, we may be told that it is none of our business. But we shall retort that that is exactly our business. If the press of West Africa is to be silent in the face of dangerous experiments with our institutions, then, indeed, have we all mistaken our calling, and the sooner we closed business, and gave all and sundry the liberty to do as they pleased with our customs and institutions the better.

It is necessary to approach the situation with patience because it is possible to find fault with all who have had a hand in this deplorable incident. There have been mistakes made by all concerned, not even excluding the Government. But, brushing aside for the moment the faults of all concerned what are the essential facts of the situation? It is undisputed that for certain statements made by Mr. Herbert Macauley to a newspaper interviewer, which appeared in print, with respect to the cession of Lagos to Government by the ancestors of the Eleko and the revenue derived by Government compared with the stipend paid to the Eleko, Sir Hugh Clifford, rightly or wrongly, called upon the Eleko to repudiate Mr. Herbert Macauley's statements, and, although at one stage the Eleko was inclined to yield and is said actually to have sent some sort of repudiation to the press, which was withdrawn in the end, he took up the position that he was not responsible for Mr. Herbert Macauley's statements and would not cause a bell to be rung publicly in repudiation of such statements. The situation was one of considerable delicacy. A step had been taken by Government, which, warranted or unwarranted, had to be supported to save Government prestige. On the other hand, there seemed to present itself on the part of the Eleko a position in relation to Government, which might almost be described as might over right. The sequel was that Government recognition of the Eleko was withdrawn, and the feeling appears never to have subsided right on to the time of the departure of Sir Hugh Clifford, when it appears some of the important Chiefs would not pay their respects at the last moment as was usual. This seems to have accentuated the situation, resulting in the so-called destoolment and deportation of the Eleko.

With regard to the finale, namely, the enstoolment of a new Eleko and the destoolment of Prince Eleko, a telegram appears to have been received from the Secretary of State, London, under date August 29, 1925, expressing disapproval of the appointment of Prince Ibikunle Akitoye: pointing out that treaty existed only for the house of Docemo; asking who Prince Eleko Akitoye is; and inquiring whether Prince Eleko was dead or alive. This, in brief, is the unenviable legacy which Sir Hugh Clifford has left for his successors in office in the Nigerian governorship.

It is a dangerous symptom in any community when men take sides in a given controversy, not upon the merits of the case, but from personal considerations. [illegible] apparent, that if all concerned had brushed aside personal feelings in approaching the delicate situation created by the unfortunate move of the Government, the whole trouble might have been nipped in the bud. It is also clear that in the hands of modest men the facts could have been stated in a way that no fair-minded person could have refrained from persuading Government to yield to the wishes of the community. But even assuming that the situation was handled indiscreetly, two wrongs do not make a right.

Once more we have run the risk of being misunderstood by some of our Nigerian friends, but that circumstance will nevertheless not deter us from considering a vital question which concerns West Africa as a whole. Let it be once and for all understood that this Eleko matter goes to the root of Native Institutions, and, as such, is a general question affecting all British West Africa. If this matter is not thrashed out and put on its proper basis, it will affect not only the Gold Coast, but also the Gambia and the Sierra Leone Protectorates.

Stripped of all the historical circumstances, what is the naked position as to what has happened in the history of Nigeria? An African Prince, being drawn into a quarrel, refuses to be implicated, but he cannot get out of it; so the powers that be have determined. Sides are taken. Some goad Government on, others resist. Out of that episode a new Prince steps into the shoes of the old by Government support, and the old *de facto* and *de jure* Prince is deported. We say it is a dangerous state of affairs to occurr in any community. For it clearly establishes a dangerous precedent which strikes at the root of every African throne and every African authority in the country. It reveals a state of things in which our Kings and Chiefs may easily become mere puppets in the hands of Government. It knocks the bottom clean out of Native Institutions. And it is from that point of view that we would ask all who have taken part in this deplorable business to consider and halt before it is too late. The good of all should predominate over the victory of the few who rejoice at the downfall of their own Prince. For there is a time coming when we shall require all our strength and all our powers of combination to resist the common foe of our nationality disintegration. We have laboured and our lives for race unity and uplift; and we must be pardoned if we express our pain at any circumstances which tend to show that the general good is not the common aim. In what we have written, if we have said anyting that may be considered injurious by any one, we ask it to be believed that our object has been to state the truth nakedly so that our meaning cannot be mistaken by either friend or foe.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

TO-DAY we continue our summary of the work of the Conference of the Natural Rulers of the Gold Coast with the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. On assumption after the [illegible] three other Chiefs were reported [illegible] question of Political Officers [illegible] Society with the constant [illegible] of Chiefs was opened by Mr. Brew. He said That there should be some advice given to the Chiefs by the Political Officers. That individual Kings and Chiefs answering to these untimely calls only is much misunderstanding and trouble to the Chiefs themselves. Mr. Casely Hayford, the President of the Society, spoke on the same subject, reminding the Natural Rulers of their oath to refrain from giving opinions individually to the Government through the Political Officers' calls on any matter of national importance. Mr. de Graft Johnson spoke as well, placing importance on the etiquette of Kings and Chiefs, stating that any disrespect shown to them by political officers does not only affect themselves, but the whole country as well. Chief J. D. Biney spoke vehemently on the etiquette of the Kings and Chiefs by giving his own past experience in connection with the Political Officer at Saltpond some time ago who forced him to lower his cloth before him before he, a Chief, could be permitted to speak; but he never did so. Mr. Blankson of Accra spoke on the same subject. Rev. Osam-Pinanko said if the Chiefs feel their importance, this question of etiquette would be easily settled, for the Political Officers are not much to blame in that if they should discover that some Chiefs

CAPE NATIVE VOTERS' FUND.

FINANCIAL REGULATIONS.

The following regulations have been passed, designed to control the above fund:

1. An account shall be opened with the Standard Bank of S.A.Ltd, at King Wms. Town in the name "Cape Native Voters' Convention Fund."

2 All disbursements shall be made by cheque.

3. All cheques shall be counter signed by 3 signatures namely, that of the Treasurer, the Secretary and one other member of the Head Committee — the members being: Treasurer, A M. Jabavu; Secretary, S. M. B. Ncwana and member of the Head Committee J. A. Sishuba.

4 The following shall compose the Head Committee: D. D T Jabavu, S. M. B. Ncwana, B. B. Xiniwe, C. Mji, J. S. C Makayi, R F. Haya, J. A. Sishuba, E. Mdolomba, A Qunta, N. Motshumi, J. T Ntomi, T. K. Runeli, B. B. Kondlo, H. Mgobo, C. Nyombolo,

C. Labase, J. Jorha, H. Mankayi with power to add.

5 Moneys may be forwarded through any branch of the Standard Bank to the account at headquarters King Wms. Town.

6. All monies received shall be publicly acknowledged in the news paper MVO

7 All members of the Committee are authorised to organise funds locally and forward to Headquarters, King Wms Town.

would lower their cloths before them, the natural sequence would often be for them to exact or force other Chiefs to do the same. Nana Ewusi Fsinasi and Nana Nkyii both spoke against the idea of some Chiefs being either afraid, or seeking favour with Government, inclined to give themselves away for insult before the Political Officers.

Mr. Vanhien introduced the subject of Native Jurisdiction Bill, and touched upon the question of three Chiefs of this country having met at Nsawam of late, preparing for a New Bill to be submitted to the Government and asked if Mr. Ofori, the representative of the Accra Section of the Society knew of it. Mr. Ofori, answering, stated that he was aware of the fact that the Manche of Accra received a letter from the Chiefs with others that met at Nsawam, and the report of the proceedings was being printed at Accra. Nana Kwa Ania of Anamabu, Nana Gomoa-Assin, Nana Ekumfi, Nana Ogua, Nana Edwumaku, Nana Assin-Attendasu, received letters signed by Nana Ofori Atta, Essandoh and Mate Kole, but because of the serious nature of the matters involved, they did not reply. Nana Assin-Apimenyim said that he also received a similar letter signed only by Nana Ofori Atta, his nephew and he replied, not taking into consideration the matters contained in the letter to be of national importance. Mr. Ofori asked the Conference whether there was any wrong in principle in formulating proposals by the Chiefs for such Bill, and if the proceedings were questionable. Mr. Sekyi explained elaborately the evil or wrong in the whole thing. He said on the whole that if there were no existence the Society that handled any matter of vital importance affecting the whole country, it would have been different; but since there was a Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, they should have brought their proposals of whatever nature first before the Society. Nana Anamabu, Nana Edwumaku, Nana Gomoa-Assin, spoke objecting to the action of Nana Ofori Atta and others. Mr. Johnston spoke strongly against the three Chiefs' action by quoting different instances to prove that that action was very unconstitutional. Rev. Csam-Pinanko also said among other things that both the principle and the procedure were bad. Mr. Vanhien also spoke objecting to the action of the three Chiefs.

Education Bill: Mr. Brew introduced the objectionable points and suggested that the Executive Committee of the Society should deal with them and act accordingly. This suggestion was adopted. The Resolution Committee, by Rev. Csam-Pinanko, read its report and, after some suggestions, was adopted.

Mr. Vanhien took up the question of Provincial Councils and expressed an opinion as he had done at the recent Legislative Council with Honourable Casely Hayford. Mr. Sekyi stated that its existence would have a tendency to assist the Government's policy of "Divide and rule," and therefore it was objectionable as it aimed virtually at the separation of the Gold Coast Chiefs into three bodies which was opposed to the objects and purposes of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society.

14/9/25. Communications. Wire from Omanhin of Bekwai reported his having embarked at Axim

for the Conference. Prepared telegram to him at Sekondi to stop him from coming because Conference about to close to day. Mr. Vanhien renewed the subject on the projected visit of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, asking if the Chiefs had any matters to place before the Executive to add to what might be placed before him. Mr. de Graft Johnson spoke, emphasizing the importance of this projected visit and urged the Kings and Chiefs to come up for a big Conference as soon as they were circularized to do this being a grand opportunity for the country. Mr. Vanhien spoke on the unity of the Central Society with the two Sections. Mr. Brew and Chief Anamua spoke on the necessity of the whole Chiefs meeting in one place to meet the Honourable visitor even though the Government programme might be otherwise. Mr Ofori was urged to inform the Section of the Society in the Eastern Province of this proposition.

The amended resolutions were read by Rev. Osam-Pinanko and interpreted by Nana Anamua and other additions made thereto. Mr. Plange spoke on the relative power of a Branch Society, how its movements might not clash with those of the Central Society. He was directed to the Bye-Laws, etc. The Chiefs went into consultation on the resolutions. Re-assembled By Nana Anamua they reported acceptance of resolutions with amendments suggested.

WHY NOT FETISHISM?

FETISHISM AND MORALITY. The African mind consists, among other things, of a belief in malignant spirits. The Christian sings of "angels hovering round," whilst the fetishist says the innumerable host of invisible beings around him are not angels but demons. Now how he can best protect himself from these demons and evil spirits chiefly constitute why he is in contact or linked up with any fetish. Apart from the fact of a personality having cravings and instincts for fellowship with a higher being the need for protection is uppermost in his thought of God. And so he seeks "specific material objects" believed to be the habitat of a potent spirit to look after him. e.g. "Hwemusu", which literally means, look after me, that is, watchy interests. The whole point simply stated is this: the fetishist wants to succeed in life and the practical aid of the fetish is sought in order to give such a desire a concrete meaning. This fetish therefore acts somewhat in the capacity of a hired servant but one who must be reverenced and feared. It is wiser to keep him always in good sorts because it is believed he can be awkward if so disposed. Whilst the link is not broken wealth, health and all the heart of man can desire must of course follow one throughout the course of one's life. If at any time, however, something crops up such as failure, famine, pestilence, war, then something is wrong somewhere. It is here that one finds oneself philosophising and asking questions. Here the priests come in and the system of propitiation by sacrifices. Here also the witch doctor and all other agencies which have gone to the making of some of those weaknesses and evils which are characteristic of this Religion. Then one arrives at the point at issue: What can a god who must be cajoled, propitiated, by sacrifices in order to be kept in good sorts care for right dealings with one's self or one's neighbour? In spite of this however, right relationship with one another, goodness loyalty, chastity, the man who was weighed in the balance and found to be wanting in these was simply regarded as a good for nothing useless member of society. The fetishist recognised that his well-being depended upon absolute loyalty to his particular cult and so conducted himself well. Whatever happens he must be loyal and true. The fear of something some sudden disaster, sickness, failure, the fear of the unknown and the unseen keeps him wonderfully straight.

A charge of adultery is preferrable against an individual not only for actual sexual contact, but also upon any desire described or calculated through language or action to that effect. "A woman living with a man as a concubine is always looked down upon and is considered immoral however wealthy she may be." There is no gainsaying the fact that the African as such is a moral being. The principle upon which his morality is based may be described as negative as well as positive, but his moral principle does not take you much beyond the Decalogue. However, the degree to which a given community has reached in moral consciousness and enlightenment determine the moral position, high or low, of that community.

NATIVE VOTERS' CONVENTION.

RESOLUTIONS.

At the sitting of the Cape Native Voters' Convention on Wednesday 7th Dec. the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) In view of the fact that the Cape Native franchise was granted to the aborigines as their inalienable right in 1854, making the natives true British subjects enjoying full political equality with all other Britons under the British King and Imperial Government; and whereas during the passage of the Union Act in 1909 the Imperial Parliament strongly enjoined the South African Convention to preserve the Cape Native franchise intact, notwithstanding the absence of the Native vote in the northern Provinces; and whereas the Cape Natives need the Vote to protect their privileges in land, education and citizenship; and whereas the Natives have never misused the privilege of the vote, and have never rebelled, but on the contrary, have always returned worthy members to Parliament, this convention of Cape Native voters here gathered unanimously resolves that all the authorities concerned be urged not to tamper with nor make any change in the present form of the Native franchise obtaining in the Cape Province in any manner whatsoever that shall be prejudicial to the rights of the Cap Native voters as vested in the 1854 Act Further, the convention wishes to be informed whether it is the wish of His Majesty King George and the Imperial Parliament that the Cape Natives be deprived of their franchise rights.

(2).—This convention resolves to form a permanent head committee comprising all Parliamentary divisions of the Cape Province, to carry out the initiated policy of the voters' convention.

(3).—This convention desires to declare its categorical and most emphatic opposition to the Government's segregation policy, prefering the status quo in the Cape Province Further the convention respectfully urges the Government to convene a National Convention on the lines suggested by General Smuts, which shall include Native representatives.

(4) This convention resolves to enjoin the Natives of the Cape Province duly to pay the dues of the new Native Taxation Act, but under protest, pending a united test action thereon.

(5)—This convention unanimously resolves to oppose the system of government by proclamation; and with reference to the new Administration Bill of 1925, recently discussed at the Government conference at Pretoria, this convention expresses its objection to (a) the supervision of Native locations by superintendents side by side with chiefs; (b) and the appointment contrary to Native approval and deposition and deportation of Native chiefs by the Government; (c) and the separation and amalgamation of various Native tribes by the Government; (d) the appointment of Native commissioners and sub commissioners alongside of ordinary magistrates

(6).—This convention decides to frame and forward a petition to the Union Parliament praying for an opportunity for its representative to appear at the bar of the House to plead the case for the retention of the Cape Native franchise.

(7) This convention resolves that a national fund be organised for the purpose of carrying out the objectives of the propaganda in defence of the Cape Native franchise rights.

(8)—This convention unanimously resolves to express its deep sympathy with the British nation in the sad and deplorable demise of the late Queen Mother, and also of the late Major-General Sir Henry Lukin, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. This the delegates signified by standing.

Race Problem — 1925. I.

Africa.

NATIVE WOMEN AND PASSES.

Report of the Conference of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Native Advisory Boards Association, Native Inter-Denominational Ministers' Association, Native Mine Clerks' Association, Transvaal Native Teachers' Association and the Bantu Women's League, on the subject of Native Women and passes.

[For submission to the Honourable the Prime Minister.]

The following proposals are being published by the Joint Conference of the above-mentioned organisations for the purpose of securing the fullest expression of Native opinion on them

As is well known the Prime Minister was asked by a deputation, led by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives to secure the withdrawal of a Police Notice issued by the Department of Justice requiring Native women to carry passes if they moved out of doors between the hours of 9 p.m. and 4 a.m. The Prime Minister agreed to do so on the condition that alternative suggestions were offered before May 1, 1925, failing which he said the Night Pass would be imposed upon women on June 1.

It is deeply regretted that the Transvaal Native Congress, which was represented on the deputation by its leaders and the I.C.U., refused to co-operate in a matter of such importance to the Native people. However, it is hoped that the leaders of these organisations will now offer any criticisms or suggestions that they may have on these proposals.

Any one who supports these proposals, or may have any criticisms or suggestions to make is hereby requested to write to Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, P.O. Box, 4767, Johannesburg, not later than April, 15th.

PREAMBLE.

The scheme set out below has the following aims:—

(*a*) To provide a workable alternative to the re-introduction of the passes for Native women. In the opinion of the Conference the choice of the Natives lies between Passes for Native women and such a scheme as here proposed.

(*b*) To clean out the towns of all vagrant and immoral Native women, and thereafter to keep the towns clean from that class of women, by controlling the influx of Native women into towns. (This is provided for in proposals Nos. 1, 2, 10).

(*c*) To secure this control over the movements of Native women mainly through the Native themselves and through those who are interested in their welfare. For this purpose the scheme (see proposals Nos. 2 to 7) seeks to strengthen parental control; requires the consent of the Native Sub-Commissioners or Magistrates for the immigration of Native women to towns, and proposes the establishment of Hostels under Joint Boards of Europeans and Natives. It provides that Native women and girls shall not take up residence in towns without the consent of their parents, guardians or other authority, and without the assurance of both accommodation and employment whenever required being available for them.

(d) to protect decent and respectable woman and girls who went to work in towns, by insisting that suitable accommodation shall be provided for them by their employers on their premises, or in special hostels near their place of work, or in the Native villages being established under the Urban Areas Act. Also by registering all contract of service at official hostels or Record offices. (See proposals Nos. 8 and 9),

Note. The scheme, above is intended to *Supplement* the Urban Areas Act. It *presuposes* that the Act is in operation and that therefore, the Natives in towns other than those in domestic service, live in Native villages established under the Act, or else in hostels.

Under the conditions laid down in this scheme, any Native woman or girl who attempts to reside in a town without the consent of her parents etc. or without regular employment or work will find it difficult to obtain accommodation. On the other hand the presumption will be that any Native woman or girl who lives, or arrives, in a town, does so legitimately, and this presumption will be her best safeguard against interference or molestation by the Police.

II. PROPOSALS.

1. That sections 16 and 17 of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 be rigidly enforced; that a census of all Bantu men and women in urban or proclaimed areas be taken and the idle, disorderly and dissolute be dealt with.

2. In order to control the influx of Native women and girls into towns or proclaimed areas it is proposed that (a) any Native woman or girl desiring to leave her home for an Urban or proclaimed area shall be required to obtain a certificate signed by the Native Sub-Commissioner or Magistrate of her district certifying (1) that she travels with the consent of her father or natural guardian, or that the officer is satisfied that such consent cannot just fiably be refused; (2) that there is reasonable prospect of suitable employment or accommodation

(*b*) No Railway ticket should be issued to a Native woman or girl unless the foregoing certificate is first deposited with the issuing officer.

(*c*) No Native woman whose husband accompanies her shall be required to secure the said certificate.

(*d*) That machinery be created whereby parents or guardians may be assisted by the Native Affairs Department to secure the return to their homes of Native women and girls who left home without their permission, or whom they wish to have returned to them.

3. Government to open Record Offices at the offices of the Sub-Native Commissioners and Magistrates in the Union for Native women and girls intending to proceed to urban or proclaimed areas for work, such Native Record Offices to circularise all Native hostels and rest houses in such urban or proclaimed areas with full names and particulars of women and girls seeking work and also to ascertain as to the availability of accommodation in hostels or rest houses.

4. Hostels and rest houses for Native women and girls to be established within reasonable distances from places of work and or in the locations or Native villages. The Staff of such hostels and rest houses to consit, as far as possible of women officials both Europeans and Natives.

5. Private hostels or rest houses to be permitted to continue after obtaining Government recognition and if they are willing to carry on their work in accordance with the regulations laid down for the management of such institutions:

6. For the proper control of hostels and rest houses; it is desirable that there be appointed within the jurisdiction of any urban local authority a Board consisting of an equal number of Europeans and Natives.

7. (*a*) All Native women and girls seeking work to report at the rest house or Record Office.

(*b*) All Native women and girls entering an urban or proclaimed area or residing with their parents, husbands or approved friends, shall be required to apply to the hostels or rest house if employment desired. Such application may be made in person or in writing.

8. No employer shall employ any Native servants otherwise than through Native hostels or Record Offices under a written contract of service.

9. After some date to be fixed, no hostel or Record Office shall allow a contract of service to be registered in respect of women and girls not residing in hostels or in a location unless suitable accommodation is provided on the premises of the employer and approved by the Board.

10. Any Native woman or girl visiting an urban area for purposes other than work and not staying at one of the recognised hostels shall have her arrival and departure notified to the proper authority by her private host or hostess or manager of a hostel at which she is staying.

General Hertzog's Native POLICY.

The whole of South Africa, including the territories have long been kept waiting for the new government Native policy. Now that General Hertzog has given his carefully studied opinion on native question, the whole dominion feel itself freed from the anxiety that they entertained about the new government whose attitude towards the natives was more than suspicious.

The natives in the territories must have received the hope inspiring news with acclamations. As according to determined General Hertzog policy, no native protectorate will be incorporated in the Union of South Africa unless its inhabitants are prepared to come in. This is the only justified policy which commonsense would dictate to any class of people. We believe the term "inhabitants," in General Hertzog's speech includes both white and black,—black principally, as they own these territories and have greater interests than white people. It is quite clear that if this is the position as announced by General Hertzog, and if it would be followed up to the letter, the inhabitants of the protectorates shall have been afforded an opportunity to determine their destiny. That being the case the future of the native protectorates, depends upon how much the Union governmet may influence the natives' mind towards it.

It has to be regretted that practical segregation has failed and that its champion publicly admit the failure. The failure, has nodoubt come of, because the European section will not sacrifice their holdings for the common good eurpose of settling the perplexed question amicably, affecting both sections equally. The new government have been defeated in its policy by its own electorate.

Now a question which the natives must of certainty, ask themselves, is that, will the government not then see its way to the repealing of the 1913 Land Act which was the basis for total segregation. What is the use of the foundation now if the whole wall of the building is not going to be built and completed!

We hope the Pact government will heed the warning of General Smuts as regard the Cape Native Franchise. The removal of this franchise would be as fatal to the whole of the natives living South of the Equator as the taking away of the principle of chieftainship in native territories would be.

For instance, now, the Northern and Free State Natives, without chieftainship and without franchise serving as the alternative, are simply a flock without hope of their existance. There is no wonder that on public platforms they have always hurled acrimonious words upon the governing body as vicious dogs upon people going along public roads.

Agriculture in Basutoland.

It is too late to do much with the mealie and kaffir corn fields now. Later I will write on the proper methods of sowing and cultivation of mealies and kaffir corn. But there is one very important thing to be done before this season is over in connection with these two crops, namely the selection of good seed for next year. Every year when the time comes for sowing, people are running everywhere buying seed. They dont know if it is good or suitable, and much time is wasted which should be spent in planting the crop.

Every careful native should keep his own seed except perhaps in season like last year when many of the crops were a failure. Selection of seed is a most important matter, and plays a big part in successful agriculture. It is the greatest mistake in the world to think any seed will do, good seed makes a big difference to the resulting crop. I know of men who increased their crops of mealies by 2 bags to the acre by careful selection of seed over a period of years. Take kaffircorn the seed is very mixed and ripens very unevenly. A man should watch his field and collect some of the best heads all of one type, and keep them for seed; by doing this he will get a crop all of one type ripening more or less at the same time, and by selecting heads which ripen early, in a few years he can obtain a type which ripens a fortnight earlier than the old one, which would generally insure his crop not being spoilt by frost.

Good heads of kaffircorn should be as follows:- 1. Uniform— The heads should be similar in size, shape and colour. 2. The head should be fairly compact and well filled with grain.

3. Shape and size of grain should be true to the variety.

4. Colour of grain true to the type.

5. The grain should not shatter, the heads should be shaken and if many grains fall out the head should not be used for seed.

6. The head should be quite free of the upper leaf sheaf, if not in a damp year the lower seed does not mature properly and often goes mouldy. These heads should not be used for seed purposes.

When the mealie crop is ready to harvest, great care should be taken to select good seed for the following year. A good specimen cob should be found and given to the people harvesting the crop as a guide, all cobs like it should be put in lumps and kept apart from the others and taken home, and carefully resorted for seed for the following year.

Transkeian Legislation.

We understand that the Transkeian Divorce Court has been abolished by official action without consultation with the Bunga or the Natives generally. This revolutionary step has been done by Proclamation. The reason given is that such a Court is an anomaly inasmuch as it does not exist in the Cape Colony Proper. This is a ridiculous pretext, because the Ciskei is not governed by Proclamation, and is on a different footing.

The Court in question gave facilities for divorce to take place with the means of the people, as compared with the extortionate charges levied in the ordinary European courts. A native seeking redress in the Supreme Court must be prepared in the ordinary way for an outlay of between £75 and £100, where under the old Transkeian Divorce Court the costs averaged £10 and £15 at a maximum.

The natives of the Transkeian Territories are about a million in number, and their system of segregation in land, law and administration has frequently been praised in these columns as equal to the best in the world. Its essence is that of a beneficial differantiation based upon the particular needs and conditions of the people.

The most objectionable feature of the present abolition is the arbitrary manner in which it has been executed, namely, a single official moving the machinery of Proclamation to the disadvantage of a million citizens in one blow. Our opinion is that the position would have been satisfactorily met by the appointment of an assistant magistrate to relieve the Chief Magistrate of the undoubtedly onerous duties imposed by the extra legal work involved. An additional officer would cost less than a thousand pounds, but his services would more than amply requite the million blacks who would individually appreciate the privilege, and who deserve it by reason of their tremendous financial contributions to the Transkei courts.

The recent Ciskei Native Convention unanimously rejected the suggested scheme of rule by Proclamation and wisely so, for in this instance we once more witness its evil results when such *a carte blanche* is at the hand of capricious officials.

This subject ought to be brought up before the Bunga sessions of next month if the members thereof are worth their salt in intelligence and patriotism.

John Powell to the Rescue

In Tuesday's issue of the Newport News *Daily Press* Mr John Powell, originator of the Anglo-Saxon clubs movement uses nearly a column of space in an effort to distort the issues raised in our editorial of April 4, of certain articles by the editor of the *Daily Press* on the question of Negro education, racial integrity, etc. Mr. Powell, who has been variously described as a musician, scholar, ethnologist, historian and student of racial questions, descends to the arraignment of the Newport News miscegenation cologue William Pickens' level of a cheap politician and demagogue in trying to prove that this paper "covertly markable Newport News miscegenation colony on page 12, and finally Parker's argument of "Questions and Answers in Negro History," telli- on page 12, as proof that all Negroes in general and this paper in particular desired itor- to "lose their African characteristics."

Following the thread of his argument would what do we find?

1. That Mrs. Walker is a manufacturer of toilet preparations, among which are so-called facial bleaches and hair tonics. So are John Woodbury and hundreds of

2. That Parker's "Questions and Answers in Negro History" is a pamphlet of 16 pages, of which 12 are devoted to a discussion of the Negro's part in the World War, and the remaining four to a discussion of the Negro's part in the Civil War. Parker's pamphlet is a reply to the Anglo-Saxon clubs movement which has been launched in the South to counteract the pernicious propaganda of the Negro race-mixers, and to the Negro's claim that he has been a loyal citizen and soldier

General Hertzog's Native POLICY.

The whole of South Africa, including the territories have long been waiting for the new government Native policy. Now that Parliament has given its carefully studied opinion on native question, the whole dominion feel itself freed from the anxiety that they entertained about the government whose attitude towards the natives was more suspicious.

The natives in the territories must have received the hope inspiring news with acclamations. According to determined General Hertzog policy, no native protectorate will be incorporated in the Union of South Africa unless its inhabitants are prepared to come in. This is the only justified policy which commissioner would dictate to any class of people. We believe the term "inhabitants," in General Hertzog's speech includes both white and black, principally, as they own these territories and have greater interests than white people. It is quite clear that if this is the position as announced by General Hertzog, and if it would be followed up to the letter, the inhabitants of the protectorates shall have been afforded an opportunity to determine their destiny. That being the case the future of the native protectorates, depends upon how much the Union government may influence the natives' mind towards it.

It has to be regretted that practically resorted to. The recent Cskei Native Convention unanimously rejected the suggested scheme of rule by Proclamation and wisely so, for in this instance we once more witness its evil results when such a *carte blanche* is at the hand of capricious officials.

This subject ought to be brought up before the Bunga sessions of next month if the members thereof are worth their salt in intelligence and patriotism.

which was the basis for total corn the seed is very mixed and different The Court in question gave segregation. What is the use of ripens very unevenly. A man facilities for dis the foundation now if the whole should watch his field and collect wall of the building is not going to some of the best heads all of one be built and completed! type, and keep them for We hope the Pact government doing this he will get a will heed the warning of General one type ripening more Smuts as regard the Cape Native or less at ng redress in the Supreme Court Franchise. The removal of this and by selecting must be prepared in the ordinary franchise would be as fatal to the heads which ripen early whole of the natives living South and £100, where under the old Equator as the taking away Transkeian Divorce Court the of the principle of chieftainship in costs averaged £10 and £15 at a would generally maximum. Territories are about a million in number, and their system of Uniform — The segregation in land, law and similar in size, administration has frequently been praised in these columns as equal to the best in the world and well filled. Its essence is that of a beneficial differentiation based upon the particular needs and conditions of the people.

The most objectionable feature of the present abolition is the arbitrary manner in which it has been executed, namely, a single official moving the machinery of Proclamation to the disadvantage of a million citizens in one blow. Our opinion is that if not in the position would have been satisfactorily met by the appointment of an assistant magistrate and often goesment of an assistant magistrate to relieve the Chief Magistrate of the undoubtedly onerous duties imposed by the extra legal work involved. An additional officer should be taken would cost less than a thousand pounds, but his services would more than amply repay the million blacks who would individually appreciate the privilege.

level of a cheap politician and demagogue in trying to prove that this paper "covertly desired racial amalgamation." His arguments are so puerile as to be unworthy of serious notice. Unable evidently to intelligently discuss the issues raised in our editorial, he runs around in the news columns to see if he can find something that would justify his far-fetched assumption that what we really desired was "racial amalgamation." So, he cites a "violent" attack on Dr. Plecker on the front page; a picture of Mrs. A'Lelia Walker, on the same page; William Pickens' arraignment of the remarkable Newport News miscegenation colony on page 12, and finally Parker's "Questions and Answers in Negro History," on page 12, as proof that all Negroes in general and this paper in particular desired to "lose their African characteristics."

Following the thread of his argument what do we find?

1. That Mrs. Walker is a manufacturer of toilet preparations, among which are so-called facial bleaches and hair tonics. So also are John Woodbury and hundreds of

Agriculture in Basutoland.

It is too late to do much with the be used for seed. This should be

heads should be shaken grains fall out the head

John Powell to the Rescue

In Tuesday's issue of the Newport News *Daily Press* Mr. John Powell, originator of the Anglo-Saxon clubs movement uses nearly a column of space in an effort to distort the true attitude of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE as expressed in our editorial discussion on April 4, of certain articles by the editor of the *Daily Press* on the question of Negro education, racial integrity, etc. Mr. Powell, who has been variously described as a musician, scholar, ethnologist, historian and student of racial questions, descends to the

Race Problem - 1925. I.
Africa.

other white Americans who have made fortunes selling face bleaches and hair tonics to white people. Were Anglo-Saxons trying to change their racial characteristic when they used these preparations?

Norfolk Journal & Guide 5-9-25

2. He quotes William Pickens, but does not answer him. Why? Let him read the reply of Maj. Cox, his friend and co-worker, quoted below.

3. He says that Parker's "Questions and Answers in Negro History" are grotesque misrepresentations. Matter of opinion; but suppose they are, what bearing do they have upon the question at issue?

Why did not Mr. Powell address himself to the editorial expressions of this paper, which are a true index of our convictions, and which were pertinent to the subject under discussion, instead of evading the question?

The answer, perhaps, is found in the following quotations from a letter which the JOURNAL AND GUIDE received from Mr. Ernest S. Cox, under date of April 16. Mr. Cox is friend and co-worker of Mr. Powell.

Among other things he said:

"I do not believe that the editor of the *Press* sanctions a red light district where the city of Newport News permits white men to keep colored women and where no colored man is allowed. *But I am in full agreement with the writer of the article in his desire to show the ridiculous and contemptible position of the white race when it proclaims the danger of miscegenation and yet practices it.*

"Illegal miscegenation is the white man's weak point in his theoretical color line. The weak point is the place to attack. Were I a Negro I would attack from this angle until the white man abandoned the color line or mended it."

Mr. Cox was frank and honest. He went right to the heart of the question and was manly enough to address his communication where he thought it would do the most good. Mr. Powell was evasive and mischievous and worded his communication so that it would becloud the real issues and mislead those who had not read the JOURNAL AND GUIDE editorials. He is as ethical on that point as he is sincere in other respects.

For his benefit and the benefit of others who think as he does, we should like to say that there is no difference of opinion between the decent people of both races as to the desirability of maintaining strict morality and racial integrity. There is no question about that. And these white men like himself, with their history of illegal miscegenation, who are going around the country yelling for protection, are making themselves both ridiculous and disgusting.

THE SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND.—XXV.

[BY CAPTAIN F. W. BUTT-THOMPSON.—COPYRIGHT.]

(*Continued from page 365, last week.*)

Governor Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, C.B., with Lt.-Col. Denham, did fine work for the liberated Africans in the villages, and died August 14th, 1827, before he had completed a full year in office. He had proved most active in service, contrary to the directions of the medical officers who attended him, and when his strength was not able to bear the strain, and he sacrificed his life to duty.

West Africa

Lt.-Colonel Hugh Lumley, R.A.C., Officer Commanding the Troops, acted as Governor for nine months, visiting the Gold Coast during the time for the purpose of making arrangements for the evacuation of the forts there.

4-18-25

Lt.-Colonel Dixon Denham, the new Governor, who arrived at Freetown on May 5th, 1828, had been appointed, the year before, General Superintendent of the Liberated African Department. Therefore he was known to the colonists, and his promotion was a popular one. He was born in London, and in 1813, was made Lieutenant in the British Army, and, joining his regiment in the Netherlands, shared in the honours of Waterloo. In 1821 he volunteered to join Dr. Oudney and Hugh Clapperton, who had been sent by the British Government, via Tripoli, to the Central Sudan. The success of that expedition was largely due to the energy of Denham, and they reached Bornu. From there, against the wish of his companions, he accompanied a slave-raiding caravan into the Mandara highlands, south of Bornu, and barely escaped with his life. He then explored the shores of Lake Chad, and returned via Bornu and Tripoli to England. When Sir Neil Campbell died, Denham was in Fernando Po, making arrangements for a new settlement there. At the end of the month of his return to Freetown, he was attacked by fever, and died on June 9th, 1828.

Colonel Lumley again took up the burden of the office, and when he died, two months after, Mr. Smart once more governed. From November, 1828, to April, 1830, Major Henry J. Ricketts, O.C. Troops, who had been present, as Brigade Major, at the 1824 battle of Assamako, and who, in his short period of service, had seen the arrival of four Governors, and their deaths, and one Acting Governor. Captain Augustus F. Evans, 1st W.I.R., and Captain A. M. Fraser, R.A.C., held office.

During 1830 an epidemic of fever again prevailed, and swept away the principal inhabitants and large numbers of the seamen belonging to vessels in the river. Amongst those who died was Kenneth Macaulay, merchant, legislator, and author of "Sierra Leone Vindicated," whose father, Zachary Macaulay, when Governor declared that "save for an Eve, the Colony was Paradise."

The next man did his period and returned home—Lt.-Colonel Alexander Findlay, who had a troubled period, coming into open antagonism with almost every branch of official life and with the missionaries, and was at last ordered home.

THE NIGERIA REGIMENT.

Extended reference to the present position and recent history of the famous Nigeria Regt., W.A.F.F., is made in the address of the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, to the Nigeria Legislative Council, from which extracts have appeared in several previous numbers of WEST AFRICA. Col. J. F. Badham, D.S.O., who succeeded Col. G. T. Mair, C.M.G., D.S.O., as Commandant, says in the course of a report to the Governor:—

West Africa April 25/1925

"1924 has been an important one in the history of the Regiment. The Regiment now consists of regimental headquarters to which has been added a record section, one battery of artillery, four battalions each of four companies of infantry, a signal school and an infantry depot for enlisting and training all recruits for the infantry battalions. Heretofore battalion commanders have enlisted and trained their own recruits. The centralisation of this not only frees battalion commanders for other duties, but ensures that the training of recruits shall be uniform. The artillery has hitherto consisted of one pack section and one draught section. The draught section has been recognised as pack. This has entailed the provision of 54 more carriers against a reduction of seven drivers and six horses. The most radical change is in the infantry. The lopsided three-company battalions have been turned into level four-company battalions. The companies have been reduced in strength, but the organisation and establishment of the infantry now corresponds, approximately, to that of the infantry of the regular Army. The basis of infantry organisation is the section. Each battalion has 16 Lewis guns now as against 12 formerly. The machine-gun platoon has ceased to exist, but a section of machine-gunners now forms part of each battalion headquarters; this is an increase of eight machine-gunners in the Regiment. There is a net increase of 15 officers and a reduction of six B.N.C.O.s. Native ranks have been reduced from 3,470 to 3,255. The establishment of African clerks has been increased by two. The opening up of the country makes it possible to concentrate a large proportion of the troops in centres on the railway, whence they can be quickly moved to any place. Consequent on reorganisation a general redistribution has been very carefully worked out. I am anxious to have the headquarters of all units on the railway. I have however no intention of recommending the removal of the troops from Calabar. The headquarters of the battalion, I am afraid, must move but I trust that one company will always remain at Calabar.

"There have been two patrols during 1924, the first one in the South Idah Division of Munshi Province, from February 12th to March 30th. Six cartridges were fired by the patrol and two Natives lost their lives. The patrol suffered no casualties. The other patrol was in the northern Mandated area. On September 10th an escort was supplied to the District Officer, touring this area. On October 23rd the escort was turned into a patrol and increased to two platoons. The terrain where the patrol operated is hilly and very broken and the inhabitants are very primitive warlike people. They attacked the escort twice, on September 18th, when nine shots were fired and four Pagans were killed, and on September 24th, when 15 shots were fired and five Pagans were killed. They attacked the patrol once only, on November 3rd when 21 shots were fired and nine Pagans were killed. The patrol suffered no casualties.

"Manœuvres were carried out between Minna and Zungeru during March last, and were followed by a staff ride of all officers, warrant and British non-commissioned officers shortly afterwards. The artillery battery, four companies of infantry (less one platoon), the machine-gun platoon and the signal school took part. Great benefit was derived from these operations by all who took part in them, especially by the staffs. The expense of moving troops long distances prevents larger concentrations, so this year each infantry battalion is having a fortnight in a camp of exercise in its own area. Early in May the artillery battery went into practice camp at Ropp Tin Mines, by permission of the manager, and carried out its annual practice. This was the first time the new 3·7 in. Howitzers had been fired. The results were extremely good.

"The war memorials have all been completed. The 3rd Battalion memorial was unveiled at Calabar by Lieut.-Colonel H. C. Moorhouse, the Southern Nigeria Regiment. Each memorial has a memorial commemorates the names of all officers, warrant and Native ranks belonging to the unit or units which these provide a permanent record of those who fell. matter of satisfaction to all Nigerians to have t record completed.

t the Staff R. D. F. Oldham, C.B., C.M.G., tor-General, West African Frontier Force, was from March 6th to April 11th, during which resent at the final phase of the manœuvres, he staff ride, to Yelwa and inspected Kaduna, and Ibadan. As a result of his report the tate remarked :—

Secretary of State r
the report as very satisfactory, and consider e of the Regiment reflects credit on the Com-

Race Problem - 1925. I.
Africa.

other white Americans who have made fortunes selling face bleaches and hair tonics to white people. Were Anglo-Saxons trying to change their racial characteristic when they used these preparations?

Norfolk Journal and Guide

2. He quotes William Pickens, but does not answer him. Why? Let him read the reply of Maj. Cox, his friend and co-worker, quoted below.

5-9-25

3. He says that Parker's "Questions and Answers in Negro History" are grotesque misrepresentations. Matter of opinion; but suppose they are, what bearing do they have upon the question at issue?

Why did not Mr. Powell address himself to the editorial expressions of this paper, which are a true index of our convictions, and which were pertinent to the subject under discussion, instead of evading the question?

The answer, perhaps, is found in the following quotations from a letter which the JOURNAL AND GUIDE received from Mr. Ernest S. Cox, under date of April 16. Mr. Cox is friend and co-worker of Mr. Powell.

Among other things he said:

"I do not believe that the editor of the *Press* sanctions a red light district where the city of Newport News permits white men to keep colored women and where no colored man is allowed. *But I am in full agreement with the writer of the article in his desire to show the ridiculous and contemptible position of the white race when it proclaims the danger of miscegenation and yet practices it.*

"Illegal miscegenation is the white man's weak point in his theoretical color line. The weak point is the place to attack. Were I a Negro I would attack from this angle until the white man abandoned the color line or mended it."

Mr. Cox was frank and honest. He went right to the heart of the question and was manly enough to address his communication where he thought it would do the most good. Mr. Powell was evasive and mischievous and worded his communication so that it would becloud the real issues and mislead those who had not read the JOURNAL AND GUIDE editorials. He is as ethical on that point as he is sincere in other respects.

For his benefit and the benefit of others who think as he does, we should like to say that there is no difference of opinion between the decent people of both races as to the desirability of maintaining strict morality and racial integrity. There is no question about that. And these white men like himself, with their history of illegal miscegenation, who are going around the country yelling for protection, are making themselves both ridiculous and disgusting.

THE SIERRA LEONEANS AND THEIR LAND.—XXV.

[BY CAPTAIN F. W. BUTT-THOMPSON.—COPYRIGHT.]

(*Continued from page 365, last week.*)

Governor Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, C.B., with Lt.-Col. Denham, did fine work for the liberated Africans in the villages, and died August 14th, 1827, before he had completed a full year in office. He had proved most active in service, contrary to the directions of the medical officers who attended him, and when his strength was not able to bear the strain, and he sacrificed his life to duty.

West Africa

Lt.-Colonel Hugh Lumley, R.A.C., Officer Commanding the Troops, acted as Governor for nine months, visiting the Gold Coast during the time for the purpose of making arrangements for the evacuation of the forts there.

4-18-25

Lt.-Colonel Dixon Denham, the new Governor, who arrived at Freetown on May 5th, 1828, had been appointed, the year before, General Superintendent of the Liberated African Department. Therefore he was known to the colonists, and his promotion was a popular one. He was born in London, and in 1813, was made Lieutenant in the British Army, and, joining his regiment in the Netherlands, shared in the honours of Waterloo. In 1821 he volunteered to join Dr. Oudney and Hugh Clapperton, who had been sent by the British Government, via Tripoli, to the Central Sudan. The success of that expedition was largely due to the energy of Denham, and they reached Bornu. From there, against the wish of his companions, he accompanied a slave-raiding caravan into the Mandara highlands, south of Bornu, and barely escaped with his life. He then explored the shores of Lake Chad, and returned via Bornu and Tripoli to England. When Sir Neil Campbell died, Denham was in Fernando Po, making arrangements for a new settlement there. At the end of the month of his return to Freetown, he was attacked by fever, and died on June 9th, 1828.

Colonel Lumley again took up the burden of the office, and when he died, two months after, Mr. Smart once more governed. From November, 1828, to April, 1830, Major Henry J. Ricketts, O.C. Troops, who had been present, as Brigade Major, at the 1824 battle of Assamako, and who, in his short period of service, had seen the arrival of four Governors, and their deaths, and one Acting Governor, Captain Augustus F. Evans, 1st W.I.R., and Captain A. M. Fraser, R.A.C., held office.

During 1830 an epidemic of fever again prevailed, and swept away the principal inhabitants and large numbers of the seamen belonging to vessels in the river. Amongst those who died was Kenneth Macaulay, merchant, legislator, and author of "Sierra Leone Vindicated," whose father, Zachary Macaulay, when Governor, declared that "save for an Eve, the Colony was Paradise."

The next man did his period and returned home—Lt.-Colonel Alexander Findlay, who had a troubled period, coming into open antagonism with almost every branch of official life and with the missionaries, and was at last ordered home.

THE NIGERIA REGIMENT.

Extended reference to the present position and recent history of the famous Nigeria Regt., W.A.F.F., is made in the address of the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, to the Nigeria Legislative Council, from which extracts have appeared in several previous numbers of WEST AFRICA. Col. J. F. Badham, D.S.O., who succeeded Col. G. T. Mair, C.M.G., D.S.O., as Commandant, says in the course of a report to the Governor:—

West Africa 5-7-25

"1924 has been an important one in the history of the Regiment. The Regiment now consists of regimental headquarters to which has been added a record section, one battery of artillery, four battalions each of four companies of infantry, a signal school and an infantry depot for enlisting and training all recruits for the infantry battalions. Heretofore battalion commanders have enlisted and trained their own recruits. The centralisation of this not only frees battalion commanders for other duties, but ensures that the training of recruits shall be uniform. The artillery has hitherto consisted of one pack section and one draught section. The draught section has been recognised as pack. This has entailed the provision of 54 more carriers against a reduction of seven drivers and six horses. The most radical change is in the infantry. The lopsided three-company battalions have been turned into level four-company battalions. The companies have been reduced in strength, but the organisation and establishment of the infantry now corresponds, approximately, to that of the infantry of the regular Army. The basis of infantry organisation is the section. Each battalion has 16 Lewis guns now as against 12 formerly. The machine-gun platoon has ceased to exist, but a section of machine-gunners now forms part of each battalion headquarters; this is an increase of eight machine-gunners in the Regiment. There is a net increase of 15 officers and a reduction of six B.N.C.O.s. Native ranks have been reduced from 3,470 to 3,255. The establishment of African clerks has been increased by two. The opening up of the country makes it possible to concentrate a large proportion of the troops in centres on the railway, whence they can be quickly moved to any place. Consequent on reorganisation a general redistribution has been very carefully worked out. I am anxious to have the headquarters of all units on the railway. I have however no intention of recommending the removal of the troops from Calabar. The headquarters of the battalion, I am afraid, must move but I trust that one company will always remain at Calabar.

"There have been two patrols during 1924, the first one in the South Idah Division of Munshi Province, from February 12th to March 30th. Six cartridges were fired by the patrol and two Natives lost their lives. The patrol suffered no casualties. The other patrol was in the northern Mandated area. On September 10th an escort was supplied to the District Officer, touring this area. On October 23rd the escort was turned into a patrol and increased to two platoons. The terrain where the patrol operated is hilly and very broken and the inhabitants are very primitive warlike people. They attacked the escort twice, on September 18th, when nine shots were fired and four Pagans were killed, and on September 24th, when 15 shots were fired and five Pagans were killed. The patrol once only attacked the patrol and nine Pagans were killed. On November 3rd when 21 shots were fired and nine Pagans were killed.

"Manœuvres were carried out between Minna and Zungeru during March last, and were followed by a staff ride shortly afterwards. The artillery battery, four companies of infantry (less one platoon), the machine-gun platoon and the signal school took part. Each memorial has the names of all officers, warrant and Native ranks belonging to the unit or units which the memorial commemorates. The letters are raised and provide a permanent record of those who fell. Great benefit was derived from these operations by all who took part in them, especially by the staffs. The expense of moving troops long distances prevents larger concentrations, so this year each infantry battalion is having a fortnight in a camp of exercise in its own area. Early in May the artillery battery went into practice camp at Ropp Tin Mines, by permission of the manager, and carried out its annual practice. This was the first time the new 3.7 in. Howitzers had been fired. The results were extremely good.

"The war memorials have all been completed. The 3rd Battalion memorial was unveiled at Calabar by Lieut.-Colonel C. Moorhouse, the Commandant of the Southern Nigeria Regiment. His Excellency the Governor unveiled the 4th Battalion memorial at Ibadan on November 24th. Each memorial has bronze plates inscribed with the names of all officers, warrant and Native ranks belonging to the unit or units which the memorial commemorates. The letters are raised and provide a permanent record of those who fell. This was the accompanied the staff ride to Yelwa and inspected Kaduna, Sokoto, Zaria and Ibadan. As a result of his report the Secretary of State remarked :—

'I regard the report as very satisfactory, and consider that the state of the Regiment reflects credit on the Com-

mandant and all ranks of the Regiment. I have to request that an expression of my gratification may be communicated to them.'

"Everyone will be glad to see that the battle honours have now been awarded for the great war. The Regiment gets 'Bohobeho,' 'Nyangao,' 'East Africa, 1916-18,' 'Duala,' 'Garua,' 'Banyo,' 'Cameroons, 1914-16.' All are to be put on the colours and appointments. This is not so many as we had applied for. They are, however, honours which will always be a source of pride to members of the Regiment."

Commenting upon this report by Col. Badham, Sir Hugh Clifford remarks :—

"It has been during the whole period of my service in Nigeria a source of pride to me that my office causes me to fill the post of titular Commander-in-Chief of the splendid force which Colonel Mair and Colonel Badham have successively commanded during the past five years. It has been since 1921 my painful duty materially to reduce the military establishment and severely to restrict expenditure upon it; but from first to last I have received from Colonel Mair and from Colonel Badham and from all the officers of the Regiment the most loyal co-operation and support; and not the least pleasant of the memories that I shall bear away with me from Nigeria are those which relate to my close association with the Nigeria Regiment."

"L'ART NEGRE."

A writer in the "Dépêche Coloniale" on European appreciation of African art condemns the artificiality of those to whom "novel," "bizarre," and "beautiful" appear to be synonymous terms. As regards the horrible masks and images so commonly collected on the Continent, he says that they have their place in ethnography, but not in modern art. It is in his decorative work that the African excels, and his ivory carving, his leather work, and his woven cloths might well afford inspiration to European craftsmen, while his unwritten literature, especially in the fables devoted to the hare or the spider, if introduced to European juveniles in the same way as the story of Reynard the fox, would inculcate at an early age a respect and liking for, and a better understanding of, things African.

The Sudan.

OUR KHARTOUM LETTER.

("African World" Resident Correspondent.)

KHARTOUM, March 5.

Bishop Gore in Khartoum.

Dr. Gore has been staying at the Clergy House, Khartoum, for a few weeks as the guest of Bishop Gwynne. His visit was greatly appreciated by all members of the British community. During his stay, in addition to numerous private interviews and invitations, he gave a number of addresses in the Cathedral. He also officiated at the Fellowship of Unity Service held in the Cathedral; a service for which the special service sheets had been printed in three languages—English, Arabic, and Greek.

The Late Major Burton.

The death has taken place at the Civil Hospital, Khartoum, of Major E. F. N. Burton, late District Commissioner of Kadugli, Nuba Mountains Province. Major Burton first came to the Sudan in 1917. He served for some years at Port Sudan, Suakim, and Kosti, and last year at Kadugli. Mrs. Burton was in Khartoum at the time of his death, and a large number of telegrams of sympathy were also received by Mrs. Burton from natives in the various districts in which her husband had worked, and by whom he was beloved.

Rejaf-Nimule Road.

It is reported that road making has been commenced on the stretch of country lying between Rejaf and Nimule, and the opinion is expressed that by the end of the winter season a motor road between these two points will have been completed. The main work consists of making deviations round rocky stretches and filling in khors with sufficient solidity to permit the safe passage of motor vehicles. As is well known, the Nile from Nimule to Rejaf is unnavigable, and has necessitated a seven days' trek through rough country for all those travelling from Central Africa to Europe via the Nile. With a motor service established the Cape to Cairo trip may be accomplished with little or no hardships.

Cotton in the Nuba Mountains Province.

On the whole, this new cotton producing area may be said to have come up to expectations. Development is only in the experimental stage, and much has to be done before the maximum productivity of the Province is reached. The yield from various plots differed considerably, and even when close together a difference of as much as six kantars per feddan has been noticed. The Inspector of Agriculture in studying this crop has reported that the future success of cotton-growing in the Taloli-Elira area is threatened by the ravages of a small red beetle, which abounds in great quantities, particularly on plots sown near Tabaldi or Higlig trees. This is now being investigated by the Agricultural Department with a view to overcoming the pest.

Kassala Cotton Company.

A great deal of interest has been experienced among many business houses in Khartoum by the official announcement that this company was going to put its cotton crop up for auction at Port Sudan. This means that local cotton firms will have an opportunity of purchasing on the spot whilst the company, in addition to getting a good price, will not have the worry and additional expense of making their own shipments to Liverpool. The auctions will be very keen, as practically every cotton business house in Alexandria have their representatives in Port Sudan, because of the Tokar crop. With a large number of bidders the cotton will fetch high prices. The first sale is to take place to-morrow. It is interesting to note that the Tokar market opened on February 18, when the first arrivals amounted to 2,797 kantars No. 1 grade and 1,321 kantars No. 2 grade, which fetched rather high prices of 360 PT and 327 PT per kantar respectively. It is understood that the total kantar crop approximates 45,000 ginned kantars.

Segregation.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO]

Sir,—I have read the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly on the 25th instant on the great segregation Question, and it has given me the greatest of satisfaction.

I am delighted with the views expressed by Gen. Hertzog, and to my mind the debate on the above subject should give the Natives every possible assurance that their interests will be looked after in the very best possible manner. I was also very pleased with the position taken up by Gen. Smuts. I may say the debate on the whole redounds to the credit of the government also to the Opposition. One could wish that all great question before the House at all times could be debated in the same cool and businesslike manner.

I may repeat, I think the Natives have much to be thankful for, having such friends in the government. I was somewhat disappointed that our local member did not appear to take part in this most important matter. In regard to Mr. Hay's reference to the native paper "Umteteli wa Bantu," I must say for a long time I have had my doubts if this paper was run in the best interests of the Natives themselves.

I may here mention I have personally met Gen. Hertzog, and discussed with him certain matters in regard to the Native Question, and found him very sympathetic, and of very sound judgment in matters affecting the Natives.

Yours sincerely,

W. O. CARTER.

King Wms. Town,
26th March, 1925.

SIBLEY TO HEAD EDUCATION FORCE OF FIRESTONE CO.

James L. Sibley of Montgomery, Ala., sailed November 21, on the S. S. Baltic for Liverpool en route to Monrovia, Liberia, Africa, where he will be the educational director under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation of New York City, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church and other mission bodies having schools in Liberia. These various agencies are sending Mr. Sibley to make a detailed study of the schools, the educational program and the educational needs of the country. He hopes to report definite recommendations for the future work of these agencies at the end of his first year in the republic.

Mr. Sibley has just recently been in conference with Henry Firestone, who plans the spending of $100,000 in the development of rubber plantations in Liberia. It is understood that Mr. Firestone will undertake an educational program for the many thousands of Liberians who will work on the plantations.

Mr. Sibley has had wide experience in the development of schools, especially in Negro communities in southern United States, and he will bring into his new work in Liberia many suggestions and plans that will be helpful in the development of educational institutions now caried on by mission agencies. Mr. Sibley was in the Philippine school system for three years; five years state rural school agent for the department of education at Montgomery, Ala.; assistant director of state-child welfare department at Montgomery; and also connected with the extension work of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Alabama. Mr. Sibley built the first of the famous Rosewald Schools in the South. They now number more than 3,000 and represent a property valuation of more than $10,000,000 invested on behalf of Negro education in small communities. Mr. Sibley hopes to develop the rural school work of a somewhat similar nature in Liberia.

Race Problem — 1925. I.
Africa

The Railway Catering in Nigeria.

The work of catering for the Prince, the Governor and other members of the party on the Nigerian Railway from Lagos to the North and back was done from Government House, but the caterer to the railway, Mr. H. M. Saunders, was called on to cater for the press representatives, G.M. Railways, the Prince's staff, and different railway officers on the train. Mr. Saunders afterwards received from Messrs. Ward-Price ("Daily Mail"), Deakin ("Times"), Roger (Reuter) and Phair (official photographer) the following letter:—

Dear Mr. Saunders,—As your pampered guests on this most comfortable journey to the furthest point of tropical Africa we have yet reached, we cannot leave the Royal train without expressing our gratitude and admiration for the skill with which you have produced, in the depths of the Nigerian bush, fare worthy of a first-class hotel at Home. You have literally prepared for us a table in the wilderness. When we remember that even so elementary a form of nourishment as water has had to be supplied by strings of carriers at wayside stations, we appreciate with added zest the champagne frappé, the faisan a la durbar de Kano, the glacé Bostock and the noix-de-terre chop a la Tomlinson, which have emerged in such a miraculous manner from your little Ritz on wheels. Our expanded waistlines are a conspicuous testimonial to the efficiency of your department. Yours very repletely, G. Ward-Price, Ralph Deakin, K. B. Roger, W. J. Phair.

Mr. Saunders received the personal thanks of the Prince, who presented him with a handsome silver cigarette case. The other recipients of presents from H.R.H were the General Manager of Railways (sleeve links) Mr. Fenwick (traffic officer in charge of train, diamond tie-pin) and Inspecting Driver Kelly, a gold tie-pin.

Nigerian Cotton Crop and Prospects.

A correspondent writes from Ibadan on April 22nd:—Now that the cotton season in Northern Nigeria may be considered to be at an end, it is possible to make an estimate as to progress. It is considered that 24,000 bales will have been purchased in the Northern Provinces this season as against some 18,000 last year. Over 2,000 bales were destroyed in a fire at the B.C.G.A., Zaria, and export figures will be affected to this extent.

Large quantities of cotton grown in Nigeria, estimated by some at 4,000 bales per annum, find their way across the French frontier, whilst the amount consumed in the country may be anything up to 40 per cent. of the entire crop. Opinions as to this differ, but it is certain that for many purposes locally-woven cloth is preferred to the Manchester goods available. I have heard it suggested by people who ought to know that importing firms miss a good deal of business through failure to provide a better class of cotton material for Northern Nigeria. From personal observation I am convinced that the monied Hausa does not worry unduly about price when a particular article takes his fancy, and, as in most departments of trade, the person who can create and satisfy this demand is handsomely paid for his knowledge.

Although one would regret in some ways the passing of the picturesque Native spinner from Nigeria, the need of fresh markets for Lancashire is clamant, whilst this country requires more and more revenue to provide the communications essential to its development.

Although the increase in the cotton crop is not as large as many of us would like to see it, it is already becoming apparent that it is nearing the limit imposed upon its successful marketing by present transport facilities. That Government is alive to this is shown by the traffic surveys now in progress in the cotton areas, and the near future will undoubtedly see extensions of the railway to the west and north-west of Zaria, as well as further additions to the growing network of motorable roads.

NATIVE POLICY CRITICISED.

GENEVA, May 31.

Supporting Mr. Joshi's remarks of a few days ago about forced labour in Kenya, Mr. Lal, at the International Labour Conference, after contesting the right of the representatives of Great Britain to speak on behalf of the British Empire, quoted extracts from an East African newspaper of February, 1913, containing a statement by the Governor which Mr. Lal interpreted as an official ruling that taxation was the only method to compel the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. After citing other authorities to the same end, Mr. Lal concluded with an exhortation to make the International Labour Office a real support for the labouring masses of the world.—Reuter.

LIBERIA PROTESTS ARMS ZONE PLACE

GENEVA, June 12.—A protest from Liberia against being put into the prohibited arms zone was unheeded by the arms traffic conference today, but an American proposal was approved automatically releasing Liberia from the forbidden zone when she adopts legislation calculated to prevent gun-running into neighboring African districts.

A second striking incident at the session was a violent protest from Persia against inclusion of the Persian gulf and the Sea of Oman in the forbidden maritime zone. Persia insisted that it was a violation of her sovereignty. It is understood the British feel the gulf is the center of gun-running into India and the conference adopted the British view.

South African Justice:

At the Umtata Circuit Court every native irrrespective of the degree of his crime was put in the dock and made to stand during the hearing of his case. Then came the trial of two Europeans, one an attorney and the other a trader, both charged with the serious crime of subornation of perjury. No! not these these two. We suppose because they happened to possess white skins. They were provided with comfortable chairs and made to sit in front of the dock and remained sitting even when the Judge was summing up their cases.

It was extremely interesting to listen to the comments of the hundreds of raw natives who witnessed this regrettable racial discrimination.

BENGUELLA MOTOR EXTENSION

Through Route to the Congo from Lobito Bay.

Details are to hand regarding the motor service which has been inaugurated, already reported in THE AFRICAN WORLD, connecting the railhead of the Benguella Railway at Silva Porto with Chilonga on the Katanga Railway, and thus completing direct communication with the Congo from the West Coast.

The lorries comprising the service are comfortable cars, and accommodation is provided for passengers to sleep en route, while meals are also provided. The actual fare from Silva Porto to Chilonga is £30, with an extra charge of 10s. 6d. per day for food. The journey normally takes eight days, but this time can be accelerated if desired. It is a very interesting trip through beautiful country, and at the journey's end, via the Katanga Railway, excellent hotels and all the amenities of a fine modern town await the traveller at Elizabethville.

Mr. R. A. Duthie has undertaken the management of the motor link between Angola and the Congo for Messrs. Robert Williams and Co., and in his capable hands a reliable time table and every attention to the comfort of passengers will be assured. Communications for passages should be addressed to him, c.o. the British Vice-Consulate Lobito Portuguese West Africa.

COTTON IN MOZAMBIQUE.

"African World" Resident Correspondent.

LOURENCO MARQUES APRIL 27.

Great interest is being displayed here in the activities of the Premier Cotton Estates of South Africa, Ltd. This concern is the largest of its kind in the district of Lourenco Marques where it will work an area of 30,000 hectares the soil of which is rich, much of it being open ground, and practically ready for ploughing and sowing. The capital of the company is £200.000, fully paid up, and its working capital is said to be half that amount, while the Transvaal and London interests concerned indicate, not only the financial resources available, but also show the confidence in which the district is held as cotton-growing country. The property has a frontage to the Pretoria-Lourenco Marques railway, so that satisfactory transport and marketing, both by rail and sea, are assured, while the company's operations will tend to increase local land values and attract other capital for cotton development in the Province.

The terms of the concession granted to the company stipulate that during the first year £12.000 must be spent on development, with annual increases during the four following years to account for a total of £60.000. During the first year 2,000 hectares (about 20 square kilometres) will be placed under cotton, which should give a yield of from 400 to 500 tons of lint, expected to realise £60.000, and this is to be increased threefold in the course of three years, although the development scheme is for the cultivation of more than 6,000 hectares within that period.

There will be no labour difficulty, since although a sufficient number of natives do not live near the concession area, there is an abundance in the district which can be drawn upon. Compounds will have to be erected for their accommodation, and they will enter into a contract of service for six months.

LABOUR IN KENYA.

IN reply to a Parliamentary question Mr. Amery stated that the numbers of labourers, voluntary and compelled, engaged in railway construction in Kenya during March were:—Uasin Gishu railway completion—1,561 compelled and 5,861 voluntary labourers; Solai Valley branch—1,139 labourers, all voluntary; Thika-Nyeri railway—59 compelled and 1,483 voluntary; Kitale branch—2,616 labourers, all voluntary. Total, 1,620 compelled, 11,099 voluntary. Work on the Kenya section of the main extension into Uganda had been held up by the non-completion of the Uasin Gishu railway.

A Labour member who asked what penalties were imposed if industrial conscription was resisted by the Natives was referred to the Ordinance of 1921, the provisions of which had been discussed in the House of Commons.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy: Have I not heard the right hon. gentleman on public platforms denouncing the conscription of labour in Russia? (Laughter.)

Mr. Amery: I was never aware that I had the privilege of having the hon. and gallant member among my audience. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. B. Smith (Rotherhithe, Labour): Are we to understand that the Government are doing in our Colonies what they are afraid to do in England, conscripting labour wholesale? No answer was given.

COTTON TROUBLES IN NORTH TANGANYIKA.

From a Cotton Planter.

On the Tanga Railway.

THE northern districts of the Tanganyika Territory are hoping that under Sir Donald Cameron they will receive more sympathetic treatment than has been their lot in recent years. The Acting Governor's decision to visit Tanga, Moshi and Arusha was a decided gain, and he will now be able to speak with first hand knowledge.

At a time like the present, when a considerable amount of propaganda has been and is being conducted concerning the shortage of American cotton, the planters in the hinterland of Tanga claim that they are not getting from the Department of Agriculture the assistance for which they should be able to look. More than that, a goodly number have bewailed to me the fact that their efforts are obstructed. The general demand is for an agricultural officer who has had practical experience of cotton growing and ginning.

On both sides of the Tanga line a considerable quantity of cotton was grown in the past season, which finished about December, and quite a number of plantations have factories situated on the railway. In several cases the factories have three or more roller cotton gins, as the

owners had planted a considerable amount of cotton, generally between one year old sisal.

For some reason the Agricultural Department refused to allow these factories to gin cotton, the only alternatives for the owners being either to send their cotton to Moshi, a distance of nearly 200 kilometres in several cases, or to have it ginned at a small factory ten miles from a railway station, and consisting of one gin and a hand baler.

It is well known that saw-ginned cotton is lower in price than that prepared by a roller gin; further, the bales had afterwards to go to another factory to be repressed. With all this unnecessary expense, the profit (if any) obtained by the planters for their 1924 crop will be very small, and many will doubtless consider it not worth planting again. Cannot Government help rather than hinder?

LAGOS.

(From A Correspondent.)

On Saturday, the 28th March, the Executive Committee of the National Congress of British West Africa entertained its Members and the public in an At Home in the Committee Room of the Glover Memorial Hall.

The attendance was unsatisfactory, but judging from the total number of Members the position then assumed another aspect. A short programme was gone through but special mention should be made of the song rendered by Mrs. Abiodun and a recitation "The Minister to Tea" by Miss F. Doherty, but above all, a pianforte solo rendered by Miss. Carrena. Her tender fingers were the onject of attraction, running as they did on the keyboard as with electricity.

An appreciative address was given by Mr. E. M. E. Agbebi, M.A.B.C.M., L.L.B., Barrister-at-Law, who briefly classified the object of the Congress under three headings (1) Politics (2) Municipality and (3) Education. Under Education, he explained the system of education which they contemplate advocating for the youths of Lagos and rightly termed it "Vocational". The necessity of acquiring knowledge in the manufacture of commmodities for which our products are exported daily to Europe and the other Continents, invited the serious attention of a true citizen of the community. He warmly asked for strenuous support of the community towards the Congress.

Refreshments were served and every one participated cordially. The Philharmonic Band was in attendance and contributed elegant pieces which added to the success of the evening.

It is much to be regretted that the Congress through whose instrumentality the Franchise was granted to the British West African Colonies, of which, Nigeria was the first recipient, could be so neglected. It is a thousand pities that Nigeria, besides her vastness in area, is weak in matters political, and an early recognition of this by its leaders is most necessary.

There are about four Unions in town; the National Democratic Party seems to out-number the others. Its objects and aims could only be rightly compared with those of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society in the Gold Coast. But the fact remains that notwithstanding these, the objects of the Congress are enthusiastically carried out in the Gold Coast and the other two sister Colonies. The National Democratic Party first saw light in 1923 mainly inaugurated for the Poll day of 31st October 1923. Its nominees being successful, was reckoned as the leading Party, but the organisers, if I am permitted to say, have inadvertently forgotten all about the Congress. From all accounts Mr. Herbert Macauley is a born-leader of his people and if he could only explain the position to them and indicate signs of participation, they will, with deep sense of responsibiltiy adopt the same principle.

Unity is an element which no Nigerian believes in. The constant contradictions amongst the Editors of the local papers are an indication of this sentiment. Precious time is spent day after day and wasted which could have been beneficially utilized in the interest of the community—for "United we stand, divided we fall."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE question of East African Federation is once more to the fore, and it seems as if sooner or later action will be taken to bring it within practical politics. Our readers will remember that when last we touched upon the matter opinion was somewhat divided as to the feasibility of the scheme and its benefit to United East Africa. The sounder opinion, however, was in favour of keeping an open mind upon the matter and acting later in the light of experience and fuller discussion.

Native Recruiting for San Thome.

Commander Marinha de Campos is in Lourenco Marques negotiating in regard to the supply of natives for the cocoa and coffee planters on the Island of San Thome. The supply of natives from this province was stopped in 1921, as it was necessary to retain them for local development work, and since then greater numbers of natives are absorbed in local undertakings. Now that in this district cotton cultivation on a large scale has just begun a further call for natives will be made almost immediately. Seeing that some 70,000 natives go to the Transvaal every year it is more than likely that no permission will be given for natives to go to the West Coast

Fort Hare Graduation Day.

The second Graduation Ceremony took place at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, Alice on Saturday 9th May last, when one student, a Native of Umtata district in the Transkeian Territories, received his degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of South Africa.

There was an excellent gathering of notable Europeans and Natives at the stately Stewart Hall, Fort Hare to do honour to the third graduand of the College. The proceedings were opened with a prayer delivered in the Latin language by the Rt Rev. Bishop Smyth. Then the hymn "Sinalizwi lika Tixo" composed by Rev. John Bennie was sung by the under-graduates. The Rev James Henderson D.D., Chairman of the Governing Council delivered an impressive address, which we hope to publish in these columns in due course. Professor Alexander Kerr, M.A., Principal of the College, made a short address to introduce the orator of the day, Chief Inspector W. G. Bennie B.A., to the meeting. Then Professor D.D.T. Jabavu B.A., presented *Mr Milner Langa Lennox Kabane*, Bachelor of Arts of the University of South Africa, giving a brief history of his student days which have culminated in his obtaining the present degree in Education and Ethics as major subjects, with the subsidiary subjects of English Latin, Mathematics, Logic, Psychology and Chemistry. Mr. Bennie then gave Mr. Kabane his degree hood and certificate, following this with his Graduation Oration which we hope to publish later on. After the oration the Rev. Edwin Nowana L.A. (Fort Hare) proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Bennie, and this was seconded by the Rev Max Yergan B.A. (Shaw), and the ceremony was closed with prayer and benediction by the Rev. H. B. Coventry B.A., B.D. (Lond).

We heartily congratulate Professor Kerr upon the success that has attended his excellent management of the only African University College south of the Congo, and of which all the Bantu peoples are proud.

A Christian Government with non-Christian Acts.

The Nationalist Government of the day has capped its career of inconsistency by calling upon Parliament to make an amendment in the Constitution whereby a preamble will state that in all deliberations Parliament is guided by the principles of Christianity. Even in the very process of rushing through Parliament a flagrantly un-Christian bill aimed at humiliating the black subjects of the King by means of the Colour Bar Bill! Nothing more hypocritical can be imagined than this bare-faced procedure conducted with such utter absence of qualms of religious conscience. The Nationalist Dutch of this land are presumably taught every Sunday by their Dutch Reformed Church predikants the text "Love thy neighbour as thyself" and yet their practice of their religion is diametrically opposed to their lip profession. Their policy, judged by actual output of legislation, is distinctly anti-Native. Apart from this Colour Bar Bill we have the special taxes on native blankets which will bring unlimited misery on the natives of the whole land. We have also the taxation of the Cape Native raised three fold all in one jump. Fourthly we have the Wages Bill with its knife on the black man's throat. Fifthly there is the "Civilised Labour" policy to repress the aboriginal workers economically. Sixthly we have the Liquor Amendment Bill aimed at driving away hundreds of natives from employment in Hotels. Seventhly there is the Emergency Powers Bill giving the Minister of Labour authority to remove Native labourers from industrial areas. Eighthly there is the Criminal Procedure Bill to harass the Native in courts. Ninthly there is the persecution of Native women by the Minister of Justice who is seeking to revive a set of old and odious Pass Laws.

All this is now to be done, we are told, under the guidance of God and in the name of Christianity, by a Christian Parliament.

This is surely a blasphemous travesty of Christianity.

Race Problem - 1925. II (a)

Africa.

and acts of injustice against members of our race before the Courts of law in the respective Provinces of the Union, are of such a nature as to create disgust and disrespect of the white man's sense of justice. The ever-increasing measures to boycott native labour and the continued war of starvation against the entire native population, by masters of industries and farmers supported by the Government, has resulted in the shooting of black people at Port Elizabeth October 1920, the cold blooded murder of the Israelite sect at Bulhoek 24th May 1921; the shooting of natives on the Rand, March 1922; the bombing by aeroplanes of the Bondelzwarts tribes June 1922, and shooting of native residents by civilians in Bloemfontein April 1925, besides the wanton shooting of native peasants by unruly farmers. In a word, we are living under conditions altogether intolerable for law abiding people. In conclusion I most respectfully express the wish that the official visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the European community of South Africa will do much to mitigate the hardships and sufferings of His Majesty's native subjects in South Africa. God bless the Prince of Wales.

Bloemfontein Public Debacle.

The Bloemfontein public debacle remains still uncompassed, up to this time of writing. The inquiry has been concluded but the murderers have not been brought to book. The court of inquiry have been able to define or give name to some plays of some actors in the dramma, and already hundred and seven actors have been arrested and charged for doing or engaging in things that are forbidden by the law of the country. But there are other actors in the drama whose position the court did not define whose actions this court failed or purposely neglected to give names to. The class that was engaged in lawless and unauthorized actions which remains undefined to-day is that group of civilians who took part in the riot although they were not invited.

This class of people are charged with giving the order "fire" and with firing without authority to do so. Even after the magistrate and the officers, repeated their strict orders to the police and others not to fire except in self-defence, this unauthorised group of civilians continued to fire shots at random against authority and order. They broke into private holdings and made all that was possible to create the situation worse and bloody, as they even succeeded in causing the death of five men (natives) who they wantonly murdered in defiance of law and order.

Reviewing the situation from Sunday, the day of its outbreak, an innocent man was shot, and an innocent life lost to the natives, which is improbable that it would have been lost, had European civilians not taken the law in their hands, armed themselves, thereby committing the serious offences of the breach of peace, rushing into the location and there at, shooting natives indiscriminately, and by so doing provoking formidable resistance to the police and other authorised officials. The verdict of the court show this and no one would deny that, had the civilians not interfered, the orders of the constituted authority would have been carried out by the natives. That is, the police would have been obeyed. Further, there is not sufficient proof to impress the native public that the report of two police men, European and Native, was not an alarmist one as natives have their own version of the initial occurrences.

They say the trouble began between these two policemen and a small group of women, and the police were chased away by the native *women* and this caused excitement which led to most people coming out of their houses to the streets to see what was happening. The police force came when most of them were still out in the streets, and suddenly, they saw armed civilians come rushing and taking positions at different points in the village. Thus the natives were surprised, confused and perplexed. Eventually these civilian fired, and an innocent man was killed. Several civilians who were therefore should answer for the murder of this native. There is not one yeilders who could be singled out and charged with the murder of Debi. But they are all guilty of the highest kind of crimes. It is only because they are white that they are not charged with serious public violence of an unprecedented wantonness and bloody nature.

The crime of public violence is committed in many different ways and the way these civilians behaved is one of the ways which constitute this crime. By their action they endangered public peace and order, and by firing a location natives without authority to do so they have, by this action assailed established authorities and public officers.

It may be argued by others that the civilians took up arms and came to the assistance of the police because the natives had become lawless. But the fact remains that their action was as unauthorised as the natives rioters behaviour was and therefore these two wrongs could not make aright. Instead of making right what was wrong have created the situation more worse.

There have been strikes of insurgent nature and riots by Europeans but no civilians ever took the law upon themselves and came to fire upon the insurgents or rioters even where the civilians lives and property was endangered. The civilians have always kept to their proper places. They knew if they did any unauthorised action they would be committing breach of the law. Now the action of these few civilians in Bloemfontein, go so far as to foster the belief in natives that white people in South Africa were thirsting after the blood of natives.

If it were natives who shot white people without authority to do so, all white South Africa would have been up on its feet, pressing the authorities to take action at once to mete out justice to the wronged persons by punishing all the offenders. It would not matter who killed these four or five unfortunate natives, all who were engaged in this unauthorised action, were going to be held responsible and made answerable for the lives of those men. Men were seen by the magistrate and officers armed and taking aim at natives, who had no business to be armed nor to be at the spot they were seen. What other murderers are wanted besides these civilians who defied law and order!

According to European laws, anything which is contrary to the law is crime and punishable, and there is no reason why the law does not, in case of these lawless civilians take its cause. If the situation was properly and strictly handled, it is likely that, these civilians would hand over the murderers to the authorities. Of course, from the latter they were going to be freed by the jurors.

Self-Government.

"If we really want that development of the Native race which will prove of advantage to the European, we must see that we so govern the Native race that eventually he shall become able within his own territory to govern himself," said General Hertzog during his Butterworth speech last month.

These words go farther than any previous Prime Minister of the Union Government has dared to go,—so feeble has been the moral fibre of South African politics since fifteen years ago. To a detached observer they carry no particular moral credit except ordinary hard commonsense; but to the majority of South African Europeans they indicate an advanced view which can hardly be palatable to the Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal whites. Only the old Cape Colony entertained and practised this broad-minded policy which is here reserved for the mythical and illusive future time which some of our descendants may perhaps "eventually" see.

General Hertzog the astute politician knows full well that it is a promise he can never be called upon to fulfil under any set of circumstances imaginable in his life time. The promise will cost him nothing; on the contrary it endows him with moral prestige in the eyes of those Natives who trust in words, especially those "intellectuals" who are yearning for self-government. Dutchmen as a rule are not given to deceit and the notorious arts of political dodges; therefore we are inclined to give the Premier full value of credit for this expression of upright motives. He would not lightly risk unpopularity with his Orange Free State backveldters by airing such views if he really did not believe in them.

Whether the Native will ever have his own territory in which he shall govern himself without interruption is another matter, because the trend of the government policy does not yet point to that direction, and we are not credulous enough to expect that this dream will be realised in our day except by some supernatural intervention

We are curious to know from the Premier where is his prospective territory where the Native is destined to govern himself? Is the white farmer prepared to vacate his expansive farms in Natal and Transvaal to make this policy possible? That is the crucial question.

Correspondence.

NATIVE PREACHERS

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

Sir,—

Will you allow me a space in your paper to say a word of counsel to Native ministers and superintendents of Native circuits. It is a firm belief of most of Native preachers that unless a preacher makes the people to whom he is preaching weep, he is not competent enough and is regarded as lacking some qualification which he must acquire in order to become a good preacher. So you will find the preacher shouting, speaking in a sanctimonious voice, singing oftener than it is required just to move his audience to tears. A preacher of that kind trusts more in his ability than in God's help. He seems to forget that he is God's messenger, and, God's messengers are directed and helped by God in the delivery of messages. My aim in writing this article is to point out what I think would greatly help these preachers who are not sufficiently educated to read English, because this mistake is not uncommon among that particular class of preachers.

This is a mistake that ought to have been rectified by Native ministers Most of our preachers think that the Holy Bible is the only book to be read by them. When they read it they find a task of insurmountable difficulty to understand most of the passages contained in it, and the result is that they take them to mean quite a different thing from the right meaning which if preached in the hearing of the people who have a right understanding of the moral taught by the passage will cause them to be brought before the Preachers' Meeting to give clarification of their sermons which if unsatisfactory might cause them to be excommunicated from preaching entirely. The excommunication of these preachers might cause them to have the church because they are ignorant of the fact that if they were allowed to go on preaching their sermons would bring more harm than help to the church.

This inability to preach is caused by the scarcity of books written in native languages containing sermons. There are religious books written by great preachers which, if they were translated into Native languages would improve the preaching in Native churches very greatly. It is the duty of the Native ministers to see that books of that kind are translated into native languages to enable their preachers to read good sermons. When they read these good sermons they will surely preach sermons that will draw people to church instead of preaching disgusting and wearisome sermons. I have listened to many preachers and I can say with almost certainty that nine preachers out of ten will never close the service without alluding to the eternal torment of the doomed people on the last day of which Rutherford says it is unreasonable repugnant to justice, contrary to the principles of love and therefore the doctrine of Satan the serpent.

W. N. DUBA,

Native Affairs and Recruiters.

That there was any connection between the government Native Affairs Department and Native labour recruiters was suggested by an official meeting of Natives the Additional Magistrate of King Williamstown had convened at Tsomacha and Jali's locations on Saturday, 17th October. A large gathering of the Imidushane tribe had collected when the magistrate arrived on the scene at Tsomacha Police Camp accompanied by a car-load of white labour recruiters for the sugar plantations. The magistrate informed the Natives, among other things, that he had received complaints from white traders that natives were buying mealies from certain persons other than themselves. He warned the people not to have any dealings with such persons; but at the same time did not disclose the names of such persons who, he asserted, were a danger to the Natives. The people, he emphasised, should only buy mealies from the white traders. After addressing the people briefly, the magistrate said he would now allow the recruiters to address them Thus an official government meeting suddenly was commuted into a recruiting rally, and offers of 1/- and 1/6 per day at the sugar estates in Natal came forth in loud tones from the platform. The same order of things was followed at Jali's location, Chalumna, where there was hardly anything discharged from the official side, the bulk of business falling to the recruiters' lot. It may be stated that the presence of certain Natives at this meeting was challenged by the magistrate, and this ended in one of them being told to retire as he did not belong to Jali's tribe. Needless to say this caused a feeling of curiosity among the Natives; who, for probably the first time, witnessed the expulsion of some of their people from an ostensibly public meeting for no apparent reason beyond that of not being local Natives. Whether this course of events and trend of official dictation is to be continued throughout the King Williamstown crown locations we are not at present aware; but the superior authorities will certainly have to investigate and be asked to state whether there is any cause for this amalgamation of the Natives Affairs Department with recruiting agencies throughout the country, and the raising of an alarm among Natives for the benefit of white traders. The interests of recruiters, as far as Natives are concerned, will be found in most instances to be at variance with the objects for which the government created a Native Affairs Department to safeguard the welfare of Natives. That is the viewpoint of Natives, and it is left to the government to explain how these corporations (including white traders) can work hand in hand for the benefit of our people, and at the same time enjoy the respect and confidence of the Natives.

The North Eastern Native Teachers' Association.

(Contributed.)

On the 10th October 1925, a conference of the above-named association was held in Queenstown, Mr Ben. Liphoko (President) presided At the outset he introduced the Mayor (Councillor Morris, saying it was a pleasure to him to announce the presence of the Mayor who had accepted an invitation by the teachers to open the conference. Continuing, he said, the Mayor is highly respected by Queenstown natives on account of his fairness to all peoples. We hope and trust that you will do all in your power to help us,

The Mayor rose amid applause and started by saying that the invitation letter stated that he was to open the conference, but now he understands that he is expected to deliver an address. I welcome to Queenstown all the teachers who took the occasion to attend the conference, and I wish you every prosperity in your discussions, but be careful of passing impossible resolutions, weigh every resolution you pass. My motto is equal rights to all peoples. I am doing all in my power to improve your location. My warning to you is, do not take seriously all that is uttered by agitators, as they will lead your nation to destruction Teach your children the dignity of labour, remembering that they are the future leaders of your people

Acting on the President's request Mr H Ben Mazwi proposed a vote of thanks. Indeed, agigation we have among our people, but I am of opinion that we need agitators so as to impress on the minds of our people agitation for our rights and also to keep the Government thinking about us. We are greatly indebted to you, Sir, for the untiring spirit you show, endeavouring to help us To day we are glad to hear that the Hall which has been a long felt necessity is going to be erected before very long.

When Mr M. R. Masabalala seconded he paid tribute to the Mayor's endeavours and corroborated Mr Mazwi's statement about agitators. He said white folks have made it their regular habit to promise and never fulfill. Nevertheless the Mayor was the type of man the natives wish for. I thank you Sir.

The Mayor retired for work. The time was devoted to the deliberations of the agenda which was lengthy; the most important items of the agenda were: [1] Correspondence which included the reading of minutes of the joint committee of the S.A.T.A; A.E.T.N I; and C.N T A.

[2] The report of delegates to to the C.N.T A by Messrs. P. B. Makalima and Mothupi

[3] Resolutions

[4] Venue of next meeting.

The centres represented were [1] Cathcart: Mr A Mejane, [2] Queenstown: All present 3] Bull Hoek: Mr Skepu, [4] Toise Kraal: Mr. Sipopo, [5] Strekstroom: Mr. Sigatya and Miss G. A. Matshikiza

Race Problem-1925 II(8)

Africa.

[6] Moltero, Mr. C. M. Mahlatshana, [7] Burghersdorp: essrs Motlhupi and Sohji and Miss J Sodela.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR. IMVO.

Sir,

Dr. Loram, of the Native Affairs Commission, delivered a striking address before the Dutch Reformed Church Synod held in Cape Town: It was reported in the "Cape Times" of November, 6th 1924. The doctor emphasised the need for a better understanding between the white and black races of South Africa. He placed before the ministers and elders of that leading Church in South Africa the greatest problem which confronted this country. The doctor also paid a tribute to the Dutch Reformed Church for the way it had assisted to solve the native problem.

Well, Mr Editor, many of the native people, and I, for one, also our European well-wishers, knew practically nothing about the good work of the Dutch Reformed Church among the Bantu throughout this country until Dr. Loram revealed it to us. Since that important speech was made many of our people have better feeling and respect for that great Church. Dr Loram nobly and fearlessly touched on vital points. He appealed to the Dutch speaking people through their Church representatives throughout South Africa that they should cease to allow their children to make distinction between "mense and kafirs." The doctor gave his hearers a keynote for their children towards the natives, which is to be a respecting of natives, and that young Europeans should extend the respect to the native women.

Sir, Dr. Loram was expressing our mind. We ask for better understanding between white and black in the State, Church and socially.

The address was appreciated highly by our people, and I therefore earnestly suggest that it be reprinted in a booklet and be distributed to all interested in public affairs.

The "Cape Times" of June 3rd 1925, reported Dr. Loram's address at Rondebosch on 'The conflict of **European Law with Native Custom," when he appealed for tolerance. . . . . This could be attached to the great speech and kept for our children and the future generations, that they may co-operate in working for a better understandiug between white and black. I feel sure that such a booklet would be for the good of both our people and the whites.** I am, etc.

JAMES M. MOLEBALOA,
24 Grey Street,
Worcester,
28th September 1925.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.

"THOSE TENTATIVE PROPOSALS."

Sir,—

May I through the medium of your columns throw out a word of warning on what is likely to come about in the eagerly awaited proposals of General Hertzog on Native Affairs. There is something in the wind. The Cape Native vote is in danger. The situation needs more than ordinary vigilance. What Mr. F. W. Peyers, K.C., the Minister of Mines has characterised, as "tentative" proposals in his recent speech at Burghersdorp in the Cape Nationalist Congress is a wolf in a sheepskin. These "tentative" proposals will pretend to grant to Natives throughout the Union the right to elect a certain number of representatives in the Union Parliament, these representatives to be Europeans; and according to Mr. Tielman Ross the Minister of Justice, these representatives elected by Natives will sit in Parliament in an advisory capacity only. Natives will not vote alongside with Europeans as they now do in the Cape. They will vote in groups or according to certain areas to be defined.

According to the South Africa Act, the native vote in the Cape can only be abolished by a vote in the Union Parliament of a two-thirds majority. In the way the present Parliament is composed, this two thirds majority cannot be easily got. A subtle method is being attempted by pretending to say that representation in Parliament of Natives will be extended to the whole Union in conformity with the general policy of segregation. The Blacks will have their representatives elected by themselves as will do the whites. A suggestion plausible enough for the other Parties to easily accept—a bait for segregationist Natives! In fact these "tentative" proposals amount to a gift of a stone in the name of bread.

What does it all mean? It means that in the bargain the Native vote in the Cape will go. Natives will have a mere right to elect men to Parliament who will sit as puppets or as "advisers" to use a euphimistic word) —quite a worthless proposition. In turn the Nationalists hope to clear the way to capture at elections certain ten constituencies in the Cape in which the Native Vote is the deciding factor. They realise that so long as this position remains they had little chance to wipe out the S.A.P. in those constituencies. To add to the bargain, the franchise will be extended to the Coloured peoples throughout the Union. Why? Because it is believed that their political sympathies are with the Nationalists. In this way the Nationalist Party would remain in power as the Governing Party for a long time. All at the expense of the Native Vote!!

I am neither S.A.P., Labour or Nationalist. Being a Northener I have no right to the Vote. It seems to me quite within practical politics for the Parties to make a bargain on the Native Vote. **The S.A.P. leaders who are being consulted by General Hertzog, in his "tentative" proposals may be induced** in some way to agree and sell away the Native Vote by allowing a two-thirds majority to be registered in Parliament. It is ripe time for the Bantu Peoples to make it known *NOW* and emphatically, that they will not under any circumstances tolerate the abolition of their rights. The sooner it is spoken the better.

Any proposals that tend to nullify or weaken the Native Vote in the Cape must be fought tooth and nail. It is not the first time that similar proposals have been made. The Native Affairs Administration Bill of 1917 intended to create Councils and through these, legislation in Native Affairs be done by Proclamations. During my tour in the Eastern Provinces of the Cape in 1918 I warned Native Voters to see that their birthright the Vote was not whittled away by indirect means. Let us watch what is coming. TO BE FOREWARNED IS TO BE FOREARMED.

R. W. M.

The Premier and the Lands Act 1913.

DURING his visit to Matatiele, General Hertzog stated that the Land Act of 1913 "nowhere authorised expropriation, but left matters in statu quo, and only demanded that in case alienation should take place certain of the provisions of the Act had to be complied with if within a Native area." If ever proof was required to demonstrate the essential injustice of the Parliament of South Africa towards Natives, we have it in the above quotation. Under the Lands Act eighty-eight per cent of the Union is assigned to less than two million Europeans, and the remaining twelve to the four and a half million blacks. The Act, **as it is administered to day, makes this a permanent position.** And yet the Premier affects surprise when Dr Rubusana urges him to repeal the Act. Before the Act came into being in 1913 the Natives of the Transvaal were buying land right and left, but the Government rushed the Act with immoral haste to stop the process, and in order to limit the Natives to the statu quo; and the justification for this is the protection of the self-same Natives! Surely all lawyers, including the Prime Minister himself, must chuckle in their stomachs (as did Brother Fox when he caught Brother Rabbit) when they see such statements as these in cold print, based, as they are, on the premise that the Native of South Africa is destitute of reasoning powers.

All thinking men, white and black, admit that *the Land Act without the Committee Areas* amounts to nothing less than a literal and barefaced robbery of the rights of African Natives committed by the worst elements of the European legislators of this land of legislative perversity. The Griqua and Transkei arguments are merest camouflage for, (a) the Griquas are a bastard race devoid of the backbone shown by the Transvaal landbuying Basuto and Chief Zibi; and (b) the Transkei, as the Rev. Brownlee J. Ross has so ably put the argument in our contemporary the *Daily Dispatch* of 15th instant, is in no sense a native territory with a colour bar against the whites, but a Government reserve where Natives have no freehold property rights. They are only quitrent squatters!

We would recommend the Prime Minister and all others of his way of thinking on territorial segregation, to peruse the Land Question resolutions passed by the 1923 European-Bantu Conference held under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church Federal Council (printed in a shilling booklet) and they will rub their eyes in disillusionment.

South African Native College.

FORT HARE, ALICE, C. P.

Native, Coloured and Indian students who intend to begin study in February 1926 should at once make application to the Principal for conditional enrolment.

The courses of study open to students are:—

AFTER MATRICULATION:

1. A three years' course for the B.A. Degree.
2. A two years' course for the College Diploma in Education
3. A one year course in physics, Chemistry, Botany and Zoology qualifying for entrance upon a Medical Course overseas.

BELOW MATRICULATION:

4. A two years' course for the Matriculation Certificate.
5. A three years' course in

Agriculture.

6. A three years' course in Business Methods.

7. Theological course in Denominational Hostels.

Further information as to fees, entrance qualifications etc. to be had from

The Principal,
S. A. NATIVE COLLEGE,
FORT HARE,
ALICE, C. P.

THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA.

Mr. Meek's Engrossing Volumes.

Every book that adds to our knowledge of African native life, customs, and traditions is to be welcomed. On this ground alone there would be a welcome for "The Northern Tribes of Nigeria," by C. K. Meek, B.A., F.R.G.S., published in two volumes by the Oxford University Press at 36s. net. But Mr. Meek's great work is worthy of much more than a formal recognition, for it is one of those rare compilations that discuss and explain in intimate detail the habits and customs of the people with which it deals. It reveals their hopes and fears, their superstitions and religious ideas on life and death, their human frailties, and the general manner of their life, adding vastly to our knowledge of a primitive people which enables us to understand them better and so be in a position to guide them without trampling on their cherished ideas and traditions.

These two volumes will, therefore, be read with interest, pleasure, and profit by many people besides those interested in Nigeria. Originally the work was intended to be a census report for the Northern Provinces of Nigeria for 1921, but the census has been relegated to a secondary position and the ethnographical report occupies the major part of the books. The author must have studied, observed, and listened with great perseverance to present such a complete and absorbing work, even although it is based partly on reports made to the Nigerian Government by various administrative officers.

Mr. Meek devotes the opening chapter to a comprehensive account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, which enables the general reader to visualise the country and appreciate more fully the chapters which follow. These deal with the ethnic types, history and tradition, economic life and industries, social organisation, and Government and law. It should be remembered that he is writing about a territory of 250,000 square miles, with a population of ten million people.

The principal tribes are the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe, and Yoruba, the majority of whom are comparatively highly civilised and of the Mohammedan religion. There are over 250 other tribes, most of whom are animists. The most widely distributed tribe—or, rather, nation—is the Hausa, which socially and economically may be said to dominate the country, there being over 3,300,000 of this tribe.

One of the best of many interesting chapters is that dealing with social organisation, which teems with human interest. This discusses totemism, lycanthropy, exogamy, marriage, artificial relationships, dissolution of marriage, mother-right, and family and larger social groupings. There are many items we should like to quote, but space forbids.

In his chapter on ethnic types Mr. Meek describes the racial elements, types of villages and houses, clothing and ornaments (conditions vary from the state of absolute nakedness to the gaudy and highly fashionable manufactured clothing), and tribal marks. Not less interesting is the chapter describing economic life and industries, each individual industry being dealt with in detail.

Volume two contains a long and engrossing account of the religion of these people, full of most valuable information on their beliefs, practices, and ceremonies. This is followed by a section on language and lore, the chapter on the languages being contributed by Mr. N. W. Thomas, M.A. In this volume also Mr. Meek has a chapter giving his ethnological conclusions.

Sir Hugh Clifford, in a preface, states that the whole social life of the people has undergone, in the last quarter of a century, a series of revolutionary transformations, and with the coming of new ideas, new ambitions, and aspirations, and a new outlook upon life, it is almost incredible how short a time is needed for the obliteration even of the memory of old-world customs and of ancient landmarks among a primitive people.

The volumes are well illustrated by original photographs and maps.

GOLD COAST POLICE AND TRIAL BY JURY.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—All jurists agree that the chief object of Criminal Law should be the elevation of the moral standard of the less orderly classes of the community. The weapon by means of which this object is attained is what is legally known as "sanctions" or punishment. The purpose of criminal punishment, therefore, must be (1) reformative, (2) deterrent, (3) preventive, these requirements being necessary if moral standards are to be elevated. There used to exist at one time the notion that criminal punishment should also be retributive. This, however, seems so objectionable to modern ethical conceptions that it is now hardly worth considering. The three requirements enumerated above are, however, of the utmost importance, as being the bases on which criminal justice is administered. Any system of criminal law which fails to satisfy these requirements is apparently a failure.

The last of these requirements, namely, preventive, is easily satisfied. We have examples of that in sentences of death and imprisonment for life. A person liable to such penalties has, of course, no chance of repeating the crime for which he has been sentenced, or any other.

The attainment of the first two requirements, namely, reformative and deterrent, calls for much ingenuity. Obviously, one cannot reform a person against his will, nor can one deter people from doing things, for any appreciable length of time, by the mere threat of punishment. The fear of physical punishment alone may deter for a short time, but this being generally a temporary disadvantage, is bound to be outweighed by considerations of more durable advantages, if any, to be enjoyed after the punishment. To deter and reform effectively, something more than the fear of physical punishment is needed; the psychology of the people must be studied, and as far as possible nothing should be done which savours of persecution.

Acts bearing the least semblance of persecution inevitably arouse public sympathy in favour of a person convicted of a criminal offence. The convict thus becomes a sort of a hero in eyes of the public, instead of a villain. Herd-psychology, when once formed, knows no bounds, and other members of the community may commit the same crime without compunction. The person convicted does not reform his ways, because he shares the herd-psychology of the community that he has been the unfortunate object of persecution, and criminal justice, therefore, falls to the ground. This caution to avoid any semblance of persecution is especially necessary where a community is governed by a foreign Power, as is the case in West Africa. The cry of persecution, if raised, is readily taken up by the community, and it becomes herd-psychology. Ostracism of the criminal by the public, a most potent weapon of reform and deterrent, is easily lost as a consequence.

Now, in view of statements which have appeared in WEST AFRICA to the effect that at the Gold Coast, criminal punishment does not seem to have any real effect on evil-doers, an inquiry into the administration of criminal justice in that country seems necessary, to show how far the administration conforms with the requirements set out herein (if my conclusions are right).

The proper administration of criminal justice consists, in my opinion, of (1) an efficient police system, and (2) a properly constituted tribunal to administer the criminal law. The police system should be such as to give an evildoer practically no chance of escape. Otherwise people commit crimes and trust to the chance of escape from arrest and subsequent punishment. I sometimes wonder, when I read in the English papers criticisms of the English police, what people would have thought if they had here the police system of the Gold Coast. There, the police, instead of confining themselves to the investigation and detection of crime, spend most of their time in semi-military activities. In fact, the system could be fittingly described as a semi-military establishment. The men are taught to drill in real military fashion; they hold manœuvres and engage in mock-battles, march through the streets with shouldered rifles to the accompaniment of bugles, etc. They are in my opinion more fitted for military duties than ordinary police duties. The consequence is that the chances of escape for evildoers are immumerable. The force is moreover composed mostly of uneducated men, often of bad repute, and with no sense of duty or justice, who use their office to avenge private quarrels and wrongs. It is a common sight to find in the market places of the big towns, policemen bullying poor women and confiscating their things. One dare not interfere, as such an act would instantly land one in a police station, with the probability of a fine based on a false charge proffered by the policeman. Naturally the public has grown to regard the police as agents of terror instead of peace, and anyone who gets into the hands of the police at once becomes an object of sympathy. Hence if he escapes immediate arrest, no one would be found willing to assist in his capture, except in extreme cases of violence and robbery or burglary. From the above it will be seen that the wonder is that more crimes are not committed.

Now come the courts of criminal law. There is no doubt that those who administer the law in the court do their best to give a prisoner a fair trial. But existing anomalies such as trial by assessors and trial of prisoners in capital cases, without the assistance of juries, cannot fail to rob criminal justice of its desired end. Trial by jury is a fundamental principle of the administration of British justice. This fact is well known to every British West African, and its denial naturally gives rise to suspicions of persecution. Trial by jury has this advantage in that the innocence or guilt of an accused person is established by the verdict of his fellow-citizens. The verdict as such has public opinion behind it, and therefore is very unlikely to arouse public sympathy in favour of the accused if he is convicted. The history of criminology shows that at times when the criminal law has been considered harsh by the public the commission of crimes tends to increase. That the West African public regards the present system of criminal justice as persecutory is shown by recent cases where accused persons have elected to go to prison without offering any defence, rather than be tried under the existing system—an instance of how easily herd-psychology is formed, even on erroneous grounds.

Facts revealed by the letter of "For Better, for Worse," published in WEST AFRICA, sometime ago, of affairs on the Gold Coast, if true, are disconcerting. He would, however, in my opinion have done a greater service if he had looked for the causes in directions other than he did. If lawyers are to be blamed for defending accused persons, what is the use of their existence? His letter reveals his own business inabilities rather than any bad conduct on the part of lawyers. No sensible business person, whatever his race or country, would trust his money to a stranger without taking sufficient security for it, and he has himself to blame if he loses his money.

of the anomalies mentioned in this letter may
a panacea for crime into West Africa, but it would
ments of criminal law that it is being given a fair

R. S. BLAY.

achieve its object.—Yours truly,
ty College, London, Dec. 15.

"WORK OR TROT" FOR AFRICANS

[By Cable to The Chicago Defender]

Town, South Africa, Dec. 18.—It will be work or trot
South Africans if the penal bill just made public by the
of labor is passed at the next parliament session. The
provides deportation for all vagrants.
he vast powers conferred by the new bill, the govern-
n ship away to a labor colony for from one to five
y man who applies to the state for a job and then
to accept what is offered him. Men accepting work
ears any misconduct, refuses to accept what is offered him. Men accepting work
measure provides deportation for all vagrants.
minister of labor is passed at the next parliament session. The
for the South Africans if the penal bill just made public by the
Cape Town, South Africa, Dec. 18.—It will be work or trot

Agriculture.

6. A three years' course in Business Methods.

7. Theological course in Denominational Hostels.

Further information as to fees, entrance qualifications etc. to be had from

The Principal,
S. A. NATIVE COLLEGE,
FORT HARE,
ALICE, C. P.

THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA.

Mr. Meek's Engrossing Volumes.

Every book that adds to our knowledge of African native life, customs, and traditions is to be welcomed. On this ground alone there would be a welcome for "The Northern Tribes of Nigeria," by C. K. Meek, B.A., F.R.G.S., published in two volumes by the Oxford University Press at 36s. net. But Mr. Meek's great work is worthy of much more than a formal recognition, for it is one of those rare compilations that discuss and explain in intimate detail the habits and customs of the people with which it deals. It reveals their hopes and fears, superstitions and delusions, ideas on life and death, their human frailties, and the general manner of their life, adding vastly to our knowledge of a primitive people which enables us to understand them better and so be in a position to guide them without trampling on their cherished ideas and traditions.

These two volumes will, therefore, be read with interest, pleasure, and profit by many people besides those interested in Nigeria. Originally the work was intended to be a census report for the Northern Provinces of Nigeria for 1921, but the census has been relegated to a secondary position and the ethnographical report occupies the major part of the books. The author must have studied, observed, and listened with great perseverance to present such a complete and absorbing work, even although it is based partly on reports made to the Nigerian Government by various administrative officers.

Mr. Meek devotes the opening chapter to a comprehensive account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, which enables the general reader to visualise the country and appreciate more fully the chapters which follow. These deal with the ethnic types, history and tradition, economic life and industries, social organisation, and Government and law. It should be remembered that he is writing about a territory of 250,000 square miles, with a population of ten million people.

The principal tribes are the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe, and Yoruba, the majority of whom are comparatively highly civilised and of the Mohammedan religion. There are over 250 other tribes, most of whom are animists. The most widely distributed tribe—or, rather, nation—is the Hausa, which socially and economically may be said to dominate the country, there being over 3,300,000 of this tribe.

One of the best of many interesting chapters is that dealing with social organisation, which teems with human interest. This discusses totemism, lycanthropy, exogamy, marriage, artificial relationships, dissolution of marriage, mother-right, and family and larger social groupings. There are many items we should like to quote, but space forbids.

In his chapter on ethnic types Mr. Meek describes the racial elements, types of villages and houses, clothing and ornaments (conditions vary from the state of absolute nakedness to the gaudy and highly fashionable manufactured clothing), and tribal marks. Not less interesting is the chapter describing economic life and industries, each individual industry being dealt with in detail.

Volume two contains a long and engrossing account of the religion of these people, full of most valuable information on their beliefs, practices, and ceremonies. This is followed by a section on language and lore, the chapter on the languages being contributed by Mr. N. W. Thomas, M.A. In this volume also Mr. Meek has a chapter giving his ethnological conclusions.

Sir Hugh Clifford, in a preface, states that the whole social life of the people has undergone, in the last quarter of a century, a series of revolutionary transformations, and with the coming of new ideas, new ambitions, and aspirations, and a new outlook upon life, it is almost incredible how short a time is needed for the obliteration even of the memory of old-world customs and of ancient landmarks among a primitive people.

The volumes are well illustrated by original photographs and maps.

GOLD COAST POLICE AND TRIAL BY JURY.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—All jurists agree that the chief object of Criminal Law should be the elevation of the moral standard of the less orderly classes of the community. The weapon by means of which this object is attained is what is legally known as "sanctions" or punishment. The purpose of criminal punishment, therefore, must be (1) reformative, (2) deterrent, (3) preventive, these requirements being necessary if moral standards are to be elevated. There used to exist at one time the notion that criminal punishment should also be retributive. This, however, seems so objectionable to modern ethical conceptions that it is now hardly worth considering. The three requirements enumerated above are, however, of the utmost importance, as being the bases on which criminal justice is administered. Any system of criminal law which fails to satisfy these requirements is apparently a failure.

The last of these requirements, namely, preventive, is easily satisfied. We have examples of that in sentences of death and imprisonment for life. A person liable to such penalties has, of course, no chance of repeating the crime for which he has been sentenced, or any other.

The attainment of the first two requirements, namely, reformative and deterrent, calls for much ingenuity. Obviously, one cannot reform a person against his will, nor can one deter people from doing things, for any appreciable length of time, by the mere threat of punishment. The fear of physical punishment alone may deter for a short time, but this being generally a temporary disadvantage, is bound to be outweighed by considerations of more durable advantages, if any, to be enjoyed after the punishment. To deter and reform effectively, something more than the fear of physical punishment is needed; the psychology of the people must be studied, and as far as possible nothing should be done which savours of persecution.

Acts bearing the least semblance of persecution inevitably arouse public sympathy in favour of a person convicted of a criminal offence. The convict thus becomes a sort of a hero in eyes of the public, instead of a villain. Herd-psychology, when once formed, knows no bounds, and other members of the community may commit the same crime without compunction. The person convicted does not reform his ways, because he shares the herd-psychology of the community that he has been the unfortunate object of persecution, and criminal justice, therefore, falls to the ground. This caution to avoid any semblance of persecution is especially necessary where a community is governed by a foreign Power, as is the case in West Africa. The cry of persecution, if raised, is readily taken up by the community, and it becomes herd-psychology. Ostracism of the criminal by the public, a most potent weapon of reform and deterrent, is easily lost as a consequence.

Now, in view of statements which have appeared in WEST AFRICA to the effect that at the Gold Coast, criminal punishment does not seem to have any real effect on evil-doers, an inquiry into the administration of criminal justice in that country seems necessary, to show how far the administration conforms with the requirements set out herein (if my conclusions are right).

The proper administration of criminal justice consists, in my opinion, of (1) an efficient police system, and (2) a properly constituted tribunal to administer the criminal law. The police system should be such as to give an evildoer practically no chance of escape. Otherwise people commit crimes and trust to the chance of escape from arrest and subsequent punishment. I sometimes wonder, when I read in the English papers criticisms of the English police, what people would have thought if they had here the police system of the Gold Coast. There, the police, instead of confining themselves to the investigation and detection of crime, spend most of their time in semi-military activities. In fact, the system could be fittingly described as a semi-military establishment. The men are taught to drill in real military fashion; they hold manœuvres and engage in mock-battles, march through the streets with shouldered rifles to the accompaniment of bugles, etc. They are in my opinion more fitted for military duties than ordinary police duties. The consequence is that the chances of escape for evildoers are immumerable. The force is moreover composed mostly of uneducated men, often of bad repute, and with no sense of duty or justice, who use their office to avenge private quarrels and wrongs. It is a common sight to find in the market places of the big towns, policemen bullying poor women and confiscating their things. One dare not interfere, as such an act would instantly land one in a police station, with the probability of a fine based on a false charge proffered by the policeman. Naturally the public has grown to regard the police as agents of terror instead of peace, and anyone who gets into the hands of the police at once becomes an object of sympathy. Hence if he escapes immediate arrest, no one would be found willing to assist in his capture, except in extreme cases of violence and robbery or burglary. From the above it will be seen that the wonder is that more crimes are not committed.

Now come the courts of criminal law. There is no doubt that those who administer the law in the court do their best to give a prisoner a fair trial. But existing anomalies such as trial by assessors and trial of prisoners in capital cases, without the assistance of juries, cannot fail to rob criminal justice of its desired end. Trial by jury is a fundamental principle of the administration of British justice. This fact is well known to every British West African, and its denial naturally gives rise to suspicions of persecution. Trial by jury has this advantage in that the innocence or guilt of an accused person is established by the verdict of his fellow-citizens. The verdict as such has public opinion behind it, and therefore is very unlikely to arouse public sympathy in favour of the accused if he is convicted. The history of criminology shows that at times when the criminal law has been considered harsh by the public the commission of crimes tends to increase. That the West African public regards the present system of criminal justice as persecutory is shown by recent cases where accused persons have elected to go to prison without offering any defence, rather than be tried under the existing system—an instance of how easily herd-psychology is formed, even on erroneous grounds.

Facts revealed by the letter of "For Better, for Worse," published in WEST AFRICA, sometime ago, of affairs on the Gold Coast, if true, are disconcerting. He would, however, in my opinion have done a greater service if he had looked for the causes in directions other than he did. If lawyers are to be blamed for defending accused persons, what is the use of their existence? His letter reveals his own business inabilities rather than any bad conduct on the part of lawyers. No sensible business person, whatever his race or country, would trust his money to a stranger without taking sufficient security for it, and he has himself to blame if he loses his money.

nomalies mentioned in this letter may
or crime into West Africa, but it would
minal law that it is being given a fair
object.—Yours truly,
London, Dec. 15. R. S. BLAY.

RK OR TROT" FOR AFRICANS

[By Cable to The Chicago Defender]

South Africa, Dec. 18.—It will be work or trot
ricans if the penal bill just made public by the
is passed at the next parliament session. The
deportation to penal colonies for all vagrants.
powers conferred by the new bill, the govern-
way to a labor colony for from one to five
who applies to the state for a job and then
t what is offered him. Men accepting work
ng up to their contracts will also have to leave

Race Problem—1925. I

Africa.

THE CESSION OF JUBALAND.

THE Anglo-Italian Treaty (East African Territories) Bill, which has passed its third reading in the House of Commons, and which gives effect to the secret Pact of London concluded with Italy in 1915, is noteworthy for several reasons.

Firstly, because a claim was made, we believe for the first time, that a Treaty should, before coming into effect, be submitted by Great Britain to the Legislative Council of Kenya Colony for approval; secondly, because during the debate the Colonial Secretary made an unequivocal declaration that self-government by Kenya was not to be thought of in the near future; thirdly, as evidencing the ignorance of some M.P's., who appeared to imagine that the nomad Somali were capable of exercising the franchise; fourthly, for an apology from Mr. Amery to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who, although consulted in the earlier stages, had not been kept in touch with all the later negotiations; fifthly, for an apparently universal failure on the part of members to appreciate the value of the territory in question.

East Africa

Mr. Amery's picturesque statement, that the fifteen or sixteen thousand Somali inhabitants of the Province were "in much the same stage of development as the late owner of the Taungs skull," was much more accurate than the hyperbole of Mr. Fisher, who talked of this "miserable strip of scorching African territory." No one appears to have mentioned the loss of the broad Juba River, which, overflowing its banks twice a year, offers wonderful cotton-growing potentialities. Direct ingress to Abyssinia from the Indian Ocean by the waterway is another gain to Italy which passed without comment, though many East Africans believe that to have been the chief aim of Italy.

Several members contended that the consent of the Natives should be a condition of the transfer, but though that claim is generally absurd in dealing with primitive peoples, someone might have scored a point in this case, for Somali migration from Italian into British territory has been noticeable for some time past; that is surely evidence of Native preference. None of the critics of the Bill had studied the subject enough to know these facts.

That British traders wishing to retain their nationality should have to leave Jubaland within twelve months seems an unfortunate and unnecessary provision, particularly as the Colonial Secretary made it clear that by leaving the territory and returning in a day or two as new British arrivals their nationality would not be affected. Why, then submit them to this inconvenience?

NEW YORK TIMES WORLD
FEBRUARY 15, 1925

ABYSSINIAN REGENT TRUE MODERNIST, ASSERTS DR. JONES

Chairman of Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission Tells of Banquet.

By Lester A. Walton

Raz Teffari, Prince Regent of Abyssinia, is no warlike semi-civilized jungle ruler, but a man of culture, refinement and public spirit, according to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission to East Africa, who spent two weeks in the unconquered inland native empire of the Dark Continent.

Abyssinia's monarch is a modernist and, to quote Dr. Jones, "Raz Teffari's continued reign undoubtedly would mean that his country would take on many improvements of civilization and his people would progress in economic, educational and political affairs."

Members of the commission were guests of Raz Teffari at a banquet at the palace. Some fifteen persons were present, including Her Highness, wife of the Prince Regent. On this occasion Abyssinia's ruler presided with a simplicity and dignity most impressive. "Our host observed all the standards of the most cultured and refined nations of Europe," relates Dr. Jones. "The table service was modern and even luxurious. The food was most tastily prepared and, I think, by a French chef."

After the banquet the guests were treated to a moving picture show especially arranged in their honor in the palace. The palace is described by Dr. Jones as large and fitted up with modern furniture and conveniences. It is the show place of Addis Ababa, Abyssinia's capital, which has a population of from 40,000 to 50,000.

In general appearance Addis Ababa is attractive, but lacks up-to-date facilities. The streets are crude and sanitation could be improved. European embassies and homes of white merchants are on the outskirts of the town.

Europeans familiar with the political situation in Abyssinia view with some alarm the attitude of the fundamentalist group, made up of some of the feudal rulers and priests, who are not in sympathy with Raz Teffari's modernist program. Because of this marked difference of opinion a degree of uncertainty is said to exist regarding the Prince Regent's continued reign. The story goes that one of the underlying reasons the monarch made his spectacular visit to European capitals some months ago was for the purpose of giving influential members of his party an opportunity to get a better idea of Western civilization.

Raz Teffari has the strong support of the younger men, who form the modernist group. They vigorously advocate sweeping reforms. But there are feudal chiefs and priests who frown on the introduction of any new methods of living and are as equally outspoken in their opinions. Hence the element of uncertainty relative to the tenure of the Prince Regent's occupancy of the throne.

Within recent months Raz Teffari has made contributions to four missions and is showing keen interest in the movement for the education of his people, Dr. Jones reports. One of the monarch's latest hobbies is farming in accordance with the most improved methods. The farm consists of several hundred acres a few miles from town and is in charge of Col. Sanford, a Briton, formerly connected with the Colonial Service. He and the Prince Regent are operating the farm on a kind of partnership basis.

Dr. Jones speaks highly of the work being done in Abyssinia by missionary societies. The American Mission of the United Presbyterian Church is building a $50,000 hospital in Addis Ababa, which will fill a long-felt want at the capital.

Abyssinia is said to be in various stages of civilization. The great

Race Problem—1925. I

Africa.

THE CESSION OF JUBALAND.

THE Anglo-Italian Treaty (East African Territories) Bill, which has passed its third reading in the House of Commons, and which gives effect to the secret Pact of London concluded with Italy in 1915, is noteworthy for several reasons.

Firstly, because a claim was made, we believe for the first time, that a Treaty should, before coming into effect, be submitted by Great Britain to the Legislative Council of Kenya Colony for approval; secondly, because during the debate the Colonial Secretary made an unequivocal declaration that self-government by Kenya was not to be thought of in the near future; thirdly, as evidencing the ignorance of some M.P's., who appeared to imagine that the nomad Somali were capable of exercising the franchise; fourthly, for an apology from Mr. Amery to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who, although consulted in the earlier stages, had not been kept in touch with all the later negotiations; fifthly, for an apparently universal failure on the part of members to appreciate the value of the territory in question.

East Africa

Mr. Amery's picturesque statement, that the fifteen or sixteen thousand Somali inhabitants of the Province were "in much the same stage of development as the late owner of the Taungs skull," was much more accurate than the hyperbole of Mr. Fisher, who talked of this "miserable strip of scorching African territory." No one appears to have mentioned the loss of the broad Juba River, which, overflowing its banks twice a year, offers wonderful cotton-growing potentialities. Direct ingress to Abyssinia from the Indian Ocean by the waterway is another gain to Italy which passed without comment, though many East Africans believe that to have been the chief aim of Italy.

2-26-25

Several members contended that the consent of the Natives should be a condition of the transfer, but though that claim is generally absurd in dealing with primitive peoples, someone might have scored a point in this case, for Somali migration from Italian into British territory has been noticeable for some time past; that is surely evidence of Native preference. None of the critics of the Bill had studied the subject enough to know these facts.

That British traders wishing to retain their nationality should have to leave Jubaland within twelve months seems an unfortunate and unnecessary provision, particularly as the Colonial Secretary made it clear that by leaving the territory and returning in a day or two as new British arrivals their nationality would not be affected. Why, then submit them to this inconvenience?

NEW YORK WORLD
FEBRUARY 15, 1925

ABYSSINIAN REGENT TRUE MODERNIST, ASSERTS DR. JONES

Chairman of Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission Tells of Banquet.

By Lester A. Walton

Raz Teffari, Prince Regent of Abyssinia, is no warlike semi-civilized jungle ruler, but a man of culture, refinement and public spirit, according to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission to East Africa, who spent two weeks in the unconquered inland native empire of the Dark Continent.

Abyssinia's monarch is a modernist and, to quote Dr. Jones, "Raz Teffari's continued reign undoubtedly would mean that his country would take on many improvements of civilization and his people would progress in economic, educational and political affairs."

Members of the commission were guests of Raz Teffari at a banquet at the palace. Some fifteen persons were present, including Her Highness, wife of the Prince Regent. On this occasion Abyssinia's ruler presided with a simplicity and dignity most impressive. "Our host observed all the standards of the most cultured and refined nations of Europe," relates Dr. Jones. "The table service was modern and even luxurious. The food was most tastily prepared and, I think, by a French chef."

After the banquet the guests were treated to a moving picture show especially arranged in their honor in the palace. The palace is described by Dr. Jones as large and fitted up with modern furniture and conveniences. It is the show place of Addis Ababa, Abyssinia's capital, which has a population of from 40,000 to 50,000.

In general appearance Addis Ababa is attractive, but lacks up-to-date facilities. The streets are crude and sanitation could be improved. European embassies and homes of white merchants are on the outskirts of the town.

Europeans familiar with the political situation in Abyssinia view with some alarm the attitude of the fundamentalist group, made up of some of the feudal rulers and priests, who are not in sympathy with Raz Teffari's modernist program. Because of this marked difference of opinion a degree of uncertainty is said to exist regarding the Prince Regent's continued reign. The story goes that one of the underlying reasons the monarch made his spectacular visit to European capitals some months ago was for the purpose of giving influential members of his party an opportunity to get a better idea of Western civilization.

Raz Teffari has the strong support of the younger men, who form the modernist group. They vigorously advocate sweeping reforms. But there are feudal chiefs and priests who frown on the introduction of any new methods of living and are as equally outspoken in their opinions. Hence the element of uncertainty relative to the tenure of the Prince Regent's occupancy of the throne.

Within recent months Raz Teffari has made contributions to four missions and is showing keen interest in the movement for the education of his people, Dr. Jones reports. One of the monarch's latest hobbies is farming in accordance with the most improved methods. The farm consists of several hundred acres a few miles from town and is in charge of Col. Sanford, a Briton, formerly connected with the Colonial Service. He and the Prince Regent are operating the farm on a kind of partnership basis.

Dr. Jones speaks highly of the work being done in Abyssinia by missionary societies. The American Mission of the United Presbyterian Church is building a $50,000 hospital in Addis Ababa, which will fill a long-felt want at the capital.

Abyssinia is said to be in various stages of civilization. The great

masses are in a primitive state, living in crude huts. There are about a half dozen towns in the empire. Characterized as a beautiful country with fertile lands, it has an area of 350,000 square miles, which is three times that of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. A very large part is fertile lowlands with a temperate zone, owing to high altitude. Addis Ababa is 8,000 feet above sea level. The country's population is estimated at 4,000,000.

There is a diversity of tribes in the domain of the late Menelek from Somaliland on the Red Sea

[illegible] first night's stop at Dire Dawa the second night the party was spent in a comfortable hotel [illegible] sion reached the capital of Abyssinia after a three days' ride by train

College Successes.

We have no doubt but that all interested in the intellectual advancement of the leaders of the Bantu race in South Africa will be gratified by the excellent show of successes by the students of the only other Native University in all Africa, as published elsewhere in our columns. The achievement of the Fort Hare College is fit to move the bones of the late editor of this journal in his grave with genuine joy, as it is fulfilling a mission so dear to his heart, the mission of true education. We heartily congratulate Mr. Milner Kabane, the Transkei Native, who is now registered alongside the two brilliant pioneers of last year in the enviable list of genuine graduates.

This is a result of earnest concentration in addition to natural ability. One more nail is thus driven into the coffin of those croakers who in by-gone days used glibly to affirm that the brain of the African suffers a mental "saturation" at the age of puberty that precludes it from success in further study for Higher Education. We equally cordially compliment the ten others who have attained to the first and second years of this degree which is an acid test of diligent study. It is notable that four have passed in the Diploma of Education (with two in the First Class), whilst five have matriculated, eight have taken business certificates and one has secured the Diploma in Agriculture with Honours in the Poultry division.

We are also glad to announce that Professor Alexander Kerr the popular Principal is due to return this month from Scotland whither he had proceeded last winter for medical treatment after an illness that had caused considerable anxiety to many friends; and we wish the College another year of satisfactory progress.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE COLLEGE.

Fort Hare, Alice, C.P.

Examination Successes.

I.

University of South Africa—B.A. Course.

THIRD YEAR; (Final for degree):
Milner Kabane, Umtata; English II, Ethics II, Education II, Logic I.

SECOND YEAR:
Zobeida Gool, Cape Town; English II, Latin I, Economics I.

Alfred Ferreira, Pretoria: Economics I. Chemistry I.

FIRST YEAR:
Samuel Oppelt, Malmesbury: English, Mathematics, Chemistry, Ethics, Education.

Thomas Carey, Ladysmith, Natal: English, Chemistry, Ethics, Education.

Lionel Mtimkulu, Cape Town: English, Chemistry, Ethics Education.

Janub Gool, Cape Town: English, Latin, Education, Ethics.

Daniel Goetham, Paarl: English, Latin, Education, Ethics.

Benjamin Mahlasela, Ndabakazi: English, Chemistry, Education,.

Theophilus Sikutshwa, Bizana English, Latin, Education.

Stuart Mahonga, Queenstown English, Chemistry.

II.

College Diploma in Education,
Zachariah Matthews, B.A., Kimberley, (First Class)

Thomas Carey (First Class)
Benjamin Mahlasela (Second Class).

Theophilus Sikutshwa (Second Class)

III

Joint Matriculation Board of the Universities of South Africa.

Matriculation Examination—Dec. 1924.

INTERIM REGULATIONS:
Charles Demas, Johannesburg
Ebenezer Mojomboza, Peelton
Donald Mtimkulu, Cape Town
Govindasamy Naidoo, Newcastle

James Ngobese, Umsinga, Natal

IV.

National Technical and Commercial Examination:

National Commercial Certificate
Mohseka Molapo, Leribe, Basutoland

National Technical Day School Certificate in Commerce:

Richard Msimang, Germiston;

John Ndamase, Tabankulu: (Business Methods, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Shorthand only),

Part I.

Joel Mohapelos, Mafeteng, Basutoland

Edgar Thamae, Leribe

George Masisi, Thaba Nchu, O.F.S.: (English, History and Geography, Shorthand only).

Preliminary Commercial Certificate:

Agnes Masisi, Thaba Nchu
Samuel Mosese, Morija, Basutoland, (Group A only).

V.

College Diploma in Agriculture:
Edwin Ntsase, Maseru, Basutoland,

Native Chiefs and Headmen.

[By S. M. B. Ncwana.]

After the termination of the Sessions of the All African Convention I chanced to visit Native Chiefs and village Headmen in the district of Kingwilliamstown Not long ago I have been reading articles contributed by more than one of celebrated students on the Native Question on the treatment of Native Chiefs and their tribes. In this analysis I propose to deal with the matter as affecting those of the Cape Province. The acrimonious and uncouth manner in which accredited Native Chiefs and headmen, are treated by the political officers of the Union Government is a red callous scandal.

Though Natives, from the point of view of the white man, cannot be left to govern themselves, yet conditions may be created which render it more likely that they will fall under the control of the really social white leaders. That the Native races cannot continue to exist for ever in a state of suspended animation seems to be a mere riddle midsummer nights dream on the minds of young Afrikanders who rule the Natives nowadays. During these visits I recorded pathetic stories of illtreatment and misdirection of Native policy in the Native kraal by officials whose ambition to dragoon Native races is unbounded. You have Government officials in this part of the country who seem to think that they are there only to study the interests and future of the European race in South Africa and not that of the Natives. Of this type of Native administrators the Native Territories and reserves are full of them. It would seem that the spirit of the hostility against Native social reforms is the necessary qualification for a white man to secure a position in the Native affairs administration of the Union, and because he can speak one or more of the Native languages it is assumed that he knows more about the needs of the Natives than the Natives themselves. Such qualification for Native administrators is, in my opinion, misleading and apparently mischievous. If an officer of the Government whose duty is to study Native life and to recommend social reforms fails to recognise the simple fact, that the Native is a human being like himself, but in a different stage of development such a man is not at all fit to be attached to any Native administration division.

It is this type of white leaders who, in the past were responsible for Native tribes being unruly and thereby causing the loss of their wealth and land possessions in the Cape Province. This squad of Native prosecutors adopted tactics which, by continual besieging the Minister of Native Affairs and Justice or war with metaphorical alarming reports, caused the Government to keep the Native races in glass frames apart from the civilized world. Without fear of contradiction I assert that from the time of Union the division of Native administration in the Cape Province has since been the hot bed of white nigger haters imported from the Free State Transvaal and Natal. Cape men who knew Native life for generations were transferred to the above centres in order to graduate in the University of draconian laws of race prejudice. The whole country is now topsy-turvy, no one seems to know where we are bound for—If you ask me quietly, and revolution. As a result of my investigation I have come to this conclusion that the Native cannot be ruled by a white man, he can be "bossed about" only, as is the case at the present in the districts which I visited.

Having shown the type of men who generally take service with the Native Affairs Administration, in this chapter I intend to show how the main body of Native Chiefs, Headmen and educated leaders of Bantu thought are being impoverished and degraded through a negative system of Government. The area I am at present dealing with is fearfully over crowded. The Kingwilliamstown district has a Native population of approximately 127,000—all of whom have no voice in the administration of their affairs. Three years ago the South African Party Government appointed a Ciskei Native Commissioner with a view to facilitate the establishment of Native Councils under the provisions of the Native Affairs Act of 1920, in the Cape Province. This honourable officer of the Native Affairs administration, after holding series of meetings with the illiterate communities of Natives, thought that the minds of the people were against the possibility of the Native Councils being established in the Ciskei district and other centres. The people who attended these meetings spread the news and told the rest of the population that the Commissioner was working for Advisory Boards against the popular Native opinion favouring the inauguration of the Council system under the Act of 1920.

It should be possible to assume that it is not necessary to state such obvious facts as these, but alas! it is necessary to state them and to insist upon them. To ignore these facts, disagreeable though it may be, is to shut one's eyes to a very important point, which cannot be overlooked if our Native administration in the Southern hemisphere is to be a success. The government of Natives by indifferent European officials constitutes a great danger and an immense difficulty. The

Race Problem – 1925 II.

Africa.

Notes.

Reviews:

All progressive teachers and others who use the Xosa language will be both grateful and indebted to Miss M. W. Waters for offering the first Xosa play ever published: "*Nonggause*", in the vernacular, (published by Maskew Miller for 2/9 post free) This is a thrilling drama based upon the history of the cattle-killing and grain destruction of 1856. There is introduction by Chief Inspector an W. G. Bennie, B.A., which by itself stamps the book with reliable authority.

It is smartly printed and tastefully illustrated by W. H. Ogilvie. The story is true to fact and condensed so as to bring into bold relief the events that really matter, and at the same time it pays due regard to the tender susceptibilities of the grand children of the generation that suffered untold misery as a result of a blind belief in the delusion brought about by superstition.

The drama is made especially impressive by the dignity of Sirili, Sandile and the contrasted councillors Gxabagxaba and Tyale, while the apt Scriptural Quotations by the Missionary serve as a counterfoil to Mhlakaza, and Nongqause herself.

The language is an excellent Xosa version, particularly the poetic outbursts of Mhlakaza, Gxabagxaba and the Herald.

The only fault we find is a number of errors by printers in the spelling. We heartily recommend the play and wish it a wide sale.

2-10-25

The Rev. P. Lamula of Durban has obliged us with his third attempt at authorship "*UZulu ka Malandela*" a book of 158 pages dealing with Zulu geography, biography and history. It is 5/- post free of the author at 180a, Grey Street, Durban. Although it has not much originality and has a little too much of the author's own self advertisement it is a valuable recapitulation in the Zulu language of facts that will be welcomed by readers interested in the development of Zulu literature by Zulus themselves. It covers a miscellaneous range, and is variegated with interesting pictures. The most useful section of the book is the biographical glossary of Zulu notabilities and the summaries of famous wars. As Zulu literature is in its infancy this book will take its pride of place among the early simple and humble efforts to supply a great want, and for that reason it is to be encouraged and commanded to our readers.

1924 IN UGANDA.

From Our Resident Correspondent.

Kampala, January 13, 1925.

East Africa

UGANDA people can look back on the year that has passed with equanimity. We have done well, we have been particularly fortunate, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our hard work has been rewarded as it should have been.

Trade, on the whole, has been good. We know that the worst times are past, and that the future is exceedingly promising. We can see this from more standpoints than one, and though the cotton industry stands to-day head and shoulders over everything else, we have something to thank goodness about in the matter of our coffee production.

2-26-25

As elsewhere, coffee is fetching a good price, and it is a matter of gratification to know that our planters, or what is left of them—a hard-working body of men these days—are getting something back out of the big amount of money they put into the soil in the days gone by.

Unequalled as a Sugar Producer.

Another source of income is the sugar industry. It is true we have at the moment only one large white sugar factory. But the past year has demonstrated to those who want to know that other factories will start here as sure as the sun will shine to-morrow. In the present year we believe this will come about, because facts as plain as they can be made came to light in the year just past which showed that *Uganda as a sugar producer has no equal the world over.*

You want some evidence? Well, listen to this, you doubters. Uganda can grow 150 tons of the best sugar cane to the acre! I will go into details on another occasion. Enough to say that the 150 tons can be verified any day of the week, and taken at random in any field which has got half a chance in the matter of cultivation. *Do you, my friends, know of any other country in the tropics, or out of it, which can grow much over half that quantity, if as much?*

So far, so good. That's part of the review of the year. It all came about in 1924, and 1925 will verify it. We have laid the foundation stone for sugar production in Uganda. Building operations have commenced, and when about a dozen factories have been established, we will be content to say of sugar that which has already been demonstrated of cotton, that the Uganda Protectorate was not left unheeded when the Creator was distributing blessings.

Confidence in Cotton.

To get back to cotton, the mainspring of our activity. The progress made has been astonishing. If anyone had said a few years ago that in 1924 we would have an export of over £3,500,000 of cotton lint from Uganda we should probably have been rude to him. Yet the latest official figures give this estimate. In the year 1904-5 the value was £236.

It reads like a Jack-and-the-Beanstalk yarn. The average crop of seed cotton for the past four years is about 90,000,000 lb. The average yield of lint or prepared cotton is 100 lb. per acre, but that this can be improved upon is certain. Although we are past the infant stage, yet we are far from being at our best. We will get down to American methods of production presently, and when we do, our only trouble will be labour, but we'll overcome that difficulty.

The cotton industry has made us. Our import trade increases with our prosperity, and soon we will need special transport to deal exclusively with our own wares. At the present time we are depending on the out-of-date railway which takes our name. But its inadequacy to keep pace with our wants is now above a joke, and something will have to be done to prevent us marking time till somebody or other wakes up to the fact that our needs are extremely urgent.

Foreign Goods are the Rule.

No review of the year would be complete without mention of the foreigner. He is here in our midst —as large as life, and as active as a flea. Possibly the British manufacturer may in his wisdom look upon him as the Bogey Man of our imagination. But we know that he is a very real person indeed, and that he is making his influence felt here is as certain as anything is certain. Facts and figures can be compiled to convince this self-same British manufacturer that such is the case, but this is not the time or place to do so.

Let me assure the British people that foreign-made goods are the rule here and not the exception. I know of one foreign house which has established business in Kampala that boasts of having captured 75% of the trade of the country in its own particular line—and this is not an American firm either. It is a real foreigner.

British Offered the Business.

What is the good of this country being a British Protectorate if it cannot protect the trade for the Britisher? Friendship is all right. But surely the British people at home can or ought to produce the bulk of the trade British material fit for use here as cheaply as the German or Austrian can do it. If not, why not?

As I say, our imports are increasing with our exports. No one will deny that the British-made article is superior to the foreign-made material. But that's not where the shoe pinches. It is the terms offered that befriend the foreign supplier. In the matter of price and length of credit the foreigner stands to win, and win he does.

Let me assure the Home people that the trade of the country is theirs to have and to hold if they want it at the price which is current. It is worth having. It is worth fighting for. But unless and until wiser counsels prevail, the foreigner will take the bulk of the trade.

We have had a good year. We have left the bad times behind. 1924 has been the fair-haired boy of our imagination, and we have every reason to believe that 1925 will continue the motion.

Race Problem — 1925 II.

Africa.

Notes,

Reviews:

All progressive teachers and others who use the X s languages will be both grateful and indebted to Miss M. W. Waters for offering the first Xosa play ever published: "*Nongqause*", in the vernacular, (published by Maskew Miller for 2/9 post free) This is a thrilling drama based upon the history of the cattle-killing and grain destruction of 1856. There is introduction by Chief Inspector an W. G. Bennie, B.A., which by itself stamps the book with reliable author

It is smartly printed and tastefully illustrated by W. H. Ogilvie. The story is true to fact and condensed so as to bring into bold relief the events that really matter, and at the same time it pays due regard to the tender susceptibilities of the grand children of the generation that suffer. sad untold misery as a result of a blind belief in the delusion brought about by superstition.

The drama is made especially impressive by the dignity of Sirili, Sandile and the contrasted councillors Gxabagxaba and Tyale, while the apt Scriptural Quotations by the Missionary serve as a counterfoil to Mhlakaza, and Nongqause herself.

The language is an excellent Xosa version, particularly the poetic outbursts of Mhlakaza, Gxabagxaba and the Herald.

The only fault we find is a number of errors by printers in the spelling. We heartily recommend the play and wish it a wide sale. 2-10-25

The Rev. P. Lamula of Durban has obliged us with his third attempt at authorship "*UZulu ka Malandela*" a book of 158 pages dealing with Zulu geography, biography and history. It is 5/- post free of the author at 180a, Grey Street, Durban. Although it has not much originality and has a little too much of the author's own self advertisement it is a valuable recapitulation in the Zulu language of facts that will be welcomed by readers interested in the development of Zulu literature by Zulus themselves. It covers a miscellaneous range, and is variegated with interesting pictures. The most useful section of the book is the biographical glossary of Zulu notabilities and the summaries of famous wars. As Zulu literature is in its infancy this book will take its pride of place among the early simple and humble efforts to supply a great want, and for that reason it is to be encouraged and commanded to our readers.

1924 IN UGANDA.

From Our Resident Correspondent.

Kampala, January 13, 1925.

UGANDA people can look back on the year that has passed with equanimity. We have done well, we have been particularly fortunate, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our hard work has been rewarded as it should have been.

Trade, on the whole, has been good. We know that the worst times are past, and that the future is exceedingly promising. We can see this from more standpoints than one, and though the cotton industry stands to-day head and shoulders over everything else, we have something to thank goodness about in the matter of our coffee production.

As elsewhere, coffee is fetching a good price, and it is a matter of gratification to know that our planters, or what is left of them—a hard-working body of men these days—are getting something back out of the big amount of money they put into the soil in the days gone by.

Unequalled as a Sugar Producer.

Another source of income is the sugar industry. It is true we have at the moment only one large white sugar factory. But the past year has demonstrated to those who want to know that other factories will start here as sure as the sun will shine to-morrow. In the present year we believe this will come about, because facts as plain as they can be made came to light in the year just past which showed that *Uganda as a sugar producer has no equal the world over.*

You want some evidence? Well, listen to this, you doubters. Uganda can grow 150 tons of the best sugar cane to the acre! I will go into details on another occasion. Enough to say that the 150 tons can be verified any day of the week, and taken at random in any field which has got half a chance in the matter of cultivation. *Do you, my friends, know of any other country in the tropics, or out of it, which can grow much over half that quantity, if as much?*

So far, so good. That's part of the review of the year. It all came about in 1924, and 1925 will verify it. We have laid the foundation stone for sugar production in Uganda. Building operations have commenced, and when about a dozen factories have been established, we will be content to say of sugar that which has already been demonstrated of cotton, that the Uganda Protectorate was not left unheeded when the Creator was distributing blessings.

Confidence in Cotton.

To get back to cotton, the mainspring of our activity. The progress made has been astonishing. If anyone had said a few years ago that in 1924 we would have an export of over £3,500,000 of cotton lint from Uganda we should probably have been rude to him. Yet the latest official figures give this estimate. In the year 1904-5 the value was £236.

It reads like a Jack-and-the-Beanstalk yarn. The average crop of seed cotton for the past four years is about 90,000,000 lb. The average yield of lint or prepared cotton is 100 lb. per acre, but that this can be improved upon is certain. Although we are past the infant stage, yet we are far from being at our best. We will get down to American methods of production presently, and when we do, our only trouble will be labour, but we'll overcome that difficulty.

The cotton industry has made us. Our import trade increases with our prosperity, and soon we will need special transport to deal exclusively with our own wares. At the present time we are depending on the out-of-date railway which takes our name. But its inadequacy to keep pace with our wants is now above a joke, and something will have to be done to prevent us marking time till somebody or other wakes up to the fact that our needs are extremely urgent.

Foreign Goods are the Rule.

No review of the year would be complete without mention of the foreigner. He is here in our midst —as large as life, and as active as a flea. Possibly the British manufacturer may in his wisdom look upon him as the Bogey Man of our imagination. But we know that he is a very real person indeed, and that he is making his influence felt here is as certain as anything is certain. Facts and figures can be compiled to convince this self-same British manufacturer that such is the case, but this is not the time or place to do so.

Let me assure the British people that foreign-made goods are the rule here and not the exception. I know of one foreign house which has established business in Kampala that boasts of having captured 75% of the trade of the country in its own particular line—and this is not an American firm either. It is a real foreigner.

British Offered the Business.

What is the good of this country being a British Protectorate if it cannot protect the trade for the British people at home can or ought to produce the bulk of the trade. British material fit for use here as cheaply as the German or Austrian can do it. If not, why not? As I say, our imports are increasing with our exports. No one will deny that the British-made article is superior to the foreign-made material. But that's not where the shoe pinches. It is the terms offered that befriend the foreign supplier. In the matter of price and length of credit the foreigner has to win, and win he does.

Let me assure the Home people that the trade of the country is theirs to have and to hold if they want it at the price which is current. It is worth

THE EAST AFRICAN NATIVE PRESS.

Reviewed by "Kalambo."

Mambo Leo of Tanganyika celebrates its third anniversary in the January issue with a new cover, bearing the giraffe, the emblem of the Territory, and behind it a rising sun, thus symbolizing "The dawn of prosperity." To complete the *ensemble* are added a bit of a Native village and a few palms. The editor warns us that he will change the colour of his coat from time to time.

The reasons for the raising of the hut and poll tax from 6s. to 10s. in a number of the productive districts are well set out in an article attributing the increase mainly to the Government's desire to open up the country by means of railways, roads and bridges, to combat the tsetse fly, to fight disease and infant mortality, to establish more schools, to pay salaries to Native sultans, and so on. The writer explains that all these bring more prosperity to the people. Besides, the people in the districts affected are quite able to bear the extra expense, and after all the Tanganyika Native gets off very lightly compared with his brother in Uganda, who has to pay 15s., and in Kenya, where the tax is from 12s. to 20s. Altogether a sound exposé.

There is a useful article on cotton planting duties in January, dealing especially with the detection of pests in seed, deep tilling of the soil, burning old plants, and generally clearing up refuse in the vicinity of the plots. "The rich man becomes poor" is an urge to those tribes who have lost their old barter trade of selling hoes for cattle and other articles, and who were rich, to take up new methods of agriculture and regain their old wealth.

The Story of a Slave.

The story of Grandfather is continued. After a year in Zanzibar he learns Swahili. One day, while he is taking coffee to his master, the latter shouts at him for wearing dirty clothes, the frightened boy faints, and in falling not only spills hot coffee on his master, but grabs his beard to save himself, thus insulting his master in the gravest possible manner. Follow a lashing, dismissal and sale again at the slave market.

An Arab going up-country buys the now twelve-year-old boy, and as a servant to him he journeys to Tabora on a slave and ivory buying enterprise. On from Tabora they raid slaves, collecting a number, and much ivory. The boy again gets beaten, but unjustly. He swears revenge. The opportunity soon presents itself, for the loud noise of lions roaring attracts the Arabs and their *askari* out of camp. The boy releases the slaves, who overpower the guards, kill the Arabs, and once again return to their villages, where the boy is acclaimed a hero.

For a time he lives with his new friends, but longs for home. Finally he sets out with three men. While traversing hostile country his friends are killed, but he escapes in a canoe. After five days' paddling he reaches a village where a man takes him in and feeds him. They converse first with signs, but, learning their language, the boy tells them his story, at which they are much astonished.

Interesting News from Various Centres.

Bagamoyo reports the sinking of a dhow with £400 worth of cotton on board. Crew and passengers were saved. Dar-es-Salaam gives an account of a Nubian wedding, at which the custom seems to be to lash the bridegroom soundly with whips. Kahama reports a record year for ground nuts. It is also the first cotton year, but pests have done much damage to the crop. Mwanza reports ing good cotton but a shortage of rainfall, hopes to use ploughs this year. Altogether the local tribes seem very pleased with themselves, in spite of the drought which is killing many cattle.

Kilossa has the account of a game scout's fight single-handed with a lion, until another man comes up and kills the beast. Kondoa Irangi tells of a man chased by a rhino. The man discarded his clothes, which the rhino promptly attacked and pulverized, but did not leave the spot, keeping the naked man treed until 1 a.m. Another man, who found a rhino battering his front door at 5 a.m., called up his friends, who despatched with spears the rhino which had put its head through the front door. Tanga has been visited by an elephant, which delights in chasing people off the road. One woman who was chased discarded her clothes one by one, each of which the elephant attacked, until she finally arrived naked at her village.

NATIVE REGISTRATION IN KENYA.

Mr. W. McGregor Ross, the late Director o Public Works of Kenya, has written to the *Nev Statesman* a letter strongly condemning th Colony's system of registration of Natives. In th course of it he says:—

"Desertion in Kenya, already a criminal offenc under the Masters and Servants Ordinance, wa further made cognizable to the police in January 1916, at a time when tens of thousands of Native were helping at the Front in 'German East.' I then sufficed for any aggrieved employer to repor a desertion to the nearest police officer. Sheets o 'tear-off' forms for facilitating this step were pro vided, free on request, by Government.

"The expensive machinery of law and police the got to work on the trail of the unwise Native When captured he was the object of a State prose cution, at which the employer, if called by th Crown as a witness, could demand his witness expenses—a proceeding unique in British Empir practice. The system was introduced under pres sure from a section of the white employers, an was shortly afterwards declared by the Chief Native Commissioner in the Legislative Council to b universally detested by the Natives.

"Next to heavy direct taxation by Government the system formed the strongest plank in the plat form of a Native agitator, Harry Thuku, whose meteoric career amongst the Kikuyu and Kavirondo tribes was brought to a close by arrest and deportation in 1922. His proposal, put before thousands of Natives, was that they should load up the tin containers containing their registration papers into motor lorries, run them [illegible] them on the drive of Government House. Whether Native dislike is visible or suppressed, it is to be noted that the system only persists with the tolera tion of the Natives themselves. Anything in the direction of mass-action in the destruction of certificates would put an end to it."

NO EARLY SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR KENYA.

In the House of Commons last week the Colonial Secretary said that His Majesty's Government could not but regard the grant of responsible self-government to the Crown Colony of Kenya as out of the question within any period of time that need be taken into consideration. He might add that, if it did come into consideration, it by no means followed that the area of self-government, for which the present colonists in the Highlands of Kenya might become responsible, would necessarily be exactly conterminous with the present area of the Kenya Colony.

Race Problem – 1923.

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

H.M.S. "Dublin" and Her Recent Official Mission

The despatch of H.M.S. "Dublin" to Monrovia to convey the President of Liberia to Freetown is an act of Imperial courtesy which has made a most favourable impression in the Republic of Liberia. Africans are very sentimental, and are easily moved by things which to the practical and sophisticated European mind are trifles. To them H.M.S. "Dublin" is the King's ship, and the sending of the "Dublin" to Monrovia is the King's own act. That the head of the British Empire should be so interested in the visit of the African head of an African State to one of his colonies as to send one of his ships of his Royal fleet to convey the visitor appeals to their imagination, flatters their sense of growing importance, and confirms their loyalty.

Liberia and Freetown.

Any African ruler would be welcomed by the people of Freetown, but there are special reasons for the enthusiasm of their reception of His Excellency C. D. B. King as President of Liberia. The colony has a tie of kinship with both State and President. As the address presented by the municipality states, "the origins of both Liberia and Sierra Leone have a common foundation in the exercise of humane and philanthropic motives." The one was founded by Great Britain and the other by the United States as some expiation for the wrongs inflicted on the African race by the slave trade. The forerunners of the settlers who subsequently founded the Republic made their first settlement on the territory of the colony, from which they have moved to build up a State of their own, but it was in the old colony that they gained their earliest experience of life in Africa.

President King.

His Excellency performed an act of filial piety in visiting the ancient village of Murray Town, whose inhabitants acclaimed him as a fellow citizen in whose career they took pride, and whose elevation cast a reflected glory on their village. Mr. C. T. O. King, the President's father, spent most of his life in Liberia, where he had a distinguished career, but maintained his connection with his native village by frequent visits. The President was educated at the C.M.S. Grammar School, and paid a visit to his alma mater, where he was received as an honoured old boy. But he did not forget his ancestral village.

"He could recall his last visit here, to his late grandmother. . . . The last thing she offered him was a drink of certain water commonly called 'Oloshoro.' He could well recollect the great impression the incident made on him that morning. As he bade his grandmother good-bye she took a cup of water and said, 'My boy, come and drink.' He was not thirsty at the time, but he loathed to say no to his old grandmother, and so he had to drink. He regarded the incident as a sort of benediction which he deeply cherished."

He brought his two sons to see their grandfather's birthplace and to continue the family tradition.

African Leadership.

The Sierra Leone "Weekly News" sounds the general feeting in an article on the visit in its issue of January 24. "We welcome the distinguished President because his past achievement has so far given demonstration of what the negro could do in the direction of leadership." In these days, when there is so much talk of the West African's lack of the power of leadership, it is instructive to hear from an African who has given proofs as to the qualifications of a leader: "It was not the quantity of knowledge stored while at school that would make a person efficient for the duties of after life, but it was the quality of such knowledge turned by devoted application of same into motive force that counted and mattered. It is the evolution consequent on such application that produced character, wholesome and stable, that is brought to bear in every transaction for self-advancement and the good of the Commonwealth. It is perseverance, grit and an indomitable will to come right up to the top in any enterprise: it is the aroma of a clean, healthy manhood that must draw, by means of its virile and inspiring influence, and win the admiration and confidence and respect of others so as to prove oneself worthy of a great trust. The educational authorities of the British West African Colonies might ponder these wise and weighty words with advantage.

Cold Weather on the West Coast.

From all the West African Colonies come reports that the harmattan has set in strongly, and that the weather is very cold. Of course, the coldness is relative: the temperature shown by the thermometer on a cold day in West Africa would probably be the same as on a "very mild" day in these latitudes. The body has its own method of estimating temperature, according to its habit and environment. While the cold weather on the West Coast is bracing to Europeans, it is extremely dangerous to the Africans, among whom it causes serious pulmonary complaints. I suppose that during these cold seasons more of them die from pneumonia than from any other cause, especially where European medical knowledge and skill are not available, as the lungs and their functions and ills are quite outside the fetish doctor's curriculum.

W. F. H.

INSPECTION OF PRODUCE.

Government Action Needed.

According to the minutes of the Executive Committee of the African Section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, a serious attempt is again being made to secure the inspection of produce which is imported into this country from the West African colonies, and so improve the quality of the various commodities which are received in great quantities in Manchester.

The Liverpool and Manchester Chambers have been endeavouring to secure some form of Government action in this direction, and a definite scheme has been adopted which it is hoped the Colonial Office will be prevailed upon to put into operation in the near future.

Some little time ago the African Section had an opportunity of meeting the Governors of various colonies in Manchester, and the suggestion was made that any surplus revenue funds should be used for the purpose of reducing the Export Duty on various commodities. It is gratifying to find that this suggestion has been adopted by Nigeria and Sierra Leone, who have recently introduced various reductions, and by so reducing the taxation have increased the purchasing power of the natives for British goods.

THE NIGERIAN RAILWAYS.

A Lagos Resident's Criticisms.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Dear Sir, I wonder what is the matter with the railways out here: they must be putting all their time and money into "construction," as their "open lines" are a positive disgrace. I see no improvement since I was last here some years ago. I will take "Lagos Station" and "railway headquarters" as examples. The railway officials do *themselves very well*. Palatial head offices, where a stranger almost fears to enter, so numerous are the notices forbidding one to go here or there: large modern bungalows with every convenience, golf course, clubs, and dance nights, as the notices humorously say, "if quarantine regulations permit."

But when you go to "Iddo," as the starting station is called, you get quite a shock after railway headquarters. A dirty station, very different from the nice clean roads and new houses at Ebuthe Metta. After wandering about I discovered a white man in an office: this was the stationmaster. I wanted a ticket for Kano, *second class*, the first-class fare being too expensive. This individual seemed astonished that a white man should wish to travel *second class*, and told me that no white man ever travelled *second class*, as perhaps *natives* might get into the carriage. Can you imagine such a preposterous conversation; but it is perfectly true, and, anyway continued this person, "*before* we sell you a ticket we shall require *your name and address*." I left him and went over to a building marked REFRESHMENT ROOM. This was closed; it is quite a nice building, very much cleaner than the station, but it is *only* open when the boat train arrives or departs, so it is quite useless for the public who leave and arrive at Iddo every day. The boat train, as you know, awaits the Lagos express once every ten days (approximately) "out and home," and actually this refreshment room is closed for the rest of the time. Trains leave and arrive at Iddo every day from various places up the line; heaps of the public work and reside near Iddo; you would think that a refreshment room would do a splendid trade there, which, of course, it would—but no, only when the boat train (which is just like any *other* train that arrives at or leaves Iddo) arrives or leaves which is sometimes the *middle of the night*. Can you have a drink of any description?—and probably they want your name and address before they give you that. Iddo is typical of the whole main line to Kano. You only have to read the reports of the Chamber of Commerce at Lagos to see how behindhand the railway is in *every* department and *every* detail. It is a disgrace to the colony of Nigeria. Yours faithfully,

F. A. DAY, Captain.

Lagos, January 28, 1925.

THE SIERRA LEONE NEW CONSTITUTION.

VIII.

UNDOUBTEDLY the arrangement for the periodical sittings of the council is an improvement on the past, when no definite plan was in vogue. The present arrangement will afford that consultation by members of the council with those they represent, so as to be sufficiently acquainted with their views. Such an arrangement would indeed prove of great advantage in the direction of real representation; for it would then be possible, after consultation with their constituents for "properly framed questions of which due notice had been given," to be asked at Council's meetings. But here, we desire to state that much will depend on the atmosphere or rather the spirit of Fellowship that will prevail in council.

We have noticed some questions asked in the councils of our sister Colonies and the replies given, leaving us with the impression that the result was not worth the attempt. We can only hope that after such pregnant words delivered by His Excellency the Governor who is also President of the Council, he will with his accustomed energy, determination and carefulness see to it that this concession will not be allowed to prove useless; so that whilst it would be necessary that nothing shall be done to encourage the asking of triffling or capricious questions, everything will tend by his broad-minded tolerance to encourage a full and frank disclosure of the minds of the people's representatives, whether in the Colony or in the Protectorate, instead of, by an attitude of rigid conservatism, sit, as it were, on the safety valve of public opinion, which this concession if discreetly used, would help to disclose. Another prerogative pointed out as one of the functions of the council is stated as follows:

> "With the exception as to money matters recorded above, it is competent to any member of the council to propose any question relating to the affairs of Sierra Leone for debate therein, and if seconded by any other member, such question shall be debated and disposed of in accordance with the Standing Rules and Orders. Provided that any resolution or question which any member may propose to bring forward for debate shall be notified to the Governor at least seven days before the meeting of council."

This provision is important and we agree with His Excellency that it could be helpful in clearing the air when some important question is agitating the public mind. All we have to say at the present is, that if every one concerned will sincerely endeavour to cultivate the temper in which the address has been written and the spirit which appears to dominate the mind of the Head of the Executive, that in spite of the limitations, he has been able to evolve such a constitution, we are hopeful that much will be done to demonstrate that the Colony is not so backward and reactionary as has so sweepingly been often inferred; that so far as the granting of larger liberties to the people goes, we are able to affirm that they possess sufficient sense of responsibility and that as they have agreeably disappointed the fears and won the admiration of the outside world by their responsible demeanour to and in the granting of the New Constitution, even so, given some larger advantages, honoured by some higher role of responsibility, they will be able to demonstrate that the training they have received during the year of their tutelage has not been lost, but with some encouragement much power being vested in the Commissioners were not responsible in hurrying they would prove responsive to some higher,

Race Problem – 1925.

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

H.M.S. "Dublin" and Her Recent Official Mission

The despatch of H.M.S. "Dublin" to Monrovia to convey the President of Liberia to Freetown is an act of Imperial courtesy which has made a most favourable impression in the Republic. Africans are very sentimental, and are easily moved by things which to the practical and sophisticated European mind are trifles. To them H.M.S. "Dublin" is the King's ship, and the sending of her to Monrovia is the King's own act. That the head of the British Empire should be so interested in the visit of the African head of an African state to one of his colonies as to send one of his ships of his Royal fleet to convey the visitor appeals to their imagination, flatters their sense of growing importance, and confirms their loyalty.

Liberia and Freetown.

Any African ruler would be welcomed by the people of Freetown, but there are special reasons for the enthusiasm of their reception of His Excellency C. D. B. King as President of Liberia. The colony has a tie of kinship with both State and President. As the address presented by the municipality states, "the origins of both Liberia and Sierra Leone have a common foundation in the exercise of humane and philanthropic motives." The one was founded by Great Britain and the other by the United States as some expiation for the wrongs inflicted on the African race by the slave trade. The forerunners of the settlers who subsequently founded the Republic made their first settlement on the territory of the colony, from which they have moved to build up a State of their own, but it was in the old colony that they gained their earliest experience of life in Africa.

President King.

His Excellency performed an act of filial piety in visiting the ancient village of Murray Town, whose inhabitants acclaimed him as a fellow citizen in whose career they took pride, and whose elevation cast a reflected glory on their village. Mr. C. T. O. King, the President's father, spent most of his life in Liberia, where he had a distinguished career, but maintained his connection with his native village by frequent visits. The President was educated at the C.M.S. Grammar School, and paid a visit to his alma mater, where he was received as an honoured old boy. But he did not forget his ancestral village.

"He could recall his last visit here, to his late grandmother. . . . The last thing she offered him was a drink of certain water commonly called "Oloshoro." He could well recollect the great impression the incident made on him that morning. As he bade his grandmother good-bye she took a cup of water and said, 'My boy, come and drink.' He was not thirsty at the time, but he loathed to say no to his old grandmother, and so he had to drink. He regarded the incident as a sort of benediction which he deeply cherished."

He brought his two sons to see their grandfather's birthplace and to continue the family tradition.

African Leadership.

The Sierra Leone "Weekly News" sounds the general feeling in an article on the visit in its issue of January 24. "We welcome the distinguished President because his past achievement has so far given demonstration of what the negro could do in the direction of leadership." In these days, when there is so much talk of the West African's lack of the power of leadership, it is instructive to hear from an African who has given proofs as to the qualifications of a leader: "It was not the quantity of knowledge stored while at school that would make a person efficient for the duties of after life, but it was the quality of such knowledge turned by devoted application of same into motive force that counted and mattered. It is the evolution consequent on such application that produced character, wholesome and stable, that is brought to bear in everywhere transaction for self-advancement and the good of the Commonwealth. It is perseverance, grit and an indomitable will to come right up to the top in any enterprise: it is the aroma of a clean, healthy manhood that must draw, by means of its virile and inspiring influence, and win the admiration and confidence and respect of others so as to prove ones self worthy of a great trust." The educational authorities of the British West African Colonies might ponder these wise and weighty words with advantage.

Cold Weather on the West Coast.

From all the West African Colonies come reports that the harmattan has set in strongly, and that the weather is very cold. Of course, the coldness is relative: the temperature shown by the thermometer on a cold day in West Africa would probably be the same as on a "very mild" day in these latitudes. The body has its own method of estimating temperature, according to its habit and environment. While the cold weather on the West Coast is bracing to Europeans, it is extremely dangerous to the Africans, among whom it causes serious pulmonary complaints. I suppose that during these cold seasons more of them die from pneumonia than from any other cause, especially where European medical knowledge and skill are not available, as the lungs and their functions and ills are quite outside the fetish doctor's curriculum.

W. F. H.

INSPECTION OF PRODUCE.

Government Action Needed.

According to the minutes of the Executive Committee of the African Section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, a serious attempt is again being made to secure the inspection of produce which is imported into this country from the West African colonies, and so improve the quality of the various commodities which are received in great quantities in Manchester.

The Liverpool and Manchester Chambers have been endeavouring to secure some form of Government action in this direction, and a definite scheme has been adopted which it is hoped the Colonial Office will be prevailed upon to put into operation in the near future.

Some little time ago the African Section had an opportunity of meeting the Governors of various colonies in Manchester, and the suggestion was made that any surplus revenue funds should be used for the purpose of reducing the Export Duty on various commodities. It is gratifying to find that this suggestion has been adopted by Nigeria and Sierra Leone, who have recently introduced various reductions, and by so reducing the taxation have increased the purchasing power of the natives for British goods.

THE NIGERIAN RAILWAYS.

A Lagos Resident's Criticisms.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Dear Sir,—I wonder what is the matter with the railways out here: they must be putting all their time and money into "construction," as their "open lines" are a positive disgrace. I see no improvement since I was last here some years ago. I will take "Lagos Station" and "railway headquarters" as examples. The railway officials do *themselves very well*. Palatial head offices, numerous are the notices forbidding one to go here or there: large modern bungalows with every convenience, golf course, clubs, and dance nights, as the notices humorously say, "if quarantine regulations permit." But when you go to "Iddo," as the starting station is called, you get quite a shock after railway headquarters. A dirty station, very different from the nice clean roads and new houses at Ebute Metta. After wandering about I discovered a white man in an office: this was the stationmaster. I wanted a ticket for Kano, *second class*, the first-class fare being too expensive. This individual seemed astonished that a white man should wish to travel *second class*, and told me that no white man ever travelled *second class*, as perhaps *natives* might get into the carriage. Can you imagine such a preposterous conversation; but it is perfectly true, and, anyway continued this person, "*before* we sell you a ticket we shall require *your name and address*." I left him and went over to a building marked REFRESHMENT ROOM. This was closed; it is quite a nice building, very much cleaner than the station, but it is *only* open when the boat train arrives or departs, so it is quite useless for the public who leave and arrive at Iddo every day. The boat train, as you know, awaits the Lagos express once every ten days (approximately) "out and home," and actually this refreshment room is closed for the rest of the time. Trains leave and arrive at Iddo every day from various places up the line; heaps of the public work and reside near Iddo; you would think that a refreshment room would do a splendid trade there, which, of course, it would—but no, only when the boat train (which is just like any *other* train that arrives at or leaves Iddo) arrives or leaves which is sometimes the *middle of the night*. Can you have a drink of any description?—and probably they want your name and address before they give you that. Iddo is typical of the whole main line to Kano. You only have to read the reports of the Chamber of Commerce at Lagos to see how behindhand the railway is in *every* department and *every* detail. It is a disgrace to the colony of Nigeria. Yours faithfully.

F. A. DAY, Captain.

Lagos, January 28, 1925.

THE SIERRA LEONE NEW CONSTITUTION.

VIII.

UNDOUBTEDLY the arrangement for the periodical sittings of the council is an improvement on the past, when no definite plan was in vogue. The present arrangement will afford that consultation by members of the council with those they represent, so as to be sufficiently acquainted with their views. Such an arrangement would indeed prove of great advantage in the direction of real representation; for it would then be possible, after consultation with their constituents for "properly framed questions of which due notice had been given," to be asked at Council's meetings. But here, we desire to state that much will depend on the atmosphere or rather the spirit of Fellowship that will prevail in council.

We have noticed some questions asked in the councils of our sister Colonies and the replies given, leaving us with the impression that the result was not worth the [illegible]. We can only hope that after such pregnant words delivered by His Excellency the Governor who is also President of the Council, he will with his accustomed energy, determination and carefulness see to it that this concession will not be allowed to prove useless; so that whilst it would be necessary that nothing shall be done to encourage the asking of trifling or capricious questions, everything will tend by his broad-minded tolerance to encourage a full and frank disclosure of the minds of the people's representatives, whether in the Colony or in the Protectorate, instead of, by an attitude of rigid conservatism, sit, as it were, on the safety valve of public opinion, which this concession if discreetly used, would help to disclose. Another prerogative pointed out as one of the functions of the council is stated as follows:

> "With the exception as to money matters recorded above, it is competent to any member of the council to propose any question relating to the affairs of Sierra Leone for debate therein, and if seconded by any other member, such question shall be debated and disposed of in accordance with the Standing Rules and Orders. Provided that any resolution or question which any member may propose to bring forward for debate shall be notified to the Governor at least seven days before the meeting of council."

This provision is important and we agree with His Excellency that it could be helpful in clearing the air when some important question is agitating the public mind. All we have to say at the present is, that if every one concerned will sincerely endeavour to cultivate the temper in which the address has been written and the spirit which appears to dominate the mind of the Head of the Executive, that in spite of the limitations, he has been able to evolve such a constitution, we are hopeful that much will be done to demonstrate that the Colony is not so backward and reactionary as has so sweepingly been often inferred; that so far as the granting of larger liberties to the people goes, we are able to affirm that they possess sufficient sense of responsibility and that as they have agreeably disappointed the fears and won the admiration of the outside world by their response and demeanour to and in the granting of the New Constitution, even so, given larger advantages, honoured by some higher role of responsibility, they will be able to demonstrate that the training they have received during the year of their tutelage has not been lost, but with some encouragement much power being vested in the Commissioners over the Chiefs to the extent of recommending their removal from office and even deportation, it would be difficult to secure that some section of any material debate on such an issue; it would be for the Government to demonstrate that the suspicion entertained, has been more than they would prove responsive to some higher

away the Chiefs that they were not able to attend the reception arranged for them and their other African Colleagues in the Council, by the National Congress. After what His Excellency has said and with a view of helping on the healthy growth of fellowship, it was unfortunate that some relaxation could not have been shown, so as to wipe away any cause for suspicion. The Provincial Commissioners, or to be more correct, the Political Officers will find it difficult to adjust their attitude when called to deal with the people of the Colony as distinct from those they have been accustomed to in the Protectorate, where the order might have been, "there's not to reason why!" We do not say this in a light vein or any desire to be offensive but we have to reckon with conditions as they are. It is known that the terror of the Protectorate to those called Colony, born has been the political officer. Everything points to the surmise that they are not wanted there; they are not regarded as calculated to help the advancement of the people; in consequence, in certain parts of the Protectorate it is felt quite unsafe for them to make a long stay, particularly if they show any initiative or courage. We are sorry for such a condition of affairs and we have mentioned it because we desire a change, if it exist. There is urgent need for the **Political Officer** to adjust the range at which he visualises matters in the Protectorate, being vested as he is with "overwhelming authority."

We venture to say that the spirit in which some of the laws of the Protectorate are administered has not been helpful to the general progress of the Colony as a whole. We are speaking generally! for we cannot afford to forget that some of these gentlemen have shown excellence in administration even in the colony—and in this connection we may instance Captain W. B. STANLEY, C.M.G. M.B.E.,—but taking the administration as a whole there is much that needs adjustment.

We say adjustment not diplomacy. We ask that at this commencement of a new era, old things may be allowed to pass away, that everything may become new. There is no hope for the progress we have visualised, none even for covering the useful and practical programme of work His Excellency has marked out, if it should attain maximum result, unless there be a hearty and undiminished effort in making the two sections of the Colony one, in a united attempt to face their struggles and make the country the haven of unmolested peace. This is the goal we think all the present efforts should tend to; and if any thing short of this, is aimed at by any one we sincerely affirm.—the best is yet to be.

EDUCATING EAST AFRICAN NATIVES.

Forcing the Pace.

THE Rev. John Roscoe's twenty-five years of service in Uganda, and his scientific study of Native races, give great weight to his opinions, and we therefore quote the following passages from a long letter written by him to the *Times*:

East Africa

"There is a desire to educate the Native to an equality with the up-to-date European. Already the Natives are asked to carry a load of advanced knowledge, which it took our own nation centuries to reach. Surely we are asking too much from them. It is not in accordance with our knowledge of human nature to force the pace at such a rate.

"It will be interesting to know whether the scheme for this education is to be a reproduction of that of our Board of Education at home. I should myself deplore the introduction of any scheme which would deprive the Native of his independence and manliness and Christian missions of their control over Native education.

Jan. 22, 1925

"State-paid compulsory education spells pauperism and destroys the ideal of education. It becomes a burden to parents if they have to compel their children to attend school for fear of a fine. The children themselves hate school, and hail the day when they can leave as the day of freedom. When I was a teacher in Africa, I have more than once told boys that, if they were not obedient, I would punish them by forbidding them to come to school for one or two days. A result was tears of penitence, and a promise not to repeat the offence.

"In Africa we tried to instil the fact that education is worth paying for, and that to obtain it, effort and self-denial are called for. I have had men as pupils who on Saturday had to walk from 20 to 30 miles to their homes to obtain food. This they would carry back to the capital, and make it last a week, when they would repeat the journey. In the Buxton High School at Mombasa I met a number of Kavirondo boys who had travelled (most likely on foot) 600 miles to attend it. They worked for half the day at any occupation which they could find, and out of their earnings they paid their school fees and maintained themselves. Such men value education and are worth training.

"What I then plead for is judicious care, lest by misapplied philanthropy the manliness and the independence of the African should be destroyed. Rather than do this, it would be better to leave him with his bit of skin-clothing, smoking his pipe at the hut door, for there he is at least a free agent and independent, and can supply his wife and children with food and shelter, knowing as he does how to build his own hut and grow his food without calling to the State for help. Educate him aright on Christian lines, in accordance with his mental growth, and assist him without pauperizing him, and then you will have in him a useful member of the Empire and a credit to humanity."

Dealing with the Natives:

Mr. J. H. Thomas is contributing a series of articles to "Answers" on "Our Empire: What It Really Means."

In the first article, the ex-Colonial Secretary declares India's demand for self-government "must unquestionably be granted with all that it involves."

Jan. 13, 1925

Referring to the Native question in South Africa, Mr. Thomas says, "Our Black fellow-subjects must be dealt with justly, patiently and fraternally. We have accepted a great trust, which we must faithfully discharge. It cannot be shirked and must not be neglected. Our only satisfaction for attaching these lands to our Crown is the beneficial nature of our administrations and the fact that no exploitation of the Native races is possible under our flag.

We, in fact, of our own choice are the 'guide, philosopher and friend' of the undeveloped races of the earth, and it thus becomes our duty certainly to lead and teach them, and, occasionally, scold them and all this has but one end in view—not the exploitation for 'Imperial purposes' of these immature races, but rather their progress towards a higher form of life."—"Friend."

Government and Segregation

At the Government Native Conference last October, Mr. Tielman Roos announced that the Prime Minister would launch his long-awaited Segregation policy immediately at the forthcoming session. The policy was adumbrated four weeks ago in the publ press under seven heads thus:

Jan. 13, 1925

(1) The abolition of the Native High Court of Natal. (2) The abolition of the Court of Native Appeal in the Transkei. (3) The formation, if necessary, of separate tribunals in the shape of a Native Appeal Court for the Union, and the setting up of lower courts, presided over by experienced and fully qualified officials. This will be an integral part of the system of specialised native administration, and it is considered a big forward move designed to meet the needs of the native people. (4) The appointment of a Chief Native Commissioner in each Province with Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners, in the areas largely occupied by Native people or tribes. (5) The setting up of machinery by which the estates of natives will be administered separately from those of Europeans. (6) The making of regulations for the Government control of native locations. (7) Provision for the removal of native tribes from one area to another, and provision for bringing different sections of native tribes together. The matters here introduced are all highly provocative of serious difference of opinion, and need even longer consideration and more thorough investigation than that given to the urban areas bill because they affect the gigantic population of rural Natives.

Jan. 13, 1925

The most obvious and logical course was to have submitted them to the Pretoria Government Native Conference and to the Native public at large who have a just claim under the 1920 Native Affairs Act to be consulted on all intended vital Native legislation.

General Hertzog in the most open manner avoided meeting the Native leaders at Pretoria and merely sent a message through Mr. Tielman Roos to say he was going to introduce Segregation in Parliament without taking steps to ascertain Native feeling thereon.

Our first point of criticism therefore is that these matters should, before being put to Parliament, be placed before the Natives themselves for consultation as provided under the 1920 Act.

Under the first two heads we ought to have the opinion of the more intelligent Natives of Natal and Transkei. The third item brings us up against the vexed question of litigation between black and white, and the jury system which is admittedly a failure in mixed cases. The fourth item of Native Commissioners will probably be opposed by Natives because the system as it obtains in the Trans-

Natives is expensive and contrary to Native custom. The sixth sub-
What he has achieved thus far is not evident, for there is not a Na-
not yet established single Native Council
Commissioner who, when appointed three years ago was meant to

away the Chiefs that they were not able to attend the reception arranged for them and their other African Colleagues in the Council, by the National Congress. After what His Excellency has said and with a view of helping on the healthy growth of fellowship, it was unfortunate that some relaxation could not have been shown, so as to wipe away any cause for suspicion. The Provincial Commissioners, or to be more correct, the Political Officers will find it difficult to adjust their attitude when called to deal with the people of the Colony as distinct from those they have been accustomed to in the Protectorate, where the order might have been, "there's not to reason why!" We do not say this in a light vein or any desire to be offensive but we have to reckon with conditions as they are. It is known that the terror of the Protectorate to those called Colony, born has been the political officer. Everything points to the surmise that they are not wanted there; they are not regarded as calculated to help the advancement of the people; in consequence, in certain parts of the Protectorate it is felt quite unsafe for them to make a long stay, particularly if they show any initiative or courage. We are sorry for such a condition of affairs and we have mentioned it because we desire a change, if it exist. There is urgent need for the **Political Officer** to adjust the range at which he visualises matters in the Protectorate, being vested as he is with "overwhelming authority."

We venture to say that the spirit in which some of the laws of the Protectorate are administered has not been helpful to the general progress of the Colony as a whole. We are speaking generally! for we cannot afford to forget that some of these gentlemen have shown excellence in administration even in the colony—and in this connection we may instance Captain W. B. STANLEY, C.M.G. M.B.E.,—but taking the administration as a whole there is much that needs adjustment.

We say adjustment not diplomacy. We ask that at this commencement of a new era, old things may be allowed to pass away, that everything may become new. There is no hope for the progress we have visualised, none even for covering the useful and practical programme of work His Excellency has marked out, if it should attain maximum result, unless there be a hearty and undiminished effort in making the two sections of the Colony one, in a united attempt to face their struggles and make the country the haven of unmolested peace. This is the goal we think all the present efforts should tend to; and if any thing short of this, is aimed at by any one we sincerely affirm.—the best is yet to be.

EDUCATING EAST AFRICAN NATIVES.

Forcing the Pace.

THE Rev. John Roscoe's twenty-five years of service in Uganda, and his scientific study of Native races, give great weight to his opinions, and we therefore quote the following passages from a long letter written by him to the *Times*:—

East Africa

"There is a desire to educate the Native to an equality with the up-to-date European. Already the Natives are asked to carry a load of advanced knowledge, which it took our own nation centuries to reach. Surely we are asking too much from them. It is not in accordance with our knowledge of human nature to force the pace at such a rate.

"It will be interesting to know whether the scheme for this education is to be a reproduction of that of our Board of Education at home. I should myself deplore the introduction of any scheme which would deprive the Native of his independence and manliness and Christian missions of their control over Native education.

Jan. 22/1925

"State-paid compulsory education spells pauperism and destroys the ideal of education. It becomes a burden to parents if they have to compel their children to attend school for fear of a fine. The children themselves hate school, and hail the day when they can leave as the day of freedom. When I was a teacher in Africa, I have more than once told boys that, if they were not obedient, I would punish them by forbidding them to come to school for one or two days. A result was tears of penitence, and a promise not to repeat the offence.

"In Africa we tried to instil the fact that education is worth paying for, and that to obtain it, effort and self-denial are called for. I have had men as pupils who on Saturday had to walk from 20 to 30 miles to their homes to obtain food. This they would carry back to the capital, and make it last a week, when they would repeat the journey. In the Buxton High School at Mombasa I met a number of Kavirondo boys who had travelled (most likely on foot) 600 miles to attend it. They worked for half the day at any occupation which they could find, and out of their earnings they paid their school fees and maintained themselves. Such men value education and are worth training.

"What I then plead for is judicious care, lest by misapplied philanthropy the manliness and the independence of the African should be destroyed. Rather than do this, it would be better to leave him with his bit of skin-clothing, smoking his pipe at the hut door, for there he is at least a free agent and independent, and can supply his wife and children with food and shelter, knowing as he does how to build his own hut and grow his food without calling to the State for help. Educate him aright on Christian lines, in accordance with his mental growth, and assist him without pauperizing him, and then you will have in him a useful member of the Empire and a credit to humanity."

Dealing with the Natives:

Mr. J. H. Thomas is contributing a series of articles to "Answers" on "Our Empire: What It Really Means."

In the first article, the ex-Colonial Secretary declares India's demand for self-government "must unquestionably be granted with all that it involves."

Jan. 13/1925

Referring to the Native question in South Africa, Mr. Thomas says, "Our Black fellow-subjects must be dealt with justly, patiently and fraternally. We have accepted a great trust, which we must faithfully discharge. It cannot be shirked and must not be neglected. Our only satisfaction for attaching these lands to our Crown is the beneficial nature of our administrations and the fact that no exploitation of the Native races is possible under our flag.

We, in fact, of our own choice are the 'guide, philosopher and friend' of the undeveloped races of the earth, and it thus becomes our duty certainly to lead and teach them, and, occasionally, scold them and all this has but one end in view—not the exploitation for 'Imperial purposes' of these immature races, but rather their progress towards a higher form of life."—"Friend."

Government and Segregation

At the Government Native Conference last October, Mr. Tielman Roos announced that the Prime Minister would launch his long-awaited Segregation policy immediately at the forthcoming session. The policy was adumbrated four weeks ago in the publ press under seven heads thus:

Jan. 13/1925

(1) The abolition of the Native High Court of Natal. (2) The abolition of the Court of Native Appeal in the Transkei. (3) The formation, if necessary, of separate tribunals in the shape of a Native Appeal Court for the Union, and the setting up of lower courts, presided over by experienced and fully qualified officials. This will be an integral part of the system of specialised native administration, and it is considered a big forward move designed to meet the needs of the native people. (4) The appointment of a Chief Native Commissioner in each Province with Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners, in the areas largely occupied by Native people or tribes. (5) The setting up of machinery by which the estates of natives will be administered separately from those of Europeans. (6) The making of regulations for the Government control of native locations. (7) Provision for the removal of native tribes from one area to another, and provision for bringing different sections of native tribes together. The matters here introduced are all highly provocative of serious difference of opinion, and need even longer consideration and more thorough investigation than that given to the urban areas bill because they affect the gigantic population of rural Natives.

Jan. 13/1925

The most obvious and logical course was to have submitted them to the Pretoria Government Native Conference and to the Native public at large who have a just claim under the 1920 Native Affairs Act to be consulted on all intended vital Native legislation.

General Hertzog in the most open manner avoided meeting the Native leaders at Pretoria and merely sent a message through Mr. Tielman Roos to say he was going to introduce Segregation in Parliament without taking steps to ascertain Native feeling thereon.

Our first point of criticism therefore is that these matters should, before being put to Parliament, be placed before the Natives themselves for consultation as provided under the 1920 Act.

Under the first two heads we ought to have the opinion of the more intelligent Natives of Natal and Transkei. The third item brings us up against the vexed question of litigation between black and white, and the jury system which is admittedly a failure in mixed cases. The fourth item of Native Commissioners will probably be opposed by Natives because the system as it obtains in the Trans-

for using with the estates of who are subject to much embarrassgiven rise to endless What he has achieved thus far is very vaal grievances. In the Cape Province there is already one Ciskei single Native Council yet established. The fifth heading has also may possibly help those Commissioner who, when appointed three years ago was meant to introduce the Council system, problem, because the existing machi-

native people who live in Crown lands and Proclaimed Native tribes to-day are so greatly intermingled and inter-married that we do not

Native custom. The sixth sub-Under the seventh and last head we confess we do not know what the Premier has in mind.

Race Problem—1925. I.

Africa.

A Retrospect of 1924

(By "The S. A. Outlook.")

[*Continued.*]

A land mark in Native education was passed when, in May, the first two students of the South African Native College were capped. The call for an education which will duly fit Bantu boys and girls for life is becoming more and more insistent. Considerable progress in Agricultural training has been made in the Transkei and there is some hope of a similar development in South of Rhodesia.

The whole problem of education in Tropical Africa has been investigated on a second journey by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and been important Conference at High Leigh in England.

Preliminaries to big developments in the further opening up of Africa have marked the past year, and the report of the Mission of the British Government under the leadership of the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., the new Colonial Secretary, is awaited with no little interest. The next five years may see the Zambezi bridged, the beginnings of more than one developing line of railway from the East Coast to the interior, and new motor roads linking up now separated territories. Whether there will be a Union of the Eastern Africa Territories remains to be seen.

Southern Rhodesia started on its new career under its own Government and already various problems, including that of Native education, have been tackled.

The visit of the Empire Parliamentary Association aroused considerable interest throughout the country. A new link of Empire has been forged, and new knowledge and understanding of South African affairs have been carried to different parts of the British Commonwealth.

The year now ending has been marked by perhaps the worst drought South Africa has experienced within living memory. It is to be hoped that the final report of the Drought Commission, which was issued during the year, may not become a dead letter.

Towards the close of the year the Synods of the Dutch Reformed and Anglican Churches met in Cape Town. Both Synods voted over hotly disputed matters for disruption, and the Cape Town Council removed in favour of Rhodes Drive Long, its new native township.

We are about to step into the new year 1925 with confidence if we heed the words of Robert Browning puts into the mouth of Rabbi Ben Ezra:

Grow old along with me
The best is yet to be
The last of life for which the first was made;
Our times are in his hand
Who saith "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God see all, nor be afraid".

Reply to Native Teachers' Resolutions.

The following letter has been received by the Secretary of the C. N. T. A. from the Superintendent-General of Education in reply to the resolutions passed at last conference:—

"With reference to your letter dated the 20th ultimo forwarding particulars of resolution passed by the recent conference of the Cape Native Teachers' Association at Grahamstown, I have to state as follows:

1. *Examinations by private study.* The course of training for teachers is regarded as more important than the actual passing of an examination, and it is regretted that the Department is unable to agree to any teachers taking the Primary Higher examination by private study.

2. *Qualifications:* After full consideration of the matter a two years' course of academic training was decided upon as the necessary prelude to training for the Native Primary Higher Certificate, and a proviso, that students who have passed in the first grade of the T3 Junior Examinations may be admitted to the Higher examination, was allowed merely to meet presented circumstances. A bare pass in the T3 Junior Examination does not ensure the degree of academic training necessary, and the Department is satisfied that it would be unwise to agree to the request put forward by the Association.

3. *Board School:* The placing of mission schools under the control of school boards is contrary to the declared policy of the Provincial Administration. The Administration has been guided in this matter by the recommendations of the Native Education Commission of 1919.

4. *Standing Committee on Publications:* Election of the Committee is welcomed by the Department as a step in the right direction.

5. *Scale of Salaries:* As a result of the passing of the Financial Relations Fourth Extension Act of 1922 the Provincial Administration has been placed in the position of having to look to the Union Government for any further funds for the development of native education, and for the reason of the scale of salaries. The scale proposed by your Association has been forwarded to the Union Government, but it must be pointed out that a very large sum of money would be required for the application of this scale.

Correspondence.

The 14th Annual Convention of the African National Congress.

TO THE EDITOR IMVO

Sir,—I crave permission to utilise the columns of your valuable journal for the purposes of making an Appeal to Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs, Headmen, Ministers of Religion, and Leaders, men and women of the Bantu and other African races domiciled within the bounds of Southern Africa to attend in person or by proxy or by duly accredited delegation on the Annual Convention of the African National Congress (formerly the S. A. Native National Congress) which will be holden at Johannesburg on Friday the 17th day of April 1925 and following days.

The political and industrial situation of the country in its relation to peoples of African origin and descent, those domiciled in the Native Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland and the Transkei not excepted, is fraught of possibilities and potentialities or contingencies of a most menacing and threatening character. Our labouring classes are threatened with dismissal or exclusion from the industrial activities of the land after they had helped to build the industries of this, the land of their fathers; our peasant classes as well as detribalised peoples now living in urban areas are menaced with segregation proposals; our womenfolk entering domestic service are to be subjected to the indignities of medical examination by white doctors and the humiliation of carrying Passes; our Brothers who at present enjoy a measure of self-government in the native Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland under the benign and motherly protection of Great Britain are threatened with annexation and incorporation into the misgoverned so-called Union of South Africa, to say nothing of the great process that is going on of ousting the blackman from the land or reducing him to a condition of veritable slavery or perpetual serfdom in the land originally ordained by Providence as his eternal home.

The National Congress was organised by Dr P. ka Isaka Seme with the deliberate knowledge, consent and sanction of the Bantu Kings, Chiefs and Leaders at Bloemfontein in 1912 for the main object of safe-guarding and protecting the interests of the Bantu. The forsaking or refraining from attendance at the Annual gatherings of the Association on the part of those to whom the people look for leadership and protection amounts to national suicide of the most possible description. We cannot, we dare not sit with folded arms watch the process going before our view of the gradual extermination of our people as a race or their gradual annihilation as a people or their elimination as a national entity in the political economy of Southern Africa, and their ultimate reduction to the position of a race of mere "hewers of wood and drawers of waters" for another race of people who have no more rights of existence as a people and special privileges and facilities than we.

This dark and critical hour in the life history of the Bantu race loudly and eloquently calls for unity of thought, unity of feeling, unity of expression, unity of action, unity of movement, unity of front, for the sinking of all petty differences, all tribal jealousies, all mutual suspicions and distrust. I, therefore, in my humble capacity as President for the time being of the African National Congress, humbly appeal to all Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs, Chieftains and Headmen of the African race, all political, industrial, agricultural and religious organizations at present in existence and purporting to represent the various interests of the African people to attend or send representatives to Johannesburg convention. "Come, let us reason together," and see how this dark cloud of imminent calamity to our national existence as a people could be averted. Is it not high time the Bantu people send a strong deputation for presenting to the present session of the Union Parliament a "Petition of Rights" in pursuance of the solemn Declaration of Rights issued by its annual convention assembled at Bloemfontein in May, 1923?

I am Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
Z. R. MAHABANE,
President, African National Congress.

The Colour Bar.

GEN. SMUTS' WARNING.

General SMUTS on Feb. 28th contended that the issue was not a party one. They were dealing with one of the fundamental issues in South Africa, and he hoped they would discuss it in a non-party spirit during this debate. They were up against the gravest issue that could be raised, either in the House or the country.

Having expressed the opinion that the Bill went far beyond the old existing colour bar of the Transvaal and Free State, and having referred to the framework of the Act of 1911, for which he was responsible, the leader of

the Opposition proceeded as follows:

The first ten lines of this new paragraph deals with that old question, it says that the regulations under paragraph (n , which I have been discussing, may provide that certificates of competency shall not be granted to natives or Asiatics. If the Bill had stopped there we would have purported here to deal simply with the old Transvaal colour bar, which appears in paragraph (n of the old Act. But the Bill does not stop there. It now goes on to apply the colour bar to all the other paragraphs of section (4) of the Act (a-p) It says, "and the regulations under any other paragraph of this sub-section may restrict certain classes of work to and impose duties and responsibilities on persons other than natives and Asiatics" subject to proof of efficiency.

You will see, therefore, that the Bill in the second part extends the colour bar as it has been existing in the Transvaal in years past right on to all classes of work which fall under regulations from paragraph (a) to paragraph (p .

But it does not even stop there. The Bill then goes on to say in line 16, "and may subject to such proof of efficiency, generally apportion work as between natives and Asiatics and other persons respectively in respect of mines, works or machinery." Here the Bill goes into the blue. It leaves the Mines and Machinery Act altogether, it leaves section (4), it leaves all the paragraphs, and it gives power to the Government by regulation to apportion work on mines and works generally between whites and coloured persons on the one hand, and natives and Asiatics, on the other.

Danger to the Native Franchise

The Government have published a bill to amend the laws concerning the sale and supply of intoxicating liquor in various provinces. The amending clause No. 10 reads thus:—

"Notwithstanding anything contained in section one of Act No. 39 of 1887, or any other law of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, no person described in that section shall, by reason only that he is a registered Parliamentary voter, be exempted from the operation of any law in force in that Province which, but for that Act or any such other law aforesaid, would prohibit the supply of intoxicating liquor to him."

Now this Act No. 39 of 1887 is a nothing less than the charter of liberties otherwise known as the "Hofmeyr Act" under which all Cape Native voters have enjoyed immunity from laws that discriminate against a man by the stigma of the colour of his skin. The present Government not having the courage overtly to wrench away the Cape Native vote are thus covertly adopting a circuitous course to compass the same object by first attacking one privilege and then another, so that ultimately they may annihilate the Native vote. This is the thin end of the wedge to take the vote away altogether from the blacks in the Cape so as to bring them down to the impotence and serfdom of the Orange Free State where the Nationalist Dutch deny both the franchise and land ownership to their Native neighbours.

In clause 11 there is a provision which will prevent any Native from being employed, as he is now, as a servant or helper in hotels, breweries, bottle store, wholesale wine merchants or any place engaged in the manufacture or sale of liquor.

For the present we are not discussing the questions of Temperance and Prohibition, nor are we seeking to pose as moralists preaching the wisdom or otherwise of Natives being allowed to serve in public houses and canteens. Our point is to call attention to the insidious manner in which fundamental principles are being cunningly assailed by legislative stratagem to dispossess honest and honourable servants of a means of livelihood hitherto enjoyed from Victorian times without question. Possibly some may consider that in the cause of temperance it is a good thing for the Native that he should, although a registered voter, no longer be allowed to obtain liquor in any form, from licensed premises. As supporters of Temperance we would prefer that Natives abstained from all drink and liquor premises; but that is not the question now at issue. The malevolence of this amendment to which we attach the utmost importance, is that it takes away, by underhand trickery, a privilege which is of a nature which any free man would claim he has a just and inalienable right thereto. Under clause 11 we have the substitution of black labour by white, a new and immoral precedent against a man by the accident; and once the principle is conceded here with one trade, it is bound to be logically extended to some other trades and even-tually to all trades. Once the Government is allowed thus to attack a single Native voter, there is no knowing where it will halt. It might very well keep him out of many available avenues of employment, and finally keep him away from the polling booth.

This menace strikes at the very foundations of the liberties of the black Africans, and threatens their future in a manner that deserves the attention of the Imperial Parliament itself. It is a direct challenge to all sane Native leaders in this land to bestir themselves and champion the rights that are now so dangerously threatened by the Pact Natives of South Africa and loyal British subjects we claim the right to have some say in the way in which we shall be governed, to retain intact the privileges that we already have, and to resist any conspiracy aimed at depriving us of any of these rights without previous consultation under the existing Parliamentary code of the Native Affairs Act 23 of 1920.

Notes.

Colour Bar Opposition.

A crowded meeting of Native Voters, with some Europeans, met at Cradock on the 10th instant and unanimously passed the following resolutions: [a.] That this meeting of Registered Parliamentary Native Voters of Cradock held under the auspices of the All-African Convention is [a] Unequivocally opposed to the proposed Bill to amend the liquor laws of the Cape Province as an encroachment on the entrenched political rights of the Native Voters of the Cape of Good Hope. [b.] The meeting wholeheartedly supports the views of the IMVO ZABANTSUNDU with regard to the substantiation of the Industrial Colour bar policy on the mines of South Africa."

BILL.

TO CONSOLIDATE AND AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO THE TAXATION OF THE NATIVES AND TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIVES.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

1. Taxes Levied. From and after the first day of January, 1925, there shall be charged, levied and collected for the benefit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, except as hereinafter expressly provided, the general and local taxes payable by natives in accordance with section two of this Act.

2. Central and Local Taxes. (1) A tax (hereinafter called the general tax) of one pound sterling shall be paid by every adult male native who is domiciled in the Union or who has resided therein for a continuous period of twelve months immediately preceding the date on which the tax becomes due.

(2) A tax hereinafter called the local tax) of ten shillings shall, in addition to the general tax be paid by every adult male native whose permanent home is in a native location within the Union: Provided that such local tax shall not be paid by the owner of any allotment of land held under quitrent title in the location which is his permanent home.

3. Due dates of Taxes. The general and local taxes shall be due on the first day of January in each year and shall be payable at such times and places and in accordance with such requirements as may be prescribed by regulation.

4. Exemptions from Taxes. (1) There shall be exempted from payment of the general tax and the local or of either the general tax or of the local tax

(a) any native who satisfied the receiver that he is indigent and is prevented from working by reason of age, chronic disease or other sufficient cause or that he is in necessitous circumstances and is prevented by causes not within his own control from earning sufficient to enable him to pay the tax;

(b) any native whose permanent residence is outside the Union but who is residing within the Union to perform labour therein and produces proof that he has discharged his liability to pay the current taxes imposed under the law of the territory of his permanent residence;

(c) any native who satisfies the receiver that in consequence of his regular attendance at an educational institution approved by the Native Affairs Commission he has been precluded from earning wages which would enable him to pay the tax;

(d) any native who has paid income tax to the Government of the Union of South Africa for the year ending on the thirtieth day of June previous to the date on which the general tax becomes due

It shall be in the receiver's discretion to determine what exemption shall be made under this sub section.

(2). Every native who has satisfied the receiver that he is exempted under sub-section (1) shall be furnished by the receiver with a certificate to that effect in a form to be prescribed.

(3), Every certificate of exemption shall be valid only in respect of the tax or taxes for the year which it is granted.

5. Extension of time to pay tax A receiver may in his discretion grant any native an extension of time in which to pay any tax under this Act and shall thereupon furnish such native with a certificate of extension in the prescribed form.

6. Returns by land-owners on which natives reside. Every owner or occupier of land on which natives reside shall, on demand, furnish to the receiver within thirty days of the date of such demand, a return in the prescribed form giving such particulars as may be required for the purposes of this Act in regard to every native who resides on such land

7. Production of certificates (1). Any receiver or person authorised by him, any European member of the police, any native chief recognised by the Government or a Government headman may demand from any native whom he believes to be liable to any tax under this Act at any time after the expiry of three months from the date on which the tax

Race Problem—1925. 1.

Africa.

becomes due, the production of—

(a) such native's tax receipt for the current year or any duplicate thereof; or (b) his certificate of exemption; and after inspection shall return the document so produced to such native.

[2]. Any native who fails on demand to produce one or other of the documents which he may be required to produce under sub-section [1] shall be guilty of an offence and may be arrested, without warrant, by any person authorised to make such demand.

[3]. If it appears to the court before which any native who has been arrested under sub-section [2] is charged, that he has not in fact paid any tax for which he is liable under this Act, such native though charged with a contravention of that sub section shall not be convicted thereof but may be convicted of a contravention of sub section [1] of section *nine* notwithstanding that he has not been charged with the last mentioned contravention.

8. Misuse of receipts or certificates. Every person shall be guilty of an offence, in respect of any receipt or certificate mentioned in sub-section [1] of section *seven*

[1] if having obtained such a document under section *seven* he fails to return it to the native who produced it;

[2] if, without being authorised under section *seven* to demand such a document, he unlawfully deprives a native of its possession;

[3] if, such person, whether or not the lawful holder of any such document is in possession of another person with intent that it shall be fraudulently used as evidence of the payment of tax, extension of time for payment of tax or exemption from the payment of tax;

[4] if, being in possession of such a document belonging to another person he represents it to be his own;

[5] if, with intent to defraud, he forges, imitates, alters, defaces, destroys or mutilates any such document;

[6] if, not being authorised by the receiver he makes any entry, writing or mark of any such document.

9. Failure to pay tax. [1] Every native who fails to pay any tax which he is liable under this Act within three months of the date on which such tax becomes payable by him, shall be guilty of an offence.

(2). Subject to the provisions of sub section (3) of this section a writ of attachment against the movable property of any such native as is described in sub-section (1) of this section may be issued by the magistrate of the district in which such native resides and shall be executed in like manner as if it had been issued after judgment obtained in the magistrate's court; provided that if such native does not pay on demand to the officer executing the writ the amount of tax for which he is liable, together with the costs of service of such writ, or does not point out to such officer sufficient movable property to meet the amount of the tax and the costs of the writ he may be forthwith arrested without warrant and brought before the magistrate's court of the said district on a charge of contravening sub-section (1) of this section.

(3). In such areas as the Minister may prescribe, every such native as is described in sub section (1) of this section may be arrested on a warrant issued by any person authorised by law to issue warrants of arrest and forthwith brought to trial on a charge of contravening that sub-section.

(4). Every native convicted of a contravention of sub-section (1) of this section shall be ordered by the court before which he is tried to pay forthwith or within such time as may be specified in the order, the amount which is found to be due and may, in default of payment of that amount, be sentenced to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months: provided that any person undergoing a sentance of imprisonment imposed under this section shall forthwith be released on the payment by him or on his behalf of the amount found by the Court to have been due: provided further that no person shall be sentenced to a second term of imprisonment in respect of failure to pay the same debt.

(5). No imprisonment undergone in respect of a sentence imposed under sub-section (1) of this section shall have the effect of cancelling the liability; but an order made in accordance with that sub-section shall have the effect of a civil judgment in the magistrate's court and shall be executable in the same manner as if it had been given in a civil action instituted in that court.

(6). Any moneys recovered under this section shall be paid to the Consolidated Revenue Fund and allocated in the manner provided in section *eleven* and *twelve*.

16. Penalties. (1). Any person who contravenes the provisions of section *six*, or sub-section (2) of section *seven* or sub-section (6) of section *eight* shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding five pounds or in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

(2). Any person who contravenes the provisions of sub sections (1), (2), (3), (4) or (5) of section *eight* shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

11. Allocation of local tax. (1). There shall be paid to—

(a) The Transkeian Territories General Council:

(b) The Western Pondoland General Council:

(c) The Glen Grey District Council:

(d) The Boards of Management established under Ordinance No. 6 of 1907, Orange Free State:

(e) any council established under Act No. 23 of 1920: provided that its estimates of expenditure in respect of the tax year have been approved by the Governor-General:

(f) any native council approved by the Minister and established under any other law:

the amount of the local tax together with the amount of native quitrent collected in each year in respect of the areas under their several jurisdiction.

(2). The proviso to section *nine* of the Native Affairs Act, 1920 shall not apply to any tax levied under this Act.

(3). From and after the commencement of this Act no rate shall be levied by the Glen Grey District Council under the provisions of section *forty-eight* of the Glen Grey Act, 1894, of the Cape of Good Hope and no location tax shall be levied by any board of management under the provisions of sub-section (8) of section *nine* of the Native Reserves Management Ordinance 1907, of the Orange Free State unless such rate or location tax has been imposed by the Council or board concerned with the approval of the Minister and notwithstanding anything in any law contained, it shall not be deemed necessary for the Governor-General to impose an annual rate on behalf of the Transkeian Territories General Council or the Pondoland General Council.

12. Native Development Account. There shall be established a special account to be styled "the native development account" and to be administered by the Minister and there shall be paid into that account—

REHOBOTH TRIBE REVOLTS

Half Castes Rise in African Mandate and Britain Sends Armed Forces.

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, April 3.—The South African Government has suddenly been caleld upon to deal with a revolt in the mandated terirtory of SouthWest Africa, a former German colony. The trouble is confined to the Rehoboth tribe of half castes, who demand independence and have appealed to the League of Nations. The difficulty has existed for some months, but heretofore had not been considered serious. The tribe now is under arms. Administrator Hofmeyer has gone to the scene with an armed force and three airplanes have been sent. It is hoped, however, that maters will be aranged peacefully.

LONDON, April 3.—The natives of the Southwest African Protestorate have not revolted against British authority, according to reports received by British officials on the so-called revolt in that area, it was stated today in an official explanation. There were riots among the native sections of the Protectorate, the report said, the understanding being that the disturbances arose over the claims of various native sections to rights in certain lands which were resisted by other native sections.

The British authorities have complete control of the situation, it is declared, and do not expect the disturbances to spread.

The Cape Town correspondent of The Daily Telegraph says that under German rule the Rehoboth tribe was nominally independent, with it sown Parliament. During the war the tribesmen refused to fight against Great Britain and joined General Botha's invading army. Since then they have retained their Parliament, but have been denied complete independence. They are said to be acting under the influence of young extremists, insisting that they are a religious community and firmly believing that they will be protected by Providence.

Self-Preservation?

Under the plea that "self-preservation is the first law of nature" the Hertzog and Cresswell Government has introduced into Parliament a colour bar bill to stigmatise the native and the Indian British subjects of the Union of South Africa as industrial outcasts, incompetent to do certain classes of skilled work not because they are in fact incompetent but because of the accident of colour of their skin. The reason for springing this far reaching measure upon Parliament without waiting for the result of a commission sitting at Johannesburg to probe this very matter is that "the Europeans should to take steps for their own self-protection." The precedent for this unjust, un-British and un-Christian policy is the colour bar clause number 44 (c) in the South Africa Act, the joint handiwork of the whites of this land. The fact that it is no new thing does not palliate its infamy; for the colour bar in its constitution is itself the everlasting disgrace of South African white politicians whose standard of political morals is founded upon that of the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republics. This standard is that of ruthless materialism and blank denial of human rights to black men. The constitutional colour bar is the *fons et origo mali* from which South African statesmanship first adopted the selfish principle of protecting the supremacy of the white race by legislation, where it failed to maintain its prestige by merit. It is a direct confession of innate fear for white incapacity when matched against black ability in open competition.

The revolutionary feature about the present bill is that its aim is to

EXTEND THE COLOUR BAR

in a manner unknown even in President Kruger's regime. It seeks to establish what General Smuts terms "a ring fence of aristocracy" saying to the Natives "you shall in future be debarred

from rising above the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The policy adopted by the present Government in this bill is patently clear cut and manifest to all observers: It is the old Dutch policy of Native repression by a system of privileged legislation in a Parliament where the Bantu subjects of the King have no representative of their own colour. There can be but one result to such a policy: It will sow the dragon's teeth. It insures the country for a future period of Native unrest. It will spell hatred of white rule and a Native propaganda for the purpose of regaining the liberty to honest work in the country of their birth. It may drive Native leaders into violent desperation.

We fail to see the cause for this unwise bill in our present circumstances, and we do not understand what the net gain will be to South Africa as a whole when for the sake of an iniquitous theory of a "white South Africa" the Government should jeopardise the prosperity of the great mining industry and incur the antagonism of the entire Bantu races in the Union and Asiatic populations elsewhere.

According to this bill justice is once more to be flatly denied to the African aborigines, who, by this act are taught that the dominant European race is determined upon the hostile attitude of enmity towards the subject black races. If the bill passes into law, then the doors of an evil and destructive agitation are thrown ajar until the ominous day of united action against the whites. The Natives cannot be expected to remain quiet and content with such a law standing permanently to block their advance by the cowardly and artificial means of pro-white legislation. While there is time to avoid this ugly prospect we trust that wiser counsels will prevail and hope the Government will not unduly rush to enact a law fraught with dangerous possibilities without pondering twice over the untoward consequences to the country as a whole.

The way to self-preservation for the whites lies not in the brutal repression of the blacks but rather in honest dealing. The principle of equality of opportunity is a fair one and will amply secure the preservation of white supe riority and at the same time develo goodwill and contentment among th Bantu as subjects of the British Em pire.

SOME ASPECTS OF LABOUR.

Specially Written for "East Africa"

By "Kalambo."

IV.—The Labourer at Work.

Having got the labour, the next consideration is to obtain from them regular work and a full day's task. Here conditions vary considerably in different districts. There are those where it is the custom for labourers—be they contracted men or *kipande* men (I use the term here to describe the man who works from month to month, without engaging for a longer period)—to turn out and work daily. In other districts if they work for four days in a week it is considered a good average. This means that a far larger number of men than those working has to be kept on the books, in order that there may be present the daily minimum required. Thus, though there may be 600 men on the books, there may never be more than from 200 to 250 working on any one day. Under this system men take as much as from two to three months to complete 30 days work. It is obvious that this is harmful to all concerned. Laziness is encouraged, there is a great wastage of man power, and farm work is disorganized through the men constantly changing.

Causes of Poor Output.

There are means of redress under the various labour laws, but in all such questions the procedure is cumbersome, and the farmer is averse to wasting a lot of his time. It is, however, worthy of note that such conditions are more prevalent on a certain type of farm, and are mainly attributable to the following causes:—

(1) Weak headmen and their not living in the labour villages with their men;

(2) Absence of labour villages, i.e., men living in unorganized groups on various parts of the estate;

(3) Difficulties of the labourers in obtaining food (having to go long distances in their spare time to buy).

Where irregular work has grown into a custom only a combination of the farmers concerned, backed by the Administration, can eradicate the growth. That it must be eradicated is obvious. It is too great a waste of men, and contract labour under such conditions is sometimes not worth its keep. One can compare it to enlisting a soldier and telling him he must attend parades when he feels like it.

The *kipande* labourer will do just enough to keep him in cloth and a few delicacies. Strangely enough, many farmers seem to be resigned to these conditions, and make no move to alter them, except to say that their men are lazy. Yet, extraordinary to relate, 50 miles or so away you will find another single or group of plantations with the labourers working regularly, and not dreaming of doing otherwise. This proves it to be a question of organization.

Questions of Food.

The question of procuring food is of primary importance. The labourer is either provided with food direct or with money with which to purchase it. There are advantages and disadvantages to both systems. When providing the labourer with food the employer is forced to offer so much less money, and to the potential labourer it appears more attracive to be offered 15s. a month wages and 5s. food money than 15s. and food. With the exception of this consideration, and that it means more work to the employer, the first method is by was cheap the fact of employing two men for one man's work was not of importance, but it is becoming so now that wages are rising and the demands for labour constantly increasing. More work must be done by the individual. He can do it without any hardship, and is, I believe, willing to do it for a rise in wages that is correspondingly very slight; but the movement for increase must be general, and through mutual agreement by all the farmers.

From experience it has been proved time and again that for a small bonus or increase of 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. in wages, a considerably greater amount of work can be got out of individual men, that gradually the idea grows amongst the labour force, and that at the end of two or three months a number of men are on the higher wage and bigger tasks. Thus the labour is divided into two categories, and the lower are provided with an objective and incentive to greater effort. I do not believe that a standard wage for all men on an estate is the best way to get the maximum amount of work out of them, but that better results are obtained from graded wages.

We note, then, that labour does not do the amount of work it should, and that further there is a great wastage of man power. Both these defects can and must be remedied if the available population is to be sufficient to fill all the demands made upon it.

Estates with Good Names.

Finally, there is the use of labour-saving devices. There has so far not been much incentive to the employment of machinery, but now attention must be seriously turned in this direction in order that there may be a saving of man power. In developed districts it almost amounts to a crime for a man to keep on his books more men than he is regularly employing.

I have mentioned labour villages and the fact that on some estates they do not exist. The importance of these villages, and their thorough organization so as to approach as nearly as possible to what the Native is accustomed to, cannot be too much emphasized. On them to a great extent depends not only the good name of the estate as a labour centre, but also the amount and the regularity of the work obtained from its residents. In these villages the most important items are good housing and sanitary arrangements.

The labour headmen should be the village headmen, and under them should live their gangs, divided as far as possible into tribes. Thus they live and work together in a community. Every endeavour should be made to induce the men to live their family life as nearly as possible, and to establish their family there, giving each such family a small plot of, say, half an acre of land. Thus a residential labour force is built up. It is such a force that makes the most satisfactory workers. It has been found that contract labourers return to such estates, bringing their families with them.

In the next and final part of this review I will describe the methods of the most successful employer of labour I have yet met and shortly discuss other points that require attention.

from rising above the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The policy adopted by the present Government in this bill is patently clear cut and manifest to all observers: It is the old Dutch policy of Native repression by a system of privileged legislation in a Parliament where the Bantu subjects of the King have no representative of their own colour. There can be but one result to such a policy: It will sow the dragon's teeth. It insures the country for a future period of Native unrest. It will spell hatred of white rule and Native propaganda for the purpose of regaining the liberty of honest work in the country of their birth. It may drive Native leaders into violent desperation.

We fail to see the cause for this unwise bill in our present circumstances, and we do not understand what the net gain will be to South Africa as a whole when for the sake of an iniquitous theory of a "white South Africa" the Government should jeopardise the prosperity of the great mining industry and incur the antagonism of the entire Bantu races in the Union and Asiatic populations elsewhere.

According to this bill justice is once more to be flatly denied to the African aborigines, who, by this act are taught that the dominant European race is determined upon the hostile attitude of enmity towards the subject black races. If the bill passes into law, then the doors of an evil and destructive agitation are thrown ajar until the ominous day of united action against the whites. The Natives cannot be expected to remain quiet and content with such a law standing permanently to block their advance by the cowardly and artificial means of pro-white legislation. While there is time to avoid this ugly prospect we trust that wiser counsels will prevail and hope the Government will not unduly rush to enact a law fraught with dangerous possibilities without pondering twice over the untoward consequences to the country as a whole.

The way to self-preservation for the whites lies not in the brutal repression of the blacks but rather in honest dealing. The principle of equality of opportunity is a fair one and will amply secure the preservation of white supe riority and at the same time develo goodwill and contentment among th Bantu as subjects of the British Em pire.

SOME ASPECTS OF LABOUR.

Specially Written for "East Africa"

By "Kalambo."

IV.—The Labourer at Work.

Having got the labour, the next consideration is to obtain from them regular work and a full day's task. Here conditions vary considerably in different districts. There are those where it is the custom for labourers—be they contracted men or *kipande* men (I use the term here to describe the man who works from month to month, without engaging for a longer period)—to turn out and work daily. In other districts if they work for four days in a week it is considered a good average. This means that a far larger number of men than those working has to be kept on the books, in order that there may be present the daily minimum required. Thus, though there may be 600 men on the books, there may never be more than from 200 to 250 working on any one day. Under this system men take as much as from two to three months to complete 30 days work. It is obvious that this is harmful to all concerned. Laziness is encouraged, there is a great wastage of man power, and farm work is disorganized through the men constantly changing.

Causes of Poor Output.

There are means of redress under the various labour laws, but in all such questions the procedure is cumbersome, and the farmer is averse to wasting a lot of his time. It is, however, worthy of note that such conditions are more prevalent on a certain type of farm, and are mainly attributable to the following causes:—

(1) Weak headmen and their not living in the labour villages with their men;

(2) Absence of labour villages, i.e., men living in unorganized groups on various parts of the estate;

(3) Difficulties of the labourers in obtaining food (having to go long distances in their spare time to buy).

Where irregular work has grown into a custom only a combination of the farmers concerned, backed by the Administration, can eradicate the growth. That it must be eradicated is obvious. It is too great a waste of men, and contract labour under such conditions is sometimes not worth its keep. One can compare it to enlisting a soldier and telling him he must attend parades when he feels like it.

The *kipande* labourer will do just enough to keep him in cloth and a few delicacies. Strangely enough, many farmers seem to be resigned to these conditions, and make no move to alter them, except to say that their men are lazy. Yet, extraordinary to relate, 50 miles or so away you will find another single or group of plantations with the labourers working regularly, and not dreaming of doing otherwise. This proves it to be a question of organization.

Questions of Food.

The question of procuring food is of primary importance. The labourer is either provided with food direct or with money with which to purchase it. There are advantages and disadvantages to both systems. When providing the labourer with food the employer is forced to offer so much less money, and to the potential labourer it appears more attracive to be offered 15s. a month wages and 5s. food money than 15s. and food. With the exception of this consideration, and that it means more work to the employer, the first method is by was cheap the fact of employing two men for one man's work was not of importance, but it is becoming so now that wages are rising and the demands for labour constantly increasing. More work must be done by the individual. He can do it without any hardship, and is, I believe, willing to do it for a rise in wages that is correspondingly very slight; but the movement for increase must be general, and through mutual agreement by all the farmers.

From experience it has been proved time and again that for a small bonus or increase of 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. in wages, a considerably greater amount of work can be got out of individual men, that gradually the idea grows amongst the labour force, and that at the end of two or three months a number of men are on the higher wage and bigger tasks. Thus the labour is divided into two categories, and the lower are provided with an objective and incentive to greater effort. I do not believe that a standard wage for all men on an estate is the best way to get the maximum amount of work out of them, but that better results are obtained from graded wages.

We note, then, that labour does not do the amount of work it should, and that further there is a great wastage of man power. Both these defects can and must be remedied if the available population is to be sufficient to fill all the demands made upon it.

Estates with Good Names.

Finally, there is the use of labour-saving devices. There has so far not been much incentive to the employment of machinery, but now attention must be seriously turned in this direction in order that there may be a saving of man power. In developed districts it almost amounts to a crime for a man to keep on his books more men than he is regularly employing.

I have mentioned labour villages and the fact that on some estates they do not exist. The importance of these villages, and their thorough organization so as to approach as nearly as possible to what the Native is accustomed to, cannot be too much emphasized. On them to a great extent depends not only the good name of the estate as a labour centre, but also the amount and the regularity of the work obtained from its residents. In these villages the most important items are good housing and sanitary arrangements.

The labour headmen should be the village headmen, and under them should live their gangs, divided as far as possible into tribes. Thus they live and work together in a community. Every endeavour should be made to induce the men to live their family life as nearly as possible, and to establish their family there, giving each such family a small plot of, say, half an acre of land. Thus a residential labour force is built up. It is such a force that makes the most satisfactory workers. It has been found that contract labourers return to such estates, bringing their families with them.

In the next and final part of this review I will describe the methods of the most successful employer of labour I have yet met and shortly discuss other points that require attention.

Race Problem - 1925 I.

Africa.

MECHANICAL TRANSPORT IN WEST AFRICA.

(By an Engineering Correspondent.)

Necessity for the development of vast areas of produc tion, actual and potential, in West Africa and financial stringency are bringing into prominence the develop ment of transport instruments, the capitalisation of whicl does not run into thousands of pounds sterling per mil of route, as is the case of road or railway construction.

Colonial Administrations have hitherto recognised no third choice. Impressed with the wide extension of motor transport under European conditions of density of population and industrial production, they have embarked upon programmes of metalled road-construction second in cost only to that of the railways.

West Africa

Naturally jealous for the safety of these costly arteries, with rumours of growing intensity from some of road destruction wrought by heavy traffic, they have in many cases so restricted capacity of transport operation that economical handling of large-volume freight is difficult, if not impossible.

6-6-25

The motor lorry (particularly of low capacity) appears applicable to the conveyance, with reasonable economy, of large tonnages of tropical produce in periodic seasonal activity.

There has thus arisen a dilemma. Freight-charges per ton-mile cannot be reduced to a truly economical level, commodity prices are kept high, production and development are in consequence retarded, so that the service of loans for road and rail extension lies heavy on every activity and industry in the Colony so controlled.

It is of first importance to indicate what alternatives are available for meeting commercial requirement in freight-transference in large volume and at paying speeds which at the same time safeguard the road or track surface over which such traffic moves.

One such alternative is that recently advanced, in the columns of the "Times," by Sir Frederick Lugard.

Drawing attention to the publicly expressed opinion of so unimpeachable an authority as the late Sir William Acworth, that the newer transport instruments (of the track-laying type) had entirely superseded the light railway for feeder-service of trunk railway systems, Sir Frederick rightly concluded that the very characteristics which enabled these vehicles to negotiate rough and soft "cross-country" surfaces equally rendered them innocuous to costly engineered roads, which, indeed, actually improved rather than disintegrated under the action of their gently laid, stress-distributing metal "track."

Operating experience, however, has proved that adequate commercial economy cannot be secured by carrying-units used alone, whether on wheels or track. It is becoming increasingly recognised that the re-establishment is vital of the principle of *haulage of load*—which, indeed, originated in road-transport, but was later displaced by the fallacy of mere *carriage*, as exemplified in the modern motor-lorry.

In other words, the multiple-unit train haulage familiar and axiomatic over the highly organised surface of steel railway, must, for every purpose of economy, be adopted in road transport also.

Both locomotive and truck units for this are available to-day. The desideratum is attainable—has been attained indeed. For availability can be asserted in no tentative or experimental sense, but attested by years of practical running proof behind it.

Yet another alternative has now to be considered to the means indicated by Sir Frederick Lugard.

The last factor in traction is not, as commonly supposed, engine-power alone. The actual limiting condition is "adhesion" or friction between the power-driven wheel and the running-surface beneath it. The behaviour of the human foot on ice-surface affords illustration of this fact. This it is that renders power-transmission through creeper-track so much more effectual than the propulsive effort exerted through the line-contact of the motor-lorry's single pair of driven wheels.

The added propulsion and traction secured in railway locomotive practice by the expedient of coupling together two or more of the engine's wheels is paralleled, for road service, by the most recent development of the multi-wheel train-aggregate, throughout the whole length of which is distributed not only the load carried, but—what is far more important—the propulsive effort also.

Previous efforts of varying practicability and success have been made on these lines, both in this country and on the Continent. The prototype—the Renard train—inefficient as were its transmission and suspension systems, clearly demonstrated the amazing performance of which such multi-wheeled distribution of load and propulsion was capable in the negotiation of soft and irregular surface.

Some idea of the magnitude of the saving in costs possible with such instruments may be gleaned from the following estimates for an Australian problem which involved the carrying of some 32 tons of ore per day 9,600 tons per year) over 90 miles of unmade earth track. With heavy motor-lorries the capital required was £9,030, the estimated transport cost being £2 19s. per ton. With trains hauled by British track-laying units capital was £4,670, and transport cost per ton £1 16s. 5d. With multi-wheel train-aggregate, costing £8,812, the transport cost was estimated as only £1 2s. 4d. per ton.

In other words, adoption of more modern means than the motor-lorry saved well over £10,000 and £17,000 respectively *in a single year*. It is worth noting, moreover, that, although greater capital expenditure was called for by the latter of the two systems in order to obtain the higher economy, the difference is repaid 1¾ times in the first year's working, over and above the 8 per cent. return on capital taken into the figure of estimated cost in both cases.

It must not be deduced from this example that the particular mileage provided an exceptionally economical basis of operation. Estimates for a 600-mile transport service carrying 60 tons daily showed capitalisation of £440 per mile and operating costs at 5d. per ton-mile.

The immense practical significance of such economies as have been indicated can hardly fail of attention and application in the problems of transport organisation which are pivetal and urgent throughout the length and breadth of Africa.

To handle the large volumes of tropical produce—cotton, cocoa, sisal, oil-nuts—at a cost of outlay and operation hitherto unapproachable; to convey such bulk-freights from scattered growing-points to central dump or factory in the plantation (or other wider collecting-area); to organise feeder-services to now largely unprofitable railways, thus opening up new districts of production and fostering them to the stage of justifying railway-extension: all these possibilities are to-day offered by instruments of British design and manufacture. Their recognition and adoption by Colonial interests and Governments alike would—unlike the railway's long and unremunerative years of construction—immediately redound to the benefit of development and to that of a section of British engineering industry which is at pains to maintain, in the face of American and Continental competition, the precedence to which its technical superiority most justly entitles it.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

The Prince of Wales.

Among the minor causes contributing to the excellent impression created by the Prince of Wales at the Gold Coast was his pleasant manner when, as at Sekondi, the crowd got beyond the control of the police and swarmed around his car, making it almost impossible to proceed. At Accra he made himself for ever popular with the people by taking sides with them against the police. It seems that while he was playing tennis at Christiansborg the crowd naturally wished to make the most of their opportunity to see him, but the police were carrying out their usual "move on" tactics until he stepped forward with instructions to leave the people alone. At the Accra races he removed the rope separating the Governor's from the members' enclosure, and spent a considerable time chatting with jockeys and owners regarding racing conditions in West Africa.

On his departure for Nigeria he despatched the following telegram to Sir Gordon Guggisberg:—

On leaving Accra I ask Your Excellency to convey to all in the Gold Coast my sincere thanks for the splendid welcome given to me by every class on the occasion of my first visit to their shores. Though my stay was, of necessity, a brief one, I was impressed by the signs of prosperity and progress evident on all sides; the new harbour of Takoradi and the wonderful roads over which I drove point to an enlightened policy, keeping pace with the increasing trade of a thriving Colony. I was glad to see that fine hospital at Accra, and the ceremony I was privileged to perform at Achimota brought home to me the importance of the new policy in education which is making such rapid strides in the Gold Coast. I shall always remember the welcome given me by the Chiefs and the people at my various places and will always retain the happiest recollection of my visits. My best thanks to you and Lady Guggisberg for all your kindness and hospitality.

Paramount Chiefs' Councils.

The "Gold Coast Times" publishes the constitution of a Council of Paramount Chiefs, to be known as the Inter-Divisional Tribunal, and purporting to be signed by all the paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province. The signatories agree to refer otherwise insoluble difficulties between Chief and Sub-Chief, or Chief and Oman, to the Tribunal, from which an appeal would lie to the Full Court, subject to the ordinary rules of that court. If no appeal be entered, the Judgment of the Tribunal may be enforced through the Provincial Commissioner. The Tribunal is to be composed of all Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province, not less than four being required for a quorum. The maximum fee for hearing any case is fixed at £50, and accurate records are to be kept of all proceedings. Such a tribunal might do much to reduce the present expense of litigation incurred by stools, although, of course, there is the danger that "cheap law" might lead to a proportionate increase in "consumption," and the scheme is in accordance with the policy of strengthening the Chiefs' position, as sketched by Sir Gordon Guggisberg in his address. To what extent the people will regard it as a subtle effort to establish a new non-African institution is as yet hard to

West Africa 6-6-25

Funeral Expenses.

The crusade carried on sporadically against extravagant marriage customs has been extended to the custom of giving funeral donations out of respect to the dead. At first sight, these appear only to be extravagant on the part of the donors, but when it is remembered that the sums given will, ultimately / return to the givers

The Competitors of the Gold Coast.

If labour is to be, as it must be, an important factor

Race Problem - 1925 I.

Africa.

MECHANICAL TRANSPORT IN WEST AFRICA.

(By an Engineering Correspondent.)

Necessity for the development of vast areas of produce means indicated by Sir Frederick ion, actual and potential, in West Africa and financial means. The last factor in traction is n is not, as commonly supposed, to the benefit of development and to that of a section of tringency are bringing into prominence the develop posed, engine-power alone. The actual limiting condi- British engineering industry which is at pains to main- ment of transport instruments, the capitalisation of which is "adhesion" or friction between the power-driven train, in the face of American and Continental comp tion. does not run into thousands of pounds sterling per mile, wheel and the running-surface be of route, as is the case of road or railway construction. of the human foot on ice-surface a

Colonial Administrations have hitherto recognised no fact. This it is that renders pow hind choice. Impressed with the wide extension of rail- rail so much more effect nector transport under European conditions of density of effort exerted through the line-co population and industrial production, they have em- single pair of driven wheels. marked upon programmes of railway construction The added propulsion and trac second in cost only to railway construction. locomotive practice by the expedi

Naturally jealous for the safety of these costly arteries, two or more of the engine's wheel with rumours of growing intensity from time to time of road service, by the most recent dev struction wrought by heavy traffic, they have in many wheel train-aggregate, throughout cases so restricted capacity of transport operation that is far more important—the propuls economical handling of large-volume freight is difficult, Previous efforts of varying pra if not impossible. have been made on these lines, bo

The motor lorry (particularly of low capacity) appears on the Continent. The prototype— applicable to the conveyance, with reasonable economy, efficient as were its transmission an of large tonnages of tropical produce in periodic seasonal clearly demonstrated the amazing activity. such multi-wheeled distribution o

There has thus arisen a dilemma. Freight-charges per was capable in the negotiation of ton-mile cannot be reduced to a truly economical level, commodity prices are kept high, production and develop- ment are in consequence retarded, so that the service of possible with such instruments ma loans for road and rail extension lies heavy on every following estimates for an Austral activity and industry in the Colony so controlled. volved the carrying of some 32 t

It is of first importance to indicate what alternatives 9,600 tons per year) over 90 mi are available for meeting commercial requirement in track. With heavy motor-lorries freight-transference in large volume and at paying speeds was £9,030, the estimated transport which at the same time safeguard the road or track sur- ton. With trains hauled by Britis face over which such traffic moves. capital was £4,670, and transport co

One such alternative is that recently advanced, in the With multi-wheel train-aggregate, columns of the "Times," by Sir Frederick Lugard. transport cost was estimated as only

Drawing attention to the publicity expressed opinion of the motor-lorry saved well over £1 so unimpeachable an authority as the late Sir William Acworth, that the newer transport instruments (of the that, although greater capital expe track-laying type) had entirely superseded the light by the latter of the two systems in railway for feeder-service of trunk railway systems, Sir higher economy, the difference is re Frederick rightly concluded that the very characteristics first year's working, ever and above which enabled these vehicles to negotiate rough and soft ground capital taken into the figure of es cross-country" surfaces equally rendered them inc- cases. sions to costly engineered roads, which, indeed, actually It must not be deduced from this e improved rather than disintegrated under the action of ticular mileage provided an except their gently laid, stress-distributing metal "track." basis of operation. Estimates for a

Operating experience, however, has proved that ade- service carrying 60 tons daily show quate commercial economy cannot be secured by carrying £440 per mile and operating costs at units used alone, whether on wheels or track. It is becoming increasingly recognised that the The immense practical significance ment is vital of the principle of *haulage of load* which, application in the problems of tra indeed, originated in road-transport, but was later dis- placed by the railway of mere *carriage*, as exemplified in the modern motor-lorry.

In other words, the multiple-unit train haulage of load and axiomatic over the highly organised surface of railway, must, for every purpose of economy, be adopted in road transport also.

Both locomotive and truck units for this are available to-day. The desideratum is attainable indeed. For availability can be asserted in or experimental sense, but attested by years of practical manufacture. Their re- by Sir Gordon Guggisberg in his address. To what extent the people will regard it as a subtle effort to establish a new non-African institution is as yet hard to say, while it will probably be unpopular with the lawyers as an extension of the Native Tribunal system, but it should serve to sift out minor disputes and reduce the ruinous expenditure by stools on litigation.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

The Prince of Wales.

Among the minor causes contributing to the excellent impression created by the Prince of Wales at the Gold Coast was his pleasant manner when, as at Sekondi, the crowd got beyond the control of the police and swarmed round his car, making it almost impossible to proceed. At Accra he made himself for ever popular with the people by taking sides with them against the police. It seems that while he was playing tennis at Christiansborg the crowd naturally wished to make the most of the opportunity to see him, but the police were carrying out their usual "move on" tactics until he stepped forward with instructions to leave the people alone. At the Accra races he removed the rope separating the Governor's from the members' enclosure, and spent a considerable time chatting with jockeys and owners regarding racing conditions in West Africa.

On his departure for Nigeria he despatched the following telegram to Sir Gordon Guggisberg:—

On leaving Accra I ask Your Excellency to convey to all in the Gold Coast my sincere thanks for the splendid welcome given to me by every class on the occasion of my first visit to their shores. Though my stay was, of necessity, a brief one, I was impressed by the signs of prosperity and progress evident on all sides; the new harbour of Takoradi and the wonderful roads over which I drove point to an enlightened policy, keeping pace with the increasing trade of a thriving Colony. I was glad to see that fine hospital at Accra, and the ceremony I was privileged to perform at Achimota brought home to me the importance of the new policy in education which is making such rapid strides in the Gold Coast. I shall always remember the welcome given me by the Chiefs and the people at my various places and will always retain the happiest recollection of my visits. My best thanks to you and Lady Guggisberg for all your kindness and hospitality.

Paramount Chiefs' Councils.

The "Gold Coast Times" publishes the constitution of a Council of Paramount Chiefs, to be known as the Inter-Divisional Tribunal, and purporting to be signed by all the paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province. The signatories agree to refer otherwise insoluble difficulties between Chief and Sub-Chief, or Chief and Oman, to the Tribunal, from which an appeal would lie to the Full Court, subject to the ordinary rules of that court. If no appeal be entered, the judgment of the Tribunal may be enforced through the Provincial Commissioner. The Tribunal is to be composed of all Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province, not less than four being required for a quorum. The maximum fee for hearing any case is fixed at £50, and accurate records are to be kept of all proceedings. Such a tribunal might do much to reduce the present expense of litigation incurred by stools, although, of course, there is the danger that "cheap law" might lead to a proportionate increase in "consumption," and the scheme is in accordance with the policy of strengthening the Chiefs' position, as sketched

Funeral Expenses.

The crusade carried on sporadically against extravagant marriage customs has been extended to the custom of giving funeral donations out of respect to the dead. At first sight, these appear only to be extravagant on the part of the donors, but when it is remembered that the sums given will ultimately return to the givers

The Competitors of the Gold Coast.

If labour is to be, as it must be, an important factor

in the production of cocoa, both French Togoland and the Ivory Coast are likely to find difficulties in competing with the Gold Coast for some time to come. In Togo, efforts are being made to improve conditions by careful attention to the labourer from the time the Administration first visas his contract and vaccinates him until the date when he receives his final pay. This pay is to be in two parts—a monthly wage, and a subsistence allowance in coin or kind, varying according to the locality, and not liable to stoppages of any kind. At the Ivory Coast, where efforts have been made to stop the coastward drift of the people, the policy is to be reversed, and labour is to be encouraged to migrate, although nothing like Government compulsion is to be used. Under the French system, this would make the burden of taxation heavier on those who remained in sparsely populated districts, but this is to be remedied by keeping the census figures up-to-date, and thus varying the amount at which the area is assessed. Arrangements would also be made for the collection of taxes from labourers who had left their homes without settling these obligations, and for the setting up of Arbitration Courts for settling labour disputes, while the punishment of deserters would be more rigorous. At present the timber industry of the Ivory Coast absorbs most of the available labour, and even if the new policy produces a decided improvement in the supply, the Administration recognises that the real solution of the problem, as at the Gold Coast, is to be found in the extension of mechanical aids to farming and transport.

MAN'S COLOUR.—PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.

Professor Joseph Barcroft, delivering the first of a series of lectures on Tuesday on "The Colour of Man," at the London Royal Institution, said this colour was due to two principal contributory causes—pigmentation and complexion.

The skin itself was composed of many layers, one and only one of which was pigmented in the Negro. Thus in the case of a blister the skin above the blister of a Negro was white, the pigment being in the layer underneath. It was from this pigmented layer that all the other layers grew, but it was remarkable that, when the cells composing it divided, the daughter cells which it produced contained none of the black pigment, which was known as melanin. As an Indian had once remarked: "We Indians do not shed our melanin."

This black pigment was a substance of great scientific interest, because there was only one step chemically between it and one of the most common substances into which food was broken on digestion. The function of it was to prevent the rays of light and possibly the more actinic rays of the sun from penetrating to the deeper and more sensitive parts of the skin.

Complexion was in marked contradistinction with pigmentation, for it was the degree of colour caused by the blood vessels underneath the skin appearing through the superficial layers. According as the layers were thick or thin the colour of the blood would be less or more apparent, and the individual would be sallow or "delicate" in complexion. If "delicate," the person might be pale or flushed, pink or blue, according to circumstances which altered the calibre of the minute vessels.—"Morning Post."

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AFRICA

The Columbia State is impressed by the information that:

> Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes fund, founded in 1908 to promite Negro education in the southland in Africa, finds after long months of study and investigation in the Dark Continent that the Negro is not progressing in any way. Richly endowed by nature, Africa has been losing ground in the manpower essential to stocking this great physical wealth. The heritage of the slave raids, the ravages of disease and an ignorance which permits malnutrition in a land of plenty are all given as causes for the sparse population. The problem, says the doctor, is a problem of saving and restoring the population.
>
> What is particularly interesting in the United States is the class of education Dr. Jones recommends to save the situation in Africa. Here are his "simples":
>
> (1) Health and sanitation for a land where the infant death rate ranges from 300 to upwards of 600 per thousand; (2) training in crop production, animal husbandry, food preservation and the farm trades for a people who are often decimated by famine in a land of plenty; (3) proper understanding of the "decencies and safeties of the home," including preparation of food, provision of proper clothing and care of the ill; and (4) healthful recreation and amusements for a people notorious for the physical and sexual excesses of their primitive games. He pays high tribute to the character building influence of the Christian religion; at the same time he would salvage as much as possible of native traditions and customs, modifying them and directing them into the proper channels.
>
> The State's pertinent comment upon the foregoing is as follows:
>
> How much more benefit would have been derived by the Negroes of the South had those Northern persons philanthropically inclined in the '70s and 80s had a survey made of the needs of the Southern Negroes, before making indorsements for Latin and Greek chairs? What the Negro needs in Africa is not essentially different from what he now needs in those sections of the Black Border where he has been living for a half century practically isolated from whites.
>
> Whatever the negro may not be doing in Africa, he is doing in the United States, particularly in the South. He may be lagging in his native land, but in the Southern United States he has adapted himself and is going forward splendidly and quietly, and holding the good will of the whites.

SOUTH AFRICAN COTTON GROWING

The following editorial in the South African Cotton Growers' Journal for March is attracting the attention of the editors in the American cotton belt:

> Cotton growing has increased enormous in the last few years, and the experts of the Department of Agriculture have been able to gather full particulars about the habits of the plant, its enemies, and the means of combating them, its growth, and matters appertaining to seed selections, so that there is now practically no obstacle to the development of a great industry. There are millions of acres in Africa suited to the crop, and the climatic conditions of the area tend to infuse intense optimism into the outlook of the growers themselves. The quality of the cotton produced, more than the equal of the American product, has laid the foundation of a great reputation on the overseas markets."

All this, comments the Progressive Farmer, means that South Africa will, and should increase her cotton growing, but—

> there, as in other new cotton growing countries, the increase in production, as compared with the total world's crop and consumption, will be slow. It will be many years yet before the cotton growers of other countries will be serious competitors of the American cotton growers. The competition which the individual cotton grower of the South has reason to fear, is the competition of other American cotton growers.
>
> And more to be feared than competition is the boll weevil on the one hand, and indifference to diversification on the other.

Hundreds of fair workers for Uncle Sam in Washington, ordered to get themselves vaccinated against smallpox, found themselves in a dilemma. They didn't want to be vaccinated where the mark would show. This is sleeveless year; also stockings are not pulled up as high as they used to be. Whereupon, according to a presumably veracious journalist, the Surgeon General advised them to be vaccinated above the knee.

Training Boys For Medical Work In Africa

By W. W. Reid
For A. N. P.

Out in the heart of the Belgian Congo, Mrs. Priscilla M. Berry, a native of Astabula, Ohio, and formerly a nurse in the Cleveland City Hospitals is busily engaged in training a score or more of African boys to become medical assistants and to go back into their native villages with some little knowledge of medical skill and drive out the old witch doctors who now do a thriving business, according to word just received by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church.

In 1920 Mrs. Berry and her husband, Dr. William Clark Berry, also from Cleveland, were appointed missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and assigned to the town of Kabongo, in the Belgian Congo. There Dr. Berry conceived the plan of training promising young men for rudimentary work in the numerous neglected villages of the district. He had a number in training when he was stricken with the African fever and died there in November 1923.

After the death of her husband Mrs. Berry refused to leave the work and has since been carrying on the school, graduating the first class of medical assistants. Nine of the graduates are now in charge of the small dispensaries scattered in the villages of one other in the mission centre. Just recently some of the students have been out treating some thirty cases of smallpox, and have vaccinated some 4,000 people, according to reports.

They are being trained to preach and do some teaching as well as to heal.

Mrs. Berry is finding all her training as a nurse of value in her new task. But she expresses a hope that before long a medical missionary and family can be assigned to the station so that the boys can have a more thorough training.

Native Women and the Pass Laws.

Native objection to the proposal is threefold. The Native man is himself the arbiter of his women's conduct and is resentful of any interference in his matters marital. The Native woman has not yet progressed so far in public affairs as her British prote

in the production of cocoa, both French Togoland and the Ivory Coast are likely to find difficulties in competing with the Gold Coast for some time to come. In Togo, efforts are being made to improve conditions by careful attention to the labourer from the time the Administration first visas his contract and vaccinates him until the date when he receives his final pay. This pay is to be in two parts—a monthly wage, and a subsistence allowance in coin or kind, varying according to the locality, and not liable to stoppages of any kind. At the Ivory Coast, where efforts have been made to stop the coastward drift of the people, the policy is to be reversed, and labour is to be encouraged to migrate, although nothing like Government compulsion is to be used. Under the French system, this would make the burden of taxation heavier on those who remained in sparsely populated districts, but this is to be remedied by keeping the census figures up-to-date, and thus varying the amount at which the area is assessed. Arrangements would also be made for the collection of taxes from labourers who had left their homes without settling these obligations, and for the setting up of Arbitration Courts for settling labour disputes, while the punishment of deserters would be more rigorous. At present the timber industry of the Ivory Coast absorbs most of the available labour, and even if the new policy produces a decided improvement in the supply, the Administration recognises that the real solution of the problem, as at the Gold Coast, is to be found in the extension of mechanical aids to farming and transport.

MAN'S COLOUR.—PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.

Professor Joseph Barcroft, delivering the first of a series of lectures on Tuesday on "The Colour of Man," at the London Royal Institution, said this colour was due to two principal contributory causes—pigmentation and complexion.

The skin itself was composed of many layers, one and only one of which was pigmented in the Negro. Thus in the case of a blister the skin above the blister of a Negro was white, the pigment being in the layer underneath. It was from this pigmented layer that all the other layers grew, but it was remarkable that, when the cells composing it divided, the daughter cells which it produced contained none of the black pigment, which was known as melanin. As an Indian had once remarked: "We Indians do not shed our melanin."

This black pigment was a substance of great scientific interest, because there was only one step chemically between it and one of the most common substances into which food was broken on digestion. The function of it was to prevent the rays of light and possibly the more actinic rays of the sun from penetrating to the deeper and more sensitive parts of the skin.

Complexion was in marked contradistinction with pigmentation, for it was the degree of colour caused by the blood vessels underneath the skin appearing through the superficial layers. According as the layers were thick or thin the colour of the blood would be less or more apparent, and the individual would be sallow or "delicate" in complexion. If "delicate," the person might be pale or flushed, pink or blue, according to circumstances which altered the calibre of the minute vessels.—"Morning Post."

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AFRICA

The Columbia State is impressed by the information that:

> Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes fund, founded in 1908 to promite Negro education in the southland in Africa, finds after long months of study and investigation in the Dark Continent that the Negro is not progressing in any way. Richly endowed by nature, Africa has been losing ground in the manpower essential for unlocking this great physical wealth. The heritage of the slave raids, the ravages of disease and an ignorance which permits malnutrition in a land of plenty are all given as causes for the sparse population. The problem, says the doctor, is a problem of saving and restoring the population.
>
> What is particularly interesting in the United States is the class of education Dr. Jones recommends to save the situation in Africa. Here are his "simples":
>
> (1) Health and sanitation for a land where the infant death rate ranges from 300 to upwards of 600 per thousand; (2) training in crop production, animal bushandry, food preservation and the farm trades for a people who are often decimated by famine in a land of plenty; (3) proper understanding of the "decencies and safeties of the home," including preparation of food, provision of proper clothing and care of the ill; and (4) healthful recreation and amusements for a people notorious for the physical and sexual excesses of their primitive games. He pays high tribute to the character building influence of the Christian religion; at the same time he would salvage as much as possible of native traditions and customs, modifying them and directing them into the proper channels.

The State's pertinent comment upon the foregoing is as follows:

> How much more benefit would have been derived by the Negroes of the South had those Northern persons philanthropically inclined in the '70s and 80s had a survey made of the needs of the Southern Negroes, before making indorsements for Latin and Greek chairs? What the Negro needs in Africa is not essentially different from what he now needs in those sections of the Black Border where he has been living for a half century practically isolated from whites.

Whatever the negro may not be doing in Africa, he is doing in the United States, particularly in the South. He may be lagging in his native land, but in the Southern United States he has adapted himself and is going forward splendidly and quietly, and holding the good will of the whites.

SOUTH AFRICAN COTTON GROWING

The following editorial in the South African Cotton Growers' Journal for March is attracting the attention of the editors in the American cotton belt:

> Cotton growing has increased enormous in the last few years, and the experts of the Department of Agriculture have been able to gather full particulars about the habits of the plant, its enemies, and the means of combating them, its growth, and matters appertaining to seed selections, so that there is now practically no obstacle to the development of a great industry. There are millions of acres in Africa suited to the crop, and the climatic conditions of the area tend to infuse intense optimism into the outlook of the growers themselves. The quality of the cotton produced, more than the equal of the American product, has laid the foundation of a great reputation on the overseas markets."

All this, comments the Progressive Farmer, means that South Africa will, and should increase her cotton growing, but—

> there, as in other new cotton growing countries, the increase in production, as compared with the total world's crop and consumption, will be slow. It will be many years yet before the cotton growers of other countries will be serious competitors of the American cotton growers. The competition which the individual cotton grower of the South has reason to fear, is the competition of other American cotton growers.

And more to be feared than competition is the boll weevil on the one hand, and indifference to diversification on the other.

Hundreds of fair workers for Uncle Sam in Washington, ordered to get themselves vaccinated against smallpox, found themselves in a dilemma. They didn't want to be vaccinated where the mark would show. This is sleeveless year; also stockings are not pulled up as high as they used to be. Whereupon, according to a presumably veracious journalist, the Surgeon General advised them to be vaccinated above the knee.

Training Boys For Medical Work In Africa

By W. W. Reid
For A. N. P.

Out in the heart of the Belgian Congo, Mrs. Priscilla M. Berry, a native of Astabula, Ohio, and formerly a nurse in the Cleveland City Hospital, is busily engaged in training a score or more of African boys to become medical assistants and to go back into their native villages with some little knowledge of medical skill and drive out the old witch doctors who now do a thriving business, according to word just received by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church.

In 1920 Mrs. Berry and her husband, Dr. William Clark Berry, also from Cleveland, were appointed missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and assigned to the town of Kabongo, in the Belgian Congo. There Dr. Berry conceived the plan of training promising young men for rudimentary work in the numerous neglected villages of the district. He had a number in training when he was stricken with the African fever and died there in November 1923.

After the death of her husband, Mrs. Berry refused to leave the work and has since been carrying on the school, graduating the first class of medical assistants. Nine of the graduates are now in charge of the small dispensaries scattered in the villages of one other in the mission centre. Just recently some of the students have been out treating some thirty cases of smallpox, and have vaccinated some 4,000 people, according to reports.

They are being trained to preach and do some teaching as well as to heal.

Mrs. Berry is finding all her training as a nurse of value in her new task. But she expresses a hope that before long a medical missionary and family can be assigned to the station so that the boys can have a more thorough training.

Native Women and the Pass Laws.

Native objection to the proposal is threefold. The Native man is himself the arbiter of his women's conduct and is resentful of any interference in his matters marital. The Native woman has not yet progressed so far in public affairs as her British prote

Race Problem—1925

II.

Africa.

sought in this very important case, and they feel with considerable reason that another instance of European perfidy is recorded.—"Umteteli."

MATTERS OF TO-DAY AFFECTING SIERRA LEONE.

(Specially contributed to "The African World" by Advocate J. FOWELL BOSTON Editor and Proprietor, "The Sierra Leone Guardian.")

In response to our request to give us a brief survey of topical developments in Sierra Leone, Mr. J Fowell Boston, one of the Colony's most esteemed and leading residents, who is returning by next Wednesday's mail steamer to West Africa, courteously favoured us with the following highly interesting summary.

The Benefit of Royal Visits.

Whatever may have been the epithets applied to Sierra Leone in the past and whatever the interest of the British public was, Sierra Leone has undoubtedly taken its stand as one of the interesting units of the Empire as may be gathered from the impressions of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on his recent visit, and of the intimation by H.R.H. the Duke of York at the Sierra Leone Pavilion at Wembley last week, that from the account given him by his brother (the Prince of Wales) of the place, he and the Duchess of York intend visiting Sierra Leone in the near future.

The recent visit of the Prince of Wales was propitious, and its effects should be far reaching. With his renowned popularity and charming personality, he has sown the seed of unity and co-operation among Africans and Europeans, and we await with longing expectation for its fruition. Needless to say, such a co-operation can only come about by mutual assistance and sympathy.

Public Sanitation Reforms Required.

As regards sanitation in Sierra Leone an attempt has been made by the Government for some time back in this direction, but much remains to be done.

The activities of the sanitary authorities and the help of the community have checked almost to extinction the mosquito pests. The scourge which has yet to be combated with, and that immediately, is the dust. Until the Government adopts a better way of road making and street repairing it is essential that an adequate system of street watering be put into operation to allay the dust which is constantly blown into one's eyes and nostrils. The increase of motor traffic, and the laying of railway lines in the principal streets, only tend to make this nuisance more felt.

Much remains to be done in the way of road making and drainage. In the Colony the Public Works Department has been engaged in repairing the principal streets, but the majority of the streets are in a wretched and dangerous condition; the drains erected are dangerous, as they are deep without adequate protection. At present, save in a few streets, there are no side-walks for pedestrians; with the increase of vehicular traffic, this is an absolute necessity.

The Recent Trade Slump Being Overcome.

Sierra Leone had its share in the general slump in trade after the war, and until lately the outlook was still gloomy; but the beginning of this year showed signs of revival, which, it is gratifying to say, continue.

The European firms are still forging their way ahead, and though, by extending their activities to wholesale and retail trade and by opening up agencies, they may confer some benefit on the consumer, yet, as the result of such a course is to drive the retail African trader out of the market because he cannot compete with them, the benefit to the community is almost nil. The firms would be helping the people in some way if they confine themselves to the principal centres and engage Africans as factors.

The composition of the Chamber of Commerce and its method of work make co-operation between the European firms and Africans difficult.

Sierra Leone Products.

The chief produce exported from Sierra Leone are palm oil, palm kernels, and kola nuts; the quantity of these exports varies with their demand. As regards palm oil and palm kernels, apart from the saving of labour which could be utilised in other directions, the quantity of these products would be greatly increased if machinery for cracking the nuts and extracting the oil is made more popular; also, the people will have more incentive to increase production if they are confident that their position would really be that of vendors to purchasers. Cotton is in its infancy; with careful and extensive cultivation it will be one of the chief exports.

Many More Roads Needed.

Of recent years several roads have been constructed in the Protectorate, under the auspices of the Government, for motor transport. This has had the effect of expediting the transport of produce to the Colony for shipment at less cost.

In the Colony many of the villages have no transport facilities owing to the lack of good roads, so that the villagers have to walk all the way to Freetown with their produce. A motor road has been constructed from Freetown to Regent, and another from Freetown to Lumley. It will greatly assist the villagers in their trade, and, at the same time, draw them nearer to the city if the road to Regent could be improved and extended to Hastings via Gloucester, Bathurst, and Charlotte, and the road to Lumley extended to Goderich and the other seaside villages.

The Great West African Fruit Planting Project.

I learnt recently that very large schemes are afoot in the Gold Coast for enormous fruit plantations and export for the world's needs under the auspices of Elder Fyffe. That is very encouraging, but Sierra Leone would be also glad to contribute her share.

Apart from the fact that she is nearer the world's markets, Sierra Leone abounds in tropical fruits of all kinds, and the suitability of her soil cannot be too highly recommended.

If the people are confident that there will be a demand if they start fruit growing on a large scale, and are given financial help, there is no doubt that the fruits from Sierra Leone will command high prices.

The bananas, oranges, plantains, pine-apples, mangoes, berries, and many others compare favourably with those of any other country.

If Sierra Leone is brought into such a great project it will meet with great support, and with the erection of ice factories and cold storage installations the supply will be equal to any demand made, however great.

An Indefatigable Governor who Fosters Education.

As regards administration, the present Governor, His Excellency Sir Ransford Slater, has done some fine constructive work. His activities in agriculture have been marked, and especially his interest in education is very keen at all times. The standard of education, on the whole, has improved, though much remains to be done.

It is interesting to note that the question of higher education for girls has been taken up seriously, not only in the Colony but also in the Protectorate. One of the Paramount Chiefs last month sent his daughter to a secondary school at Freetown, and, it is needless to say, his example will be followed.

J. FOWELL BOSTON.

THE MYSTERY OF GREAT ZIMBABWE.

The picturesque despatches sent by Mr. Ward Price and other distinguished journalists attached to the Royal Tour in South Africa are doubtless read with keenest avidity by the millions of those to whom Africa will ever be one of the most mysterious lands on the globe. To the old Africans, however—and there are still, happily, many of them left—the rediscovery of our old land's wonders is often amusing. At Great Zimbabwe, of which, thanks to the cheerfully-given and strenuous life-work of the late Mr. R. N. Hall, the most detailed particulars are available in bulky volumes, the need is to-day more imperative than ever that a more practical exploration of these vast ruins to ascertain their real origin should be undertaken, and locate those who constructed them in grey ages. Twelve years ago the Editor of the AFRICAN WORLD, after days of personal investigation on the spot, and supported by his knowledge of the ancient ruins of the Nile Valley, urged a systematic examination of the Zimbabwe Valley on the lines and expert methods used by the Egyptian Exploration Fund. It is presumed on reliable authority that at Zimbabwe there are entirely untouched and unexplored subterranean passages between the Acropolis Hill—the fortified military outlook station—to the Eliptical temples within the great walls on the opposite slope of the valley. Why should it be so difficult to find the few thousand pounds required to ascertain the historical origin of Great Zimbabwe? The preposterous theories of the American professor, McIver, having been recently withdrawn by their author, it may be more than ever assumed as a potent fact that no matter how clever the crude Bantu artists may have been in carving, no Kaffir ever produced or knew anything of the signs of the Zodiac, which were discovered on plaques in the early nineties at Zimbabwe, and rest to-day either at Groote Schuur or in the Bulawayo Museum. We would appeal to our wealthy leaders once more, and ask them, Who will co-operate with tangible support for the attempts about to be made to unravel and possibly solve one of Africa's admitted greatest mysteries?

RHODESIA.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA YEAR BOOK.

A Splendid Work of Reference.

One does not as a rule seek literary diversion within the covers of books of reference, but one might scan the shelves of many libraries and find nothing so absorbing as the Rhodesian Year Book. Its publication coincides with the inauguration of Responsible Government, and that being the case the contents are to a large extent historical. It marks the starting-point of the new Administration, and records the work accomplished in the past and the difficulties encountered and overcome. In short, the story of Rhodesia—and what country has a more thrilling, romantic or fascinating story? Titbits and Romance in a year book! The idea seems preposterous, but both these elements will be found.

The present position of the Colony is shown and some of its great potentialities indicated. The facts and figures included will not only supply information frequently needed, but will serve as a means of measuring in the future the progress of the Colony. In the primitive conditions usually obtaining in all new countries records are not exhaustively made or kept, but in all main matters it has been possible to obtain comparative statistics which reveal the general and financial development of the country. Population, or rather the lack of it, is a subject that fills an extremely interesting chapter. The report on the Census taken in 1921 by Mr. F. Eyles is quoted at some length, and the following observations are probably largely applicable to-day:—

Population.

"Reference is made to the unusual constitution of our population in respect to age and sex distribution because of the complications it introduced into the calculation of birth and death rates, the proportions of married persons, etc., for comparison with other countries. A much more significant point to be noted is the fact that this abnormal state of affairs is fast disappearing, for although the population still retains in some measure the features peculiar to a pioneer stage, it is altering rapidly, and begins now to approximate to the composition characteristic of old and settled countries. The marks of this change are steady movement towards equalisation of sexes, the ratio ten years ago being 66 to 34, and now 56 to 44, a more even distribution of ages, e.g., 64 per cent. of the males were covered by the age group 20 to 44 years in 1911, while in 1921 that group contained only 43 per cent. of the males. Further, a high birth-rate, low death-rate, and early marriage age are all characteristics of a population living in

healthy, comortable, and settled conditions.

In 1891 the total European population o Southern Rhodesia was estimated at 1.500 The census taken in 1904 showed that it ha increased to over 12.000. It was anticipate that the population at the end of the decad 1911-21 would show that during that perio the population had doubled, but the wastag due to the European war and the financia stringency that succeeded it had their effect and the rate of increase of the four year ended 1911 was not maintained. In 192 the population was 33.620 Europeans, 1.99 coloured (mixed races), 1.250 Asiatics, 761.79 Bantu (natives of S. Rhodesia), and 100.52

LATE MR. ROCHFORT MAGUIRE.

The Funeral at Sandy.

The remains of Mr. Rochfort Maguire were laid to rest in the family grave of the Peels at Sandy Churchyard. The rector, the Rev. T. H. Strong, officiated at the service, which was fully choral. The chief mourners were the widow, Viscount and Viscountess Peel, the Hon. George Peel, the Hon. Mrs. Coldman, Miss Alexander, Mrs. John Teugdale, Colonel Sidney, Lady Delia Peel.

The Chartered was represented by Sir Henry Birchenough, Sir Otto Beit, Mr. S. H Whitbread, the Lord-Lieutenant of Bedfordshire; and also present were Mr. John O'Connor, K.C., Sir Francis Newton, High Commissioner for Rhodesia, and Mr. Gerald Williams.

A RHODES ANNIVERSARY.

On March 26, 1902, there died Cecil John Rhodes, the founder of Rhodesia, who lies buried at the World's View, Matopos.

There till the wisdom he foresaw
Splendid and whole arise,
And unimagined Empires draw
To Council 'neath his skies,
The immense and brooding Spirit still
Shall quicken and control,
Living he was the land, and dead,
His soul shall be her soul!

(From Kipling's poem written on April 10 1902, and published in "The Five Nations."

In memory of Rhodes, states the "Bulawayo Chronicle," wreaths were placed at the foot of the statue in Main Street on behalf of the directors of the British South Africa Company and Major Percy Inskipp. At the grave at the World's View wreaths were deposited on behalf of the directors of the B.S.A. Company, the directors of the Gold Fields Company, Sir Lewis Michell, Mr. J. G. McDonald, the Sons of England, and De Beers Consolidated Co., Ltd.

(Continued from adjoining column.)

Bantu (aliens), totalling 899.187. It will thus be seen that from 1911 to 1921 the European population increased from 23,606 to 33,620, or 42-44 per cent. in ten years. The relative increase of Great Britain over the same period was 4.7 per cent.; of South Africa, 19.2 per cent.; Canada, 20.2 per cent.; New Zealand, 20.8 per cent.; Australia, 21.8 per cent. The Rhodesian increase was composed as follows:—

Natural increase ..... 17.7 per cent.
Increase by immigration... 24.7 per cent.

Of the towns Bulawayo headed the list as regards European population with 6,830. Salisbury came next with 5.134. Umtali followed with 1,634, with Gwelo (925) fourth.

The chapter devoted to the history of the country makes intensely interesting reading, while the same may be said of many other sections of this really excellent publication. Those responsible for its publication are heartily to be congratulated. Were all books of reference as brightly written the task of the reviewer of such publications would be a fascinating one.

[Official Year Book of Southern Rhodesia. No. 1.—1924. Price 7s. 6d. Obtainable at the offices of the Southern Rhodesia Government, Crown House, Aldwych.]

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Governor's Optimistic Speech.

SALISBURY, April 27.

At the opening of the Legislative Assembly today, Sir J. R. Chancellor, the Governor in the course of his speech, said that the trade returns for 1924 showed a substantial increase as compared with the preceding years. The revenue returns reflected the improved trade conditions, and under most headings showed better results than were anticipated. The revenue had sufficed to meet expenditure.

A Commission was sitting to report upon the policy and practicability of setting aside specified areas in which natives alone would be allowed to acquire land, the corollary being the exclusion of natives from acquiring land in other areas.

After outlining a scheme by which it was hoped to absorb the unemployed in profitable work, the Governor said that proposals for financially assisting approved settlers from Overseas who would take up land and settlers already on the land requiring assistance would be laid before the House.—Reuter.

New Stamp for the North.

A stamp of new design has now been issued for Northern Rhodesia. The King's head occupies the top central position of the new stamp, with the value of the latter printed in the top left and right corners. Beneath is a group scene representative of the country, in the foreground on the left being a giraffe and on the right two elephants, whilst mountains, a river, and palm trees form the background, a canoe manned by natives being visible on the river. At the bottom of the stamp is the name of the colony—Northern Rhodesia. It is an excellent and artistic design, states the Chronicle." The new issue came into use from the beginning of April. The old issue may be used for a further six months.

Advocate's Application Refused.

The application of William G. R. Honey, attorney and notary of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, to be admitted to the Cape Side Bar has been refused by the Cape Provincial Judges at Cape Town. Sir Malcolm Searle, Judge President, said it seemed perfectly clear that the Legislature intended those States or territories specifically mentioned in paragraph 2 of Act 30 of 1892, and those that might in future be added by the Governor's proclamation, should participate in the benefits conferred on practitioners in the territories concerned with regard to admission to the Court. It was clear at present that Rhodesia was not such a State or territory.

Prince's Guard of Honour.

Members of the 1890 and 1893 columns will form the Guard of Honour at the station when the Prince of Wales arrives at Bulawayo on June 29. No one is likely to deny the pioneers their right to the distinction, and it is only fitting that those who did so much for Rhodesian development in the early days should enjoy a little of the limelight on the occasion of the Royal visit. The ranks of the pioneers have, alas! been sadly thinned in recent years, and of the original 1.595, there is but a remnant left. The return, after an absence of 24 years, of Col. Frank Johnson, who commanded the 1890 column, is a happy coincidence, and it is to be hoped he will take charge of the old brigade.

The Prince and the Natives.

While the Prince of Wales has gone from conquest to conquest in his meteoric visit throughout the Union, it is gratifying to note how warm the reception of the Natives has been. At Port Elizabeth the arrangements were perfect, a programme being printed long beforehand together with an original poem by Mr. Bellairs, translated by the Xosa Poet Laureate Mr. Samuel Mqayi who had been specially invited from Berlin for the purpose, and who gave the Prince the appropriate regal name of A l Zwelivazuza ll which became a name to conjure with even among the Europeans at the Bay. The gigantic native choir led by Mr. Bain Nyati gave "Ixegwana" (a zulu composition by Mr. R. T. Caluza) in excellent style. At Fort Beaufort station the Healdtown students under the leadership of Mr. Njokweni sang "Vuka Dabora" with the usual perfect intonation. At Alice a mammoth choir combining both Fort Hare and Lovedale, conducted by Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu gave a rendition of the same composition by J. K. Bokwe that quite captivated the royal visitor. At Kingwilliamstown a massed school choir under the baton of Mr. James Tyamzashe sang "A Plea for Africa" in touching tones, and a feature of the proceedings was a brilliant address handed to the Prince by the premier Xosa Chief Gushipele, read by Mr Jabavu before an innumerable assemblage. The Prince was then presented with a gold medal by Mr. O. Mcanyangwa, an ex-Fort Hare student, created an admirable impression. At Umtata there was a record crowd of about 25,000 where the enthusiastic interpretation of Mr Elisha Mda of a number of characteristic addresses was a conspicuous feature. The Pitso of the Basuto at Masera eclipsed all records with its concourse of 80,000 people and a series of remarkable speeches of loyalty by the two noted chiefs Jonathan Molapo and the Paramount Chief Griffiths Letsie. The Johannesburg natives have organised spectacular Bantu dances which may possibly excel even those historic dances witnessed by His Royal Highness at Nigeria and the Gold Coast in musical cadence and originality.

This is neither all nor the best that could have been done if a greater number of typical Native centres could have been visited, and we feel certain the Prince will be received with no less cordiality by our Native fellowmen of Natal, Zululand, Swaziland and Bechuanaland when their opportunity serves. All this is undoubted testimony of the loyalty of the Bantu to Great Britain and the Imperial Parliament, and it is due to the old tradition of British justice' during the nineteenth century. We need not conceal the fact that the Union Government and its conduct with the natives of contempt at the South African conception of justice—as exemplified by the colour-bar bills, every day among the thinking and intelligent sections of the natives. Probably the Prince will by now know something of the other side of things as relating to the unjust laws that are now being enforced against the Bantu.

The Cape & Transkei Teachers Union.

(BY UMFANA).

There is one question I would like to ask the teachers who are members of this Union:—What think ye of this Union? I suppose there is not a member of this Union who has not thought more of less about it. You have heard about it, and read about it. For many six months teachers have been talking about it and thinking about it; and some have their minds made up about what it is, and doubtless some have not. 6-9-25

The Transkei teachers will hold their session at Tsomo on the 23rd June, and they will thoroughly discuss this Union or condemn it. We also hope the teachers, as they will meet about the same date at Port Elizabeth, will thoroughly discuss it and tell us what they think of this Union.

Theoretically this Union is good but practically it won't work. It is very unfortunate that I should come to this conclusion, but it is only right that I should do so, seeing that it is only Federation that has been withdrawn. If these associations reject the Federation, and establish the fatal precedent that follows the rejection, I confess I shall begin to think there is little to be expected from such a Union. I consider that in King Conference last December pitiable perjury and subornation of perjury were employed to accomplish the sanguinary object (the death of T.T.A.) of this base conspiracy. Little remains for me now to say upon this subject; and I am sure I am unwilling to trespass more upon the Union than is barely necessary.

J. T. SOTASHE,
Blythswood,
Butterworth,
1st June, 1925

Race Problem-1925

Asia.

Negroes in Russia

Last summer there appeared in the Moscow Soviet daily *"Izvestia"* ("News") a series of articles by Miss Z. Richter, a Russian woman-journalist, who made a trip into the wilderness of Caucasus and reported back to Moscow many interesting discoveries, meetings and facts. Among other information she related that in a little obscure village near Suchum, on the Black Sea shores, she found a few Negro families, a discovery of no little note indeed. The black people are said to have lived there for several generations, but their presence in Russia remained unknown to the Russian men of science and the public at large, till Miss Richter heeded the tales of white natives of Abchasia and went looking for "Negri".

It appears, upon investigation, that early in the 19th century forefathers of the Suchum Negroes were imported from abroad as slaves to the Princes of Abchasia, which country, like many other small states of Caucasus, was semi-independent of Russia at that time. Later the Negroes were liberated, but neither they nor their children thought of leaving their new homeland. They stayed in the village of Adzuibiss, in the Kodor region of Abchasia, where they established their homes. They became friendly with their white neighbours adapting many of the customs, manners, characteristics and, most of all, the language of the Abchasians, being nevertheless unable to speak Russian, the language of rulers.

The Abchasian Negroes are as proud and dignified as the native Caucasians. They are great "jiguits",—rough riders, and their recklessness and adroitness in horse racing are known no less than those of the native riders. In addition, they are laborious, honest and possess musical abilities. Miss Richter writes that the Prince of Oldenburg, late Czar's cousin and owner of Gagri, a rich summer resort on the Black Sea, "many a time tried to tempt them with a salary, delicious dishes from his own table and rich clothes, but they did not go to serve him and adorn his chambers with their black figures."

The tale of Miss Richter was met by the Russian reading public with marked interest. The writer of these lines found comments on the newly discovered Caucasian Negroes in a number of periodicals published in Russia as well as in the press of Russian fugitives in Western Europe and America. Some of the newspapers even reprinted the *"Izvestia"* intelligence in full.

The presence of Negroes on the Russian soil was treated as unusual news. Yet there is nothing unusual in Miss Richter's narrative. Many instances of Negroes' presence in Russia are known to students of the question. It was an age-old custom in the ancient Russia to bring black men, women and children as presents and for sale to the Czars and noblemen of Moscovia, though there was never any lack in white serfs, of which several tens of millions of souls, Russian peasants, were counted in the Czardom up till 1861, the year of their liberation. The Negroes were called "Arappes" in the old Russia, probably because black Africans and swarthy Arabs seemed very much alike to the simple eye of the Eastern Slav.

Of the imported black slaves, the case of Ibrahim or Abram Hannibal is known in Russia best. Coming to St. Petersburg in 1705 as a slave, he died a general, a rich land owner and master of thousands of white slaves. His sons were generals too, while his great-grandson Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) started with his writings a whole epoch in the Russian literature. (More about Hannibal and his descendants see in my dissertation, "Abram Hannibal, the Favorite of Peter the Great," in *The Journal of Negro History*, October, 1923.)

Emperors and empresses, who followed Peter the Great, preserved his custom of keeping black slaves at the court. Later, this practice was adapted more generally among noblemen of Moscow.

In the famous comedy, "Woes of Wit" (Gore ot Uma), written in verse by A. S. Griboyedoff in 1816-23, one of the personages, a lady-guest, addresses the host:

For the sake of diversion, I took along
A Negro-girl and a doggie.
Order to feed them, my dear,
Send them something left over from supper.

. . . Oh Sophie, my friend,
What a Negress I have at my services.
Woolly-haired! Hump-backed!
Angry! Cat-like in all her ways!
And how black! And how frightful!
What a race God created.
She is real devil. . . .

It can be asserted, without any fear of exaggeration, that hundreds, if not thousands, of black men and women were brought to the Russian markets, especially in the course of the 150 year bloom of slavery, from 1700 to 1850. What became of them? Where is their posterity? Certainly, besides the families met by Miss Richter in Caucasus, there must be other Negroes and Mulattoes in various nooks and corners of vast Russian steppes and mountains.

It may be no doubt supposed that sons of sunny Africa were not able to endure the Russian frosts at all, but historical facts present us a different picture. Abram Hannibal could serve us as an example. In 1727 the almighty Prince Menshikov exiled him to Siberia in the evident belief that Siberian colds would soon kill the young African, but three years later Hannibal returned to St. Petersburg, apparently none the worse for his experience. His white wife bore him five sons—Mulattoes—and all five never complained of the Russian climate.

An explanation of this could be seen in the fact that most of the Russian Negroes came to their new Northern homes, not direct from Africa, but after a few intervening years of living in Turkey. This latter country always supplied Russia and Western Europe with Negro slaves and servants, and the mild winter of Turkey served the Africans a good preparatory course before they would enter the regions of severe frosts.

Among the Russian common people there had been never any prejudice or hatred towards Negroes. Superstitious beliefs about the black people could not very possibly survive when white and black slaves of the Russian noblemen had sometimes for years to share the same quarters and table. It would be a justified supposition to say that there had been intermarriages, voluntary and unvoluntary, of imported black slaves with native Russian serfs, not speaking of unions of black men and women among themselves.

It is also a well known fact that in more modern times many Negro acrobats, athletes, wrestlers and even a few actors and vaudeville singers visited Russia in pursuit of their professions.

The most distinguished example of this kind is found in the person of Ira Aldridge, the celebrated Negro tragedian, known as the "African Roscius." He left America for Europe, where he won great success by his superb acting. Among other countries he visited Russia, where he was given a decoration by the Czar and elected an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg. On one of his trips to the Russian capital he took sick and died on the way, in Lodz, Russian Poland ,in August, 1867.

There were other Negro performers in Russia, though of a lesser significance than Aldridge. Many of them stayed in Russia for a long time, spoke Russian fluently and altogether felt in Russia like home.

They, as their brethren-slaves of earlier times, surely must have left some tangible traces in the Northern country. To a diligent researcher Russian archives may reveal many valuable documents which would furnish clues as to where to look for some more examples of Negro families and whole groups who may, like the Negroes of Caucasus, be still living in the former Land of Czars.

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
OCTOBER 8, 1925

WORLD-WIDE RACE WAR FEARED BY BRITISH CHURCH CONFEREES

From The World's Bureau
Special Wireless to The World

LONDON, Oct. 7.—The question of the peril and possibility of race war between the whites on one side and black, brown and yellow races on the other was seriously raised during today's session of the annual Church Conference at Eastbourne.

The subject was introduced by Viscount Willingdon, former Governor of Bombay and Madras, who pleaded for "absolute equality" between white and colored people.

"The gospel of self-determination," he said, "everywhere is eagerly received by colored races, and the great war strengthened the conviction in the mind of the colored man that the white man's civilization had many defects. This led to the colored man repudiating his position of inferiority and so his belief that the moral basis of Eastern life was in many ways higher and nobler than that of the West.

"The white man has a difficult task to bring healing and contentment to Eastern peoples and it is imperative that we should discover, if possible, some means of solving this question by peaceful methods and not by a clash of races which would be the most ghastly tragedy the world has ever known.

"I am convinced that if we wish to continue our association with and our influence on those countries which the white races have developed, largely for the ultimate benefit of the colored man, it must be in the spirit of absolute equality and not by arrogating to ourselves the attitude of race superiority which one sees so often at the present time. The white man must no longer dominate the colored man, even for the latter's own good."

The same attitude was taken by J. H. Oldham, former Secretary of the International Missionary Council, who is a keen student of Asiatic affairs.

COLOR LINE DRAWN.

Assembly of India Wants to Return Compliment to United States.

(By Chicago Tribune-Commercial Appeal Leased Wire.)

LONDON, Sept. 21.—The news has just reached London that the Indian legislative assembly has defeated a naturalization bill supported by the Indian government, because it did not include discrimination against Americans, South Africans and other nationals whose colonies refuse to permit the naturalization of Indians. The government has refused to accept the native amendments, saying they would conflict with legislation of the imperial government, and the bill was voted down. Bitter speeches were made by native members against nations drawing the color line.

COLLEGE HEADS PASS MOTION OF INDIGNATION

New York, Aug. 14.—The Chinese Students' Club of Colorado College, Colorado Springs, has sent to James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a statement placing the blame for recent disorders in China upon British police, and asserting that unarmed Chinese students were massacred.

The statement quotes from evidence showing that most of the Chinese were shot in the back, that no British police were wounded, that at least 70 Chinese were killed and 300 wounded and that the massacre occurred during a parade conducted by the students in protest against the arrest of fellow students by the British police for making speeches and distributing handbills.

The statement includes a motion unanimously passed by the faculty of Tsing Hua College, Peking, including British and American professors, which is as follows:

"Recently in Shanghai a number of Chinese students were shot and killed or wounded by the British police. We wish to voice our extreme indignation at this occurrence. For those who died and for the wounded, we feel the deepest sorrow and we join in expressing our profound sympathy to the people throughout the nation who protest against these atrocities."

Moreover, in Peking 118 foreign women united in issuing a manifesto, the names including Mrs. Henry Houghton, wife of the President of Peking Union Medical College; Mrs. W. J. Calhoun, wife of the former American Minister to Peking, and other well known women.

The Chinese students also ask for the abolition of extra-territorial rights by foreign powers, alleging that racial prejudice in the European courts of justice maintained on Chinese soil results in grave discrimination and injustice to the Chinese.

ANOTHER EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

The Western world has had Mount Everest on its far horizon at intervals during the last few years, but it is safe to say that not one in a thousand or perhaps ten thousand has known that slavery exists at its very foot. So the announcement of the abolition of slavery in Nepal by the Maharajah is a significant item of news. It proves the penetration of a social idea into the remotest and most isolate regions. Nepal is in all matters of domestic policy entirely independent. The British Government has a Resident stationed in the capital city, but his concern is only with foreign relations. King GEORGE visited the Maharajah in 1912, but as a fellow sovereign. Roads were built into the forest that the royal party might without too great discomfort travel to the tiger-infested jungles, and even electric lights were provided for the camps. The reports of this visit tell of "coolies" and "servants" who carried the princely collection of wild animals which the Maharajah presented to the King in their cages: the snow leopard, the wild ass and all sorts of bears, deer, birds and fishes. But these "servants" who gave so much color to this Oriental scene were, after all, "slaves," though treated well and protected by law.

When LINCOLN was fighting the extension of slavery he said in one of his most important utterances that if all earthly power were given him he would not know what to do about the existing institution of slavery. The time came, however, when he, without seeking the advice of his Cabinet on the main matter, but bearing himself the responsibility of taking the course which he felt he ought to take, issued his Proclamation of Emancipation. Of it the proclamation of the Maharajah of Nepal is a faraway echo among the Himalaya Mountains. It even bears signs of the considerateness with which LINCOLN tempered his imperious order. Compensation to owners of slaves, a period of apprenticeship for former slaves making their way to independence, a sympathy for the cruelly treated and an appeal to popular help, all indicate an attitude of mind and heart on the part of the Maharajah TRIBHUBANA BIR BIKRAM of Nepal worthy of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Race Problem – 1925

Asia.

Negroes Not Eager To Fight In Race War Against Japan

By E. B. HENDERSON

"What is the colored American thinking of big world affairs?

The government and the press indicate perturbation over the Japanese situation. Articles appear regularly burdened with probabilities of war and prospects of the outcome. It is presumed by many students of warfare that the following will happen: First, Japan will make war suddenly when she is ready. In one stroke, the Phillipines, Guam, and possibly Hawaii would fall. Japan would line the Far East seas with explosives. Keeping her major ships in home waters her fast cruisers, airplanes and submarines will be used to demoralize our shipping. To make offensive war we would have to travel 6000 miles. A long war would be the prospect.

England is by nature of things expected to be neutral. India and Egypt demand this. Russia seeing her chance at world capitalism has of late been cultivating the friendship of Japan.

What will happen here? Steel and munition profiteers will again begin the harvest of gold. Swashbuckling desk warriors will begin to ply their stock and trade. If a sea war is on thousands of the best of this generation will become fish eaten carrion. And what will it all be about? A few hundred per cent Pacific Coast dwellers who love the Japanese when they serve them as hired men and women but who hate to compete with them as employers in the capitalistic game, have propagandized the country to such an extent that Congress passed a bill virtually declaring Japanese inferior and unassimilable and making special immigration provisions which the Japanese consider insulting to their national and racial dignity.

Essentially the problem is a color problem, an affair between nations based upon the idea of an inescapable difference between races or an inequality of races. It is claimed that culture, education nor religion of any kind can make up for these differences so as to make it possible for these colored and white races to live neighborly in peace and amicableness when in the same locality. In our country the race relations are fast approaching a crisis. Segregation, limitation of opportunities for improvement or for better understanding, and absolute denial of participation in affairs of community or general government are creating a situation that will become unbearable in some places very soon. Men like Sherril and Slemp are doing their bit in this direction.

What are we going to do about it? Are we going to sit quietly by and ostrich-like see nothing but that the situation will right itself after years of education and biding our time?

Or is there anything in the situation that offers opportunity for us to establish more securely our claims to manhood? Had the last war meant more to us,—had the 92nd Division been practically wiped out before Metz, had our homeland been rudely assailed so that horror might have been within our sight and vision, I believe the American white people would, like unto the ancient Egyptians, have been less hard of heart. Even the Cracker Irvin Cobb, was writing in the Lorimer weekly after a visit to the 15th Regiment in action on the front line, that the Negro would receive greater privileges than ever before, but he could not forsee how little comparatively we were to suffer as a nation in that war.

Now with the oncoming clouds, and the need of consolidating every patriotic interest, it seems to me that the press and organizations that are hunting around for policies might begin to work upon the idea that to properly interest color stricken Americans in a campaign waged upon the theory of the Inescapable Differences of races and God intended inferiority always of some races, to demand for loyal support in such a conflict some modicum of concession of citizenship rights we are denied.

To my mind it is going to be hard to get some of the people who are voteless, subject to lynching and peonage, segregation and discrimination based upon color prejudice to rally wholeheartedly to a cause which is practically antagonistic to their best interests. If Japan can make the world feel by peaceable means that the color of a man's skin should not be a perpetual bar to his right to pursue happiness or become a citizen of the world, then every Negro or colored American should know it is to his welfare that such should be.

It is my opinion that what we get in this country will not be given us as a free will offering but rather will be because of the development of crises and situations redolent with the possibilities of much good for us. It is for that reason that I should like to see an avalanche of opinion pro and con in the colored press on the attitude of the race towards this international development. A minority like ours well organized under peculiar circumstances could make its progaganda felt.

Japanese Land Bill Excludes Americans; Allows Ownership Only on Reciprocal Basis

By WILFRID FLEISHER.

Copyright, 1925, by The New York Times Company

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TOKIO, Feb. 1.—A bill permitting foreigners to own land in Japan will be introduced into the present session of the Diet at the instance of the Government. A similar measure which was passed by the Diet in 1910 was never brought into effect, failing to obtain the Imperial sanction necessary for its promulgation.

While features of the new bill will not be made public until its presentation to the Diet, it is understood the privileges of land ownership will be accorded on a reciprocal basis to foreign nations of countries where Japanese are permitted to own land.

In the case of the United States, where Japanese are barred from land ownership in several States, it is proposed that American citizens, residents of these States, shall be deprived of the right to own land in Japan. An American citizen would be required to produce evidence that he was not a resident of such States. There is a strong feeling, however, in official circles that such a ruling as regards the United States would be impracticable and that it would be difficult to force legislation which would treat unequally citizens of different sections of the same country.

Discussion is still continuing on this point, with the possible alternative that American citizens may be entirely barred from land ownership.

It is stated in official circles that the new bill will be "liberal in scope" and that no limitations or restrictions will be imposed on the use of land for agricultural or industrial purposes, but that the owner may make whatever use of it he desires. It is stated the bill is certain to receive the Imperial sanction if passed by the Diet.

The new legislation is intended to deprive anti-Japanese agitators abroad of another of their arguments against Japan, as was also the purpose of the recent law abolishing dual nationality.

LEAGUE ASKS U. S. ANTI-SLAVERY AID

Will Send A Draft To This Country For Approval And Support

GENEVA, Oct. 21.—The United States, at one time the center of slave trading controversy, will be forwarded a draft by the League of Nation, which contains an account of plans procedures and accomplishments of the body in an effort to rid the world of all slavery in whatever form it may exist. With this draft will be sent a request that the old exponent of slavery and the present greater sponsor of liberty and democracy—the United States— make every effort to adopt at once, all possible measures in conformity with the provisions of the draft, and to assist in the abolition of slave trade.

In answer to a criticism that the draft document was not extreme enough, Lord Cecil, Viscount of Chelwood, state: "I have discovered, gentlemen, in my career that this claim is often a cloak which covers a desire to do nothing whatever."

Plans are to convoke an international conference, soon, for the definite adoption of the convention.

LOCARNO

When peace like a river flows through all the earth, we may have to hark back to Locarno, where the great powers of Europe decided to war no more. This will be interesting history in the coming years, if the action of the participating powers is ratified by the several legislative bodies at home.

Germany, France, Belgium, Britain, Italy and Czecho-Slovaki are the powers who reached an agreement for permanent peace. Under the agreement, Germany must not cross the Rhine to invade France. Under the agreement, Belgium is safe from future attack. France must not invade German territory. The little Czeko-Slovak territory is guaranteed safety from attack. Britain, without reservation, agreed with Italy to join arms against the violator of the pact. Germany is to become a full member of the League of Nations.

The representatives have returned home to tell their respective nations what has been done at Locarno. When, if ever, the work is ratified and becomes the property of the nations represented at the Conference, permanent peace in Europe will have received its first guarantee. After that, it will remain for the Russians, Turks, Japs, Chinese, India and the rest to agree to something. Pending all this, we have the question of race, creeds and colors to be dealt with by all Europe. Truly, we are living in the greatest age the world has ever known.

Race Problem - 1925

Asia.

ELMIRA N Y STAR GAZETTE
MAY 28 1925

Colored Races Boldly Rising; World in Seething Ferment

Black and Yellow Men Learned Western Warfare Tactics in World War and Are Beginning to Face White Powers on Battlefield — Consequences Tremendously Important.

ARTICLE III.

BY FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

When English diplomats cemented the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902 they believed they were doing a wise thing and to all appearances they were. A friendly Japan in the Pacific strengthened the position of Australia and New Zealand and the lanes of the Pacific were safe for the British flag.

Followed, however, the Russo-Japanese war in which Japan emerged the victor, and things began to happen. Japan in this conflict received the moral support of Britain and was aided materially through the alliance.

By her victory Japan produced a profound effect in the world of color, then subject to the white race. For years China had lain at the mercy of the powers, its vast population pursuing their occupations with philosophic indifference. India was the keystone of the British empire and had been for almost two centuries. Persia was controlled by Britian and Russia and Turkey was the catspaw of Europe. Egypt was a British protectorate. Africa had been invested by the powers. The interior was in white hands and the old Barbary States were helpless.

In such a manner had the West turned the tables on the East. The invasions of the Mongols and the Semitic Mohammedans had been wiped out, and the sons of Europe sat astride the world, serene in their supremacy.

Things began to change with the Japanese victory over Russia. Secret societies, with the ideal of liberating their countries from western domination sprang into prominence. They were talking a doctrine that had stirred Europe in the Renaissance—nationalism.

The Japanese war kindled the ambitions of these groups into flame. A colored race had triumphed over the seemingly invincible Russia, a European power. The news spread through dusky lands and set them afire. The world of Islam stirred. The young Turks asserted themselves.

Young Persians preached nationalism with fanatic zeal. India stirred and her millions were rocked with new doctrine. Egypt murmured against the British.

From out of the desert rode the Arabs preaching a new Islam, the rejuvenated "Khalifia." The Chinese revolution started the world and the young Algerians and young Tunisians became more active. Britain's little alliance had helped to start something.

COLORED ARMIES AGAINST GERMANY.

Came the World War. An Armageddon threatens the citadel of western and white supremacy—Europe. Torn to its depths the West fought to the death. The colored races joined and sent their armies against Germany. They learned western customs and the modern method of warfare. They saw Christian nations tear at each other's throat, an anomaly to them, for they had been taught that Christians loved their brothers.

The end of the war found Europe in pitiful state. Russia, in chaos and anarchy, lay prostrate. Germany paralyzed, floundered in the new republicanism. France beset by financial troubles, fought to right herself. Austria was no more. Italy was in turmoil; Spain in uncertain straits. The Americans and England alone preserved their composure and maintained themselves as before.

The rising flood of color given impetus by Armageddon soon began to beat at the gates of the West. Islam stirred. Turkey defied the powers and the armies of Mustapha Kemal crushed Greece, pawn of England. The Lausanne Conference was a clear victory for the Turks whose representative, Ismet, flagrantly insulted Europe. This furthered the rise of the flood.

From out of India had arisen Ghandi, preaching a nationalistic doctrine. He was thrown in jail and India quivered with rage. The anti-British **feeling rose. China** again plunged into Civil War, a nation blindly trying to find its balance. Egypt erupted and that eruption eventually threw off the British protectorate and killed British hatred at the West. In Africa the Arabians raced, and for that matter, are still racing with the Christians for the negro's soul for here lies a vast empire.

WHAT VICTORY MEANS.

If the Mohammedans win, so much for the gain in influence of the East and the colored peoples if the Christians win, so much for the good of the West.

The current of revolution ran along North Africa and Italy had trouble in Tripoli. It lulled at Algeria and Tunisia, for France has done much in these states and the people are more inclined to accept their lot. Nevertheless the feeling is there and is bound to come to a head.

Leaping these countries it descended on Morocco and the Riffian tribes again openly rebelled against Spain. It was not the first time, but it was by far the most serious that Spain had experienced. The chain was complete; a great movement was under way. From Japan to Morocco and from Central Asia into Africa the world of color and Islam are seething in ferment. The flood beats at the dykes of western supremacy and threatens them. Paris and London grapple with the problem and the West wonders.

The Riffian rebellion completed the chain. It is only a part of this tremendous movement that is now asserting itself throughout the subject peoples. It is merely repeated history.

The fall of Rome plunged the West into the night of the Dark Ages, Europe half savage, lay in a primitive state. The Franks, Saxons and other tribes fought in the barbaric warfare. The East owned the world, all that mattered in the world. China, India and Islam were centers of civilization. Then came the mutation.

The West, under the stimulus of the Renaissance surged forward and discovered a new world. The East was incidental. As soon as the possibilities of the Americas became apparent Europe ignored the East or considered it as future prey. The peoples of Europe encircled the globe and helped themselves to it. They colonized and conquered and the twentieth century found it under their control, Japan the only exception.

But Europe could not stand prosperity and fought a great war. While it was fighting the East was feeling the effects of a Renaissance of its own. The effects of that Renaissance of culture and pride are now being felt in the West and it must be reckoned with. The East entertains today the same dreams the West entertained 500 years ago. It is rising to the occasion with amazing efficiency.

It is now the problem of the West to meet this rise. With the East repeating the history of the West the problem should not be a new one. But one thing is certain—a change must take place. The Riff rebellion is proof of this. Spain has not been able to crush the tribesmen and, even if she did, could not kill the movement. It is too profound to be stifled by a defeat or two.

The solution of this problem will be a controlling factor in the history of mankind for the next 500 years.

THE TIDE OF COLOR GOES ON RISING.

American marines have been landed at Shanghai and Canton because agitators are urging the natives to drive out all foreigners. There has been much violence which has been quelled only with great difficulty by the Chinese police. Chinese students are leading in the movement against the foreigners.

Chicago Tribune

We do not suppose that the native uprising will succeed for the present but we cannot doubt that it is another indication that the spread of white dominion over Asia has reached its apex and is already in decline. The growth of the white man's power reached its peak toward the beginning of this century. One European power after another had successfully established itself on the Asiatic coasts and had slowly driven its dominion inland. It seemed not beyond the realm of possibility that all of China would sooner or later be divided among the imperial powers of Europe as India and Sumatra had already been subjugated.

When Japan rose to claim her place as a great power her announcement was greeted with polite yawns. She whipped China in 1894 and a few far-seeing observers thought that might mean something, but no one else took the matter seriously. Japan stayed in the minor leagues only ten years more. Then came the war of 1904-1905 and the first of the western nations, Russia, was obliged to bow to an oriental power and give up Asiatic territory.

Japan waited, then, until 1914 to oust the second power, Germany, from her Asiatic possessions. That was Japan's only object in entering a struggle of white men for European domination. Japan for all she cared about the disposition of Alsace or the murder of an archduke might as readily have joined the German side; but Japanese statesmen knew that however successful Germany might be in Europe, Japan as an ally of Germany could never hope to drive England from Asia because England's mastery of the sea would prevent. Therefore Japan joined the allies, knowing she would lose nothing if the allies lost and might gain against Europe if the allies won.

This may be an argument from hind sight but it is difficult to find any other explanation than the one we have given for Japan's strange rôle in the last war. The point we are making here is that Japan's opposition to white domination of Asia is not special to her nor was it born in 1914. Rather it is typical of all the colored races the world over and the events of this week in China are but a part of a general movement which eventually may find the colored races acting together against the whites.

ARE THE DARKER RACES OF THE WORLD GETTING TOGETHER?

We believe American foreign policy should be formulated with that situation in mind. We must look forward to the time when Asia and Africa will not only resent foreign domination but, if there is—especially when it was seen that the Japan-pean soil since then. World peace conferences between Russia and Japarwar for humanity" has been fought on Euro victors, the majority of that the Hague and otherwise, have been held all as the white race in gen We were hoping that a closer bond of universa their praise of Britain's prow brotherhood was being formed. Not so, it the fact that Russia's bar appears. The old Banquo's ghost of race su ding the inhuman treatment supremacy still form a disturbing element in the gnians, would be materially world peace if an editorial printed in the Chi- completely checked cago Sunday Tribune means anything. Read it h of the rejoicing over the carefully, thoughtfully and, if possible, im- e victory, was short-lived partially. It read thus:

white race of which they were a part. "The During the war between Russia and Japan it was seen that the Japan- pean soil since then. World peace conferences victors, the majority of that the Hague and otherwise, have been held all as the white race in gen We were hoping that a closer bond of universa their praise of Britain's prow brotherhood was being formed. Not so, it the fact that Russia's bar appears. The old Banquo's ghost of race su ding the inhuman treatment supremacy still form a disturbing element in the gnians, would be materially world peace if an editorial printed in the Chi- completely checked cago Sunday Tribune means anything. Read it h of the rejoicing over the carefully, thoughtfully and, if possible, im- e victory, was short-lived partially. It read thus:

white dailies as well as Europe has ral weeks aloud in their p reached out to exploit America, Asia and Africa just so Asia, which is heavily overpopulated, may reach out to the Americas and Australia and certainly do so if she can. In that situation, the interests of this country and of the British empire are identical. It therefore behooves us to remain on the best terms with England and to allow no issue to drive us apart. Quarrels are likely to arise between us which could lead to war. We must guard against that danger. So long as we stand together, white supremacy on our own hemisphere, at least, is impregnable.

"American marines have been landed at Shanghai and Canton because agitators are urging the natives to drive out all foreigners. There has been much violence which has been quelled only with great difficulty by the Chinese police. Chinese students are leading in the movement against the foreigners.

We do not suppose that the native uprising will succeed for the present but we cannot doubt that it is another indication that the spread of white dominion over Asia has reached its apex and is already in decline. The growth of the white man's power reached its peak toward the beginning of this century. One European power after another had successfully established itself on the Asiatic coasts and had slowly driven its dominion inland. It seemed not beyond the realm of possibility that all of China would sooner or later be divided among the imperial powers of Europe as India and Sumatra had already been subjugated.

When Japan rose to claim her place as a great power her announcement was greeted with polite yawns. She whipped China in 1894 and a few far-seeing observers thought that might mean something, but no one else took the matter seriously. Japan stayed in the minor leagues only ten years more. Then came the war of 1904-1905 and the first of the western nations, Russia, was obliged to bow to an oriental power and give up Asiatic territory.

Japan waited, then, until 1914 to oust the second power, Germany, from her Asiatic possessions. That was Japan's only object in entering a struggle of white men for European domination. Japan for all she cared about the disposition of Alsace or the murder of an archduke might as readily have joined the German side; but Japanese statesmen knew that however successful Germany might be in Europe, Japan as an ally of Germany could never hope to drive England from Asia because England's mastery of the sea would prevent. Therefore Japan joined the allies, knowing she would lose nothing if the allies lost and might gain against Europe if the allies won.

This may be an argument from hind sight but it is difficult to find any other explanation than the one we have given for Japan's strange rôle in the last war. The point we are making here is that Japan's opposition to white domination of Asia is not special to her nor was it born in 1914. Rather it is typical of all the colored races the world over and the events of this week in China are but a part of a general movement which eventually may find the colored races acting together against the whites.

Race Problem - 1925

Asia.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
MAY 24 1925

Colored Races Boldly Rising; World in Seething Ferment

Black and Yellow Men Learned Western Warfare Tactics in World War and Are Beginning to Face White Powers on Battlefield — Consequences Tremendously Important.

ARTICLE III.
BY FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

When English diplomats cemented the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902 they believed they were doing a wise thing and to all appearances they were. A friendly Japan in the Pacific strengthened the position of Australia and New Zealand and the lanes of the Pacific were safe for the British flag.

Followed, however, the Russo-Japanese war in which Japan emerged the victor, and things began to happen. Japan in this conflict received the moral support of Britain and was aided through the alliance.

By her victory Japan produced a profound effect in the world of color, then subject to the white race. For years China had lain at the mercy of the powers, its vast population pursuing their occupations with philosophic indifference. India was the keystone of the British empire and had been in for almost two centuries. Persia was controlled by Britian and Russia and Turkey was the catspaw of Europe. Egypt was a British protectorate. Africa had been vested by the powers. The interior was in white hands and the old Barbary States were helpless.

In such a manner had the West turned the tables on the East. The invasions of the Mongols and the Semitic Mohammedans had been wiped out, and the sons of Europe sat astride the world, serene in their supremacy.

Things began to change with the Japanese victory over Russia. Secret societies, with the ideal of liberating their countries from western domination sprang into prominence. They were talking a doctrine that had stirred Europe in the Renaissance—nationalism.

The Japanese war kindled the ambitions of these groups into flame. A colored race had triumphed over the seemingly invincible Russia, a European power, again. The news spread through the lands and set them afire. The world of Islam stirred. The Turks asserted themselves.

Young Persians preached nationalism with fanatic zeal. India stirred and her millions were rocked with new doctrine. Egypt murmured against the British. Arabs preaching a new Islam, "Khalifia." Chinese revolution started rejuvenated China. Japan mageddon threatens the citadel of white supremacy—the West wonders.

The Riffian rebellion completed the chain. It is only a part of this all-Asia movement that is now threatening itself throughout the world. They are asserting their tremendous movement is merely the beginning of the end. They peated history.

The fall of Rome plunged the Dark Ages, Europe half savage, lay in ruins. The Franks, Saxons and other tribes fought in the barbaric warfare. The East conquered and colonized the world, all that mattered. China, India and more. Then came the war of 1904-1905 and the Japan rose to claim her place as a great power, Germany, from her Asiatic possessions. That was Japan's only object in entering a struggle for all she cared about the disposition of Alsace and England alone preserved their the possibilities of the Americas. The became apparent Europe ignored The East or considered it as future of white men for European domination. Japan joined the allies, knowing she would lose nothing if the allies lost and might gain against Europe if the allies won.

This may be an argument from hind sight but it is difficult to find any other explanation than the one we have given for Japan's strange rôle in the last war. The point we are making here is that Japan's opposition to white domination of Asia is not special to her nor was it born in 1914. Rather it is typical of all the colored races the world over and the events of this week in China are but a part of a general movement which eventually may find the colored races acting together against the whites.

We believe American foreign policy should be formulated with that situation in mind. We must look forward to the time when Asia and Africa will not only resent foreign domination but, if there is spread of industrialism, may have the means to make the resentment effective.

It is just as well to realize that as Europe has reached out to exploit America, Asia and Africa just so Asia, which is heavily overpopulated, may reach out to the Americas and Australia and will certainly do so if she can. In that situation, the interests of this country and of the British empire are identical. It therefore behooves us to remain on the best terms with England and to allow no issue to drive us apart. Quarrels are likely to arise between us which could lead to war. We must guard against that danger. So long as we stand together, white supremacy on our own hemisphere at least, is impregnable.

WHAT VICTORY MEANS.

If the Mohammedans win, s[ome]
much for the gain in influence of
the East and the colored peoples will
if the Christians win, so much for this
the good of the West.

The current of revolution rar
along North Africa and Italy had
trouble in Tripoli. It lulled at Al-
geria and Tunisia, for France has
done much in these states and the
people are more inclined to ac-
cept their lot. Nevertheless the
feeling is there and is bound to
come to a head.

Leaping these countries it des-
cended on Morocco and the Rif-st
tian tribes again openly rebelled
against Spain. It was not the first
time, but it was by far the most
serious that Spain had experienced.
The chain was complete; a great
movement was under way. From
Japan to Morocco and from Cen-
tral Asia into Africa the world of
color and Islam are seething in
ferment. The flood beats at the
dykes of western supremacy and
threatens them. Paris and Lon-
don grapple with the problem and
the West wonders.

The Riffian rebellion completed
the chain. It is only a part of this
tremendous movement that is now
asserting itself throughout the
subject peoples. It is merely re-
peated history.

The fall of Rome plunged the
Dark Ages, Europe half savage, lay in
Saxons and other tribes fought in
barbaric warfare. The East
conquered and colonized
the world, all that mattered.
China, India and
Persia and anarchy, lay prostrate.
Turkey found it under their control,
Japan the only exception.
But Europe could not stand
prosperity and fought a great war.
While it was fighting
the East
West the problem should not be a
Its own. The effects of
that Renaissance of culture and
are now being felt in the
and it must be reckoned with.
entertains today the same
500 years ago. It is rising to the
amazing efficiency.
its own problem of
West to meet this rise. With
the history of the
Russia represented the
war for humanity" has been fought on Euro-
pean soil since then. World peace conferences
at the Hague and otherwise, have been held
We were hoping that a closer bond of universal
brotherhood was being formed. Not so, it
appears. The old Banquo's ghost of race su-
premacy still form a disturbing element in the
world peace if an editorial printed in the Chi-
cago Sunday Tribune means anything. Read it
carefully, thoughtfully and, if possible, im-
partially. It read thus:

"American marines have been landed at Shanghai and Canton because agitators are urging the natives to drive out all foreigners. There has been much violence which has been quelled only with great difficulty by the Chinese police. Chinese students are leading in the

ARE THE DARKER RACES OF THE WORLD GETTING TOGETHER?

During the war between Russia and Japan—especially when it was seen that the Japanese would be the victors, the majority of the white dailies as well as the white race in general were loud in their praise of the Japs' prowess and rejoiced in the fact that Russia's barbaric practice including the inhuman treatment accorded the Armenians would be materially lessened if not completely checked.

However, much of the rejoicing over the apparent Japanese victory was short-lived when some professor in one of the universities of this city reminded the "Press" and the people that from a racial standpoint it was more of a cause on their part for mourning

movement against the foreigners.

"We do not suppose that the native uprising will succeed for the present but we cannot doubt that it is another indication that the spread of white dominion over Asia has reached its apex and is already in decline. The growth of the white man's power reached its peak toward the beginning of this century. One European power after another had successfully established itself on the Asiatic coasts and had slowly driven its dominion inland. It seemed not beyond the realm of possibility that all of China would sooner or later be divided among the imperial powers of Europe as India and Sumatra had already been subjugated.

"When Japan rose to claim her place as a great power her announcement was greeted with polite yawns. She whipped China in 1894 and a few far-sighted observers thought that might mean something but no one else took the matter seriously. Japan stayed in the minor league only ten years more. Then came the war of 1904-1905 and the first of the western nations, Russia, was obliged to bow to an oriental power and give up Asiatic territory.

Japan waited, then, until 1914 to oust the second power, Germany, from her Asiatic possessions. That was Japan's only object in entering a struggle of white men for European domination. Japan—for all she cared about the disposition of the Alsace or the murder of an archduke might as readily have joined the German side; but, Japanese statesmen knew that however successful Germany might be in Europe, Japan as an ally of Germany could never hope to drive England from Asia because England's mastery of the sea would prevent. Therefore Japan joined the allies, knowing she would lose nothing if the allies lost and might gain against Europe if the allies won.

This may be an argument from hind sight but it is difficult to find any other explanation than the one we have given for Japan's strange role in the last war. The point we are making here is that Japan opposition to white domination of Asia is not special to her nor was it born n 1914. Rather it is typical of all the colored races the world over and the events of this week in China are but a part of the general movement which eventually may find the colored races acting together against the whites.

"We believe American foreign policy should be formulated with that situation in mind. We must look forward to the time when Asia and Africa will not only resent foreign domniation, but if there is spread of industrialism, may have the means to make the resentment effective.

It is just as well to realize that as Europe has reached out to exploit America, Asia and Africa, just so Asia which is heavily overpopulated, may reach out to the Americas and Australia and will certainly do so if she can. In that situation, the interests of this country and of the British Empire are identical. It therefore behooves us to remain on the best terms with England and to allow no issue to drive us apart. Quarrels are likely to arise between us which could lead to war. We must guard against that danger. So long as we stand together, white supremacy on our own hemisphere, at least, is impregnable."

Out of the East

FIVE years ago C. R. Das was the leader of the Calcutta bar. His practice was said to bring him an income of $50,000 a year; he lived in one of the show residences of Calcutta. Then he came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. For four years he did not take a single case as a lawyer. He turned his estate of some $800,000, including his house, over to a trust fund to serve India, part of it to go toward a university for women. The other day he died, a poor man dwelling in an attic room which a friend gave him rent-free. But he died mayor of Calcutta and president of India's Swaraj Party.

It was Das who persuaded Gandhi two years ago to permit the Swaraj Party to moderate the absolutism of its non-cooperation program. Das adopted the old Parnellite program of entering the legislatures and fighting the Government from within. It was his leadership which reduced the British scheme of diarchy in Bengal and the Central Provinces to ashes. He commanded a majority in his own legislature, and he boldly refused to vote salaries for the ministers of the "transferred departments." Diarchy provides that the less important departments of government shall be in the hands of native ministers, but it does not give them final power. Das said that the Government must accept responsibility where it had control; he would permit no camouflaged measures of near self-government.

The power of his personality was revealed last March when the final votes were taken on the ministers' salaries. Some of his followers were wavering, and there was danger that the salaries would be voted. Das was ill, but, disregarding his doctors, he had himself carried on a stretcher into the legislative chamber. British officials were so fearful that they would issue no passes that day; even the stretcher-bearers were barred at the door, and Das's colleagues had to carry him in. The sick man's followers rallied, and voted against the Government.

Das was more the politician than Gandhi—although he, too, sat at his spinning-wheel and wore chaddar—far more interested in the method and detail of self-government. At the Bengal conference of the Swarajists in May he appealed to the Government, offering cooperation: "Providing some real responsibility is transferred to the people there is no reason why we should not cooperate with the Government," he said. Such cooperation, he added, must depend upon a change of heart in the rulers and a definite guaranty of Swaraj in the near future. Will England give that?

Western leaders do not move toward political power by renouncing this world's goods. Das, like Gandhi, was beyond thought of self. And the power of these Eastern personalities drifts across the intervening oceans with an appeal like that of the ancient prophets. Do we in the West respond to such men? Are we as far from them as the economy program and modest twelve suits of Calvin Coolidge? Would we listen to such an appeal as this of Das's to his followers?

> Be it yours to offer yourselves as sacrifices in the interest of truth and justice, so that your children and your children's children may have the fruits of your sufferings.

If India can rise to that, we need not worry over the decay of Western civilization, for the East will offer us something better.

INDIA WOULD TREAT US AS UNDESIRABLES

Assembly Passes Bill for Reciprocal Action on Countries Holding Them Inferior.

DELHI, India, Feb. 3.—A bill proposing reciprocal treatment for the United States and the colonies which treat Indians as an inferior race was adopted today by the Legislative Assembly by a vote of 49 to 41. A bill was also introduced proposing simple punishment for seditious offenses.

Amid excitement and uproar, a motion by the Indian member, V. G. Patel, to introduce a bill repealing various old anti-seditious measures was carried by a vote of 50 to 40, despite the strong opposition of Sir Alexander Muddiman,

President of the Council of State, read striking passages from the latest revolutionary pamphlets, which he said had incited to murderous crimes. The Swarajists, however, voted solidly against him.

Deputy Patel declared that the Government's measures in trying to repress political activity had caused all of the recent and other bomb outrages, and he argued that anarchy was the outcome of this repressive policy, which, he said, "had given India a sham constitution."

BORAH EXCORIATES AMERICAN C. OF C. AT HANKOW, CHINA

Senator, Answering Critical Resolution, Asserts Chamber Is Part of Imperialistic Combine.

Washington, June 27.—(AP)—Replying to a resolution adopted by the American Chamber of Commerce at Hankow, criticising his recent utterances on China, Chairman Borah, of the senate foreign relations committee, declared today that the chamber was "a part of the imperialistic combine which would oppress and exploit the Chinese people and charge the result of their offenses to some one else."

"They are perfectly willing," he asserted, "to continue in connection with others these exploitations and they care very little if it drags the American people into war."

"Anyone who is familiar with what has been going on in China for the last 10 years, and the manner in which foreigners have disregarded Chinese interests, will have no doubt as to what is the real cause of the trouble in China at the present time. So far as I am concerned, they not going to hide the cause of the trouble. These interests, including the American Chamber of Commerce in China, are the real cause of this trouble.

"I venture to say that if the foreign interests in China will respect the rights of the Chinese people and deal with them in justice: if they would even give them the rights and respect the rights as they were defined in the disarmament conference there would be no trouble in China with foreign powers.

"In making the former statement I express my personal views, but I am prepared with the facts to disclose a condition of affairs which would be distasteful, in my opinion to the American Chamber of Commerce."

Race Problem - 1925

Australia.

'WHITE AUSTRALIA' POLICY EXPLAINED BY

MELBOURNE, Australia.

IT is fallacious to regard the White Australia policy negatively—as a principle of exclusion of non-white races, in the opinion of Stanley Melbourne Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia, who has outlined his views on the question for THE NEW YORK TIMES. Rather, Mr. Bruce said, this policy must be considered as a positive principle based on the maintenance of higher economic standards.

"Perhaps the term is misleading," the Prime Minister pointed out. "Confusion arises over the use of the word 'white.' It happens that we are a white people—what the term actually stands for is the maintenance of a system of thought, a standard of living, a homogeneity of population and a growth based on these three things.

Mr. Bruce, before launching upon a discussion of the most vital principle ever enunciated on this Continent—a principle comparable to the Monroe Doctrine—outlined some of the problems that Australia is in the process of solving. These problems and the solutions he has in mind, while more particularly bound up with the greater question of making Australia a more successful "primary" producer than she is today, have an important bearing upon the White Australia policy.

However, before indicating them here it may be wise to touch upon the general trend of Mr. Bruce's thought on White Australia. He said:

"What has come to be known as the 'White Australia' policy is a vital principle in the national life of Australia. It is the cardinal tenet of our political faith. The principles, beliefs and aspirations of political parties in Australia are widely at variance on most questions. On this question they unite. It is a question outside party politics.

Australians 98 Per Cent. British.

"The six States of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania federated in 1901. At once, the White Australia policy was enunciated. Australia is determined to maintain it at all costs. It is based on fundamental economic principles. It is not founded on racial antagonisms.

"Australia is racially homogeneous. Of its present population of 6,000,000, about 98 per cent. are of British birth or of British parentage. We do not say to the people of any other race that they are inferior. In many respects they may be our superiors. But we do say that they have their own civilization and that we have ours. There are differences between our people and those of other countries—ethical, physical, social, educational, esthetic. Australians are proud of their traditions, of their governmental institutions, of their conceptions of liberty and of their legal processes.

"We have set for ourselves certain standards of living which we are determined to maintain. In our new country in the Southern Pacific we desire that in this free democracy all our citizens shall have equality of opportunity, that they shall receive a decent living wage and that they shall live under conditions acceptable to the public conscience. We desire to develop our primary and secondary industries under conditions which will not lower the standards of life which we have set."

Water Supply Problem.

It was at this point that Mr. Bruce developed his outlook concerning Australia's future as a great "primary," or agricultural, country. His viewpoint, it may be said—and he stressed the fact himself—varies from the viewpoint held by many other prominent Australians.

"The great cry often raised here," he continued, "is that if Australia could have more water her problem of production of the fruits of the earth would be solved. There has been much talk about droughts in this country. It is true that we have droughts and areas of minimum rainfall. The theory has been advanced again and again that if those sections of the country that have a six or seven inch rainfall annually could have their water supply increased to assure a supply equivalent to a twenty-inch rainfall, every square foot of the continent could be made to blossom. Our wheat, our wool, our meat, our fruits, our dairy products—all depending in the last analysis upon water—could then be produced in such quantities that we could dominate the world. This presents a false picture. Our water problem is being solved. There is another problem which has not yet been solved. That is transportation.

"Let me give you proof that we have the water problem well in hand. The River Murray scheme of irrigation, begun in 1917 and now well on its way, is an enterprise that will effect closely the States of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The construction contemplated involves the Upper Murray Storage (Hume Reservoir), the Lake Victoria storage, twenty-six weirs and locks in the course of the River Murray between Echuca, Victoria and Blanchetown, South Australia, and nine weirs and locks in the course of the River Murrumbidgee, between its junction with the River Murray and Hay.

Irrigation Difficulties Solved.

"The Lake Victoria storage, in the southwestern corner of New South Wales, which will have a capacity of 514,000 acre feet, is now approaching completion. This storage will provide for the requirements of the irrigation settlements in the State of South Australia. The Hume Dam, immediately below the junction of the Rivers Mitta Mitta and Murray, will provide a storage of 2,000,000 acres of water.

"It is estimated that, in all years except those of extreme drought, the quantity of water made available during the irrigation season from the Murray River alone will provide for 2,000,000 acres. The ultimate cost of the scheme will be in the vicinity of £11,000,000. Clearly, we do not have insuperable difficulties in providing all the water we need to raise all the products for which we can at present or in the near future find a market.

"But examine our transport problem. All the important railway lines run east and west, with the exception of the coastal lines. In times of drought, when it is necessary to shift flocks to fresher pasturage, the presence of adequate means for speedy transport would be of immense help. In short, transport would in more ways than one solve or help solve the water problem itself. However, I must not digress too far from the consideration of the White Australia policy. The references I have made to water and transport have this important connection with the policy: they show clearly that we must have our hands free for the purpose of applying ourselves more thoroughly to the questions of our development.

Must Maintain Living Standard.

"We desire to enlarge our ethical life based upon the standard of equality of opportunity, a decent living wage and living conditions acceptable to the public conscience. To realize these ideals we must exercise the right which resides in all sovereign peoples of restricting the immigration of those who hail from countries with a standard of economic life lower than our own. We do not regard any types of peoples as actually undesirable. The only undesirables of any country are the criminals, disturbers of the peace, the paupers and the mentally unfit.

"The White Australia policy is not a policy of negation or of discrimination. It is a positive policy. We need population. One of the greatest needs of Australia, with its great expanse of territory and vast natural resources as yet practically untouched, is an increase of population. We recognize this and we recognize also that we can hold our continent only by peopling it. So far we have been able to hold it and to develop it under the protection of the British Navy. But we desire that newcomers shall be of types readily assimilable with the present elements of our population. That is the test which we apply—that is the real meaning of the White Australia Policy."

The immigration policy of the United States is being closely studied in Australia. Prime Minister Bruce justified Australia's attitude on the basis of lessons learned from America.

Compared to United States Policy.

"We have observed the United States and its policy of 'open door,'" he said. "Australia, from the day it was able to formulate a Federal policy of immigration, adopted at once a course that the United States adopted only as recently as 1921 when Congress passed the Immigration Restriction act, applying the quota system. We saw the feeling crystallize in America. The essence of the Restriction act is the same as that of the Australian Immigration law. The law of 1921 was amended in 1923 to restrict still further the types of immigrant that the Congress of the United States regarded as being not undesirable, but not easily assimilable.

"Elihu Root, the farmer American Secretary of State, speaking before the Bar Association of the State of New York some few years ago, made an address which might have been made by the Prime Minister in Australia to his own people, and would have as truly articulated the sentiments we in Australia feel on this question. Mr. Root said:

"'A circumstance which we ought not lose sight of is the fact that a vast number of people have come to the United States within very recent times from those countries of Europe which differ so widely in their fundamental conceptions of law and personal freedom from ourselves. The millions of immigrants who have come from the continent of Europe have come from communities which have not the traditions of individual liberty, but the traditions of State control over liberty; they have come from communities in which the courts are part of the administrative system of the Government, not independent tribunals to do justice between the individual and the Government; they have come from the communities in which the law is contained in codes framed and imposed upon the people by superior power, and not communities like ours, in which the law is the growth of the life of the people, made by the people, through their own recognition of their needs.

"'It is a slow process to change the attitude of the individual toward law, toward political principles. It cannot be done in a moment, and this great mass of men, good men, good women, without our traditions, but with entirely different traditions, will change us unless we change them.'

A Domestic Question.

"Our immigration law is not directed against any particular race. Its object is to preserve our standards of living and to guard against the disruption of our economic position. It is a law to protect our present population from dilution by people with different standards of living. This protection is an inherent right which we are exercising in the same way as the United States is exercising her right.

"The Australian viewpoint coincides with that of the United States on this question. I can give to the citizens of the United States no clearer understanding of the Australian attitude than by quoting the message of President Coolidge at the opening session of the Sixty-eighth Congress. We in Australia have exactly the same viewpoint in regard to the White Australia policy. The President's words are.

"'American institutions rest solely on good citizenship. They were created by people who had a background of self-government. New arrivals should be limited to our capacity to absorb them into the ranks of good citizenship. America must be kept American. For this purpose it is necessary to continue a policy of restricted immigration. It would be well to make such immigration of a selective nature, with some inspection at the source and based either on a prior census or upon the record of naturalization. Either method would insure the admission of those with the largest capacity and best intention of becoming citizens. I am convinced that our present economic and social conditions warrant a limitation of those to be admitted. We should find additional safety in a law requiring the immediate registration of all aliens. Those who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America.

Race Problem - 1925
Canada

Music Wipes Out Color Line In Canada As Choirs Of Two Races Prepare To Give Joint Recital

Pittsburgh Courier 11-3-25 Edition 2

TORONTO, Ontario, Can., Oct. 1.—An event of historical importance will occur in this city next Friday night when for the first time in Canada, a white and colored choir will give a joint recital; moreover, the choir will be in a colored church, as the choir of Rhodes Avenue Baptist Church will be the guests of the First Baptist Church Choir in the latter's chancel.

Musical Toronto is agog, for Rhodes Avenue Choir which is one of the city's finest musical organizations, and is under the direction of Prof. William Warrer, are noted exponents of the works of the great English composers, Baker, Semper, while the First Baptist Choir, under the direction of Robert P. Edwards, specializes in the American type of Anthem, and their rendition of Spirituals twice gained them premier honors at the Canadian National Exhibition, hence the music lovers expect an interesting as well as a unique programme, which will include ensembles. The Choirs will be accompanied by Thomas Lee of Rhodes avenue, and Mrs. Irene Dabney-Lucas of First Baptist.

SIGNAL HONOUR FOR EDITOR J. F. JENKINS

J. F. Jenkins, Executive Secretary of the Canadian League for the Advancement of Colored People has been asked by Judg G. Q. Warner of the Juvenile Cout to co-operate with him in all cases where colored children are involved. This appointment is a signal honor both to Mr. Jenkins and to the League and such work is in direct line with the aims and objects of the League. The League believes that the present evils affecting society should be corrected within the family, among both parents and children and thus when this is done there will be little or no need for dispensing charity and that incorrigible and delinquent children will become almost negligible.

Mr. Jenkins was called upon last week to assist in dealing with his first case in connection with the Juvenile Court and the manner in which he handled the case was highly satisfactory to court officials.

Race Problem-1925.
Europe.

J. A. Rogers, Suspected As Being "Bolsheviki" Agent, Is Grilled By London Police

American Writer Says Scotland Yard Has DuBois Listed As "Dangerous Man."

LONDON, Sept. 10.—J. A. Rogers, well-known author and journalist, who left the United States some months ago in search of excitement is apparently finding it. A few days ago he was grilled at the famous Scotland Yard under the suspicion that he was an agent in the pay of the Bolshevik government.

It is said that the trouble started in the British Passport Control Office when Rogers on applying for his vise said that he wanted permission to go to Africa. Being a Negro and an author along with the fact that he made it known that he expected to travel extensively is believed to have aroused the suspicion that his funds came from Moscow.

J. A. Rogers

Accordingly instructions were forwarded to Scotland Yard to investigate Rogers at the address he had given. Rogers, however, did not go straight to London, but went instead to Penzance, Cornwall, in search of matter for his coming novel. In the meantime the detectives had gone to the London address and not finding Rogers there accused another American of being Rogers.

When interviewed Rogers took the affair quite humorously; "I hope Moscow will take the hint," he laughed, "and send me on some money. Believe me I can use it. This is a hard country to live in."

"The trouble," he said, "began in New York City when I applied for a vise to go to Sierra Leone in British West Africa. The truth is that I had only the slightest hope of being able to go so far—When I get to France I do hope to visit Algeria and Morocco—but knowing many American Negroes who had talked of going to Africa, and having heard that the latter were not permitted to land there I thought I would verify the matter and asked."

After some questioning Rogers said that he was told that he could not be given a vise for Africa and that he would have to take up the matter in England. Then the authorities apparently became suspicious and took him into an inner office where he was questioned by a young woman.

"This young woman," says Rogers, "evidently wanted to find out whether I was a musician or a Communist, but instead of going to the point began to ask me several questions in a negative way as: "You're not going to join a band?" "You're not going to Glasgow, or India, or Russia, or Germany?" She also didn't seem to believe that I, a Negro writer, could be traveling on my own. Well, you can hardly blame her for that.

"In applying for a vise one must give an address but knowing no one there, I gave the address of Mr. Whaley of the team of Scott and Whaley, that had been given to me by my friend, Lawrence Brown, the composer.

"Arriving in England I visited Cornwall, Devon and other places, where I had a splendid time. Later I arrived in London and was congratulating myself that I was really having a holiday from the eternal color question when to my great astonishment I was informed by Mr. Johnston, of the team of Layton and Johnston, that Scotland Yard had been looking for me for some time and had been accusing Whaley of being me.

"Accordingly I went to Scotland Yard, where I was questioned by Inspector William Brust. He received me very courteously and told me that he was only carrying out instructions, which were to the effect that I had doubtful associations in New York City. I waited while he consulted a large sheaf of documents for him to name these questionable parties expecting the names of any of the dozen or so Negro Communists I know in New York, or perhaps Marcus Garvey, when to my great astonishment he named Dr. DuBois, who he informed me was 'a dangerous man.' This, as I said, was news to me for not only had I hitherto not regarded DuBois as dangerous to white world domination, but the fact is that although I lived not so many blocks away from him, I have the slightest possible personal acquaintance with him. I am further associated with the Messenger which opposes most of DuBois' policies.

"I was also questioned as to the means of my income, the inspector informing me that Moscow was causing a lot of trouble among the colored races and would only be too glad to get hold of a man of my education. I told him that the money I was traveling on was the result of my hard earned savings. After asking me to leave a copy of "From Superman to Man," for him to read, he advised me to register with the police, and told me that I wouldn't be troubled any further.

"In spite of the courtesy and this assurance I felt a bit uncomfortable at first. It is not pleasant to think that one is being followed everywhere by sleuths, still all in all it was great fun.

Trailed to Plymouth

"According to Rogers he was trailed from New York to Plymouth by a detective who continued on the S. S. George Washington to France. This alleged Secret Service man, he says, made friends with him the second day out and brought up the subject of Communism several days later.

"Something told me that this man was a detective," says Rogers, "particularly after the questions that had been put to me in New York City. I have been around the police and the courts too long not to know a dick when I see one so I filled him full of bull.

"When he finally brought up the subject of Communism one evening as we paced the deck and declared that it was the only cure for the ills of the world I was ready for him and shot him a full dose of the usual line of Communist chatter. I thought that if he was a dick I'd not let him take all that long trip for nothing. And the amusing part of it was that it was rumored on board that I was a Secret Service man. Yes, Europe, like the South hasn't got over the war yet.

"When I arrived in England I forgot all about this incident."

Paris Abounds With Negro Actors, Chauffeurs And Salesfolks, Says Rogers

American Writer Lands On French Soil After Two Months In England; Finds Capital A City Of Magnificent Boulevards.

By J. A. ROGERS
Author of "From Superman To Man."
Written Exclusively for the Norfolk Journal and Guide

Paris—On the first of September after a very pleasant stay of two and a half months in England I said good-bye to my English friends and took the train for Folkstone en route to Paris. I had heard much about the roughness of the English Channel and when I saw the small steamer that was to take us across and the choppy waves I thought that for once I was in for a dose of sea-sickness. My feelings were not helped any when I saw the deckhands passing around the little collection plates whereon are taken the tribute for Father Neptune.

Mr. Rogers

Across The Channel

And they were not a bit too soon either for no sooner had the little boat pushed off than dozens of those around me began to give up the breakfast they had just paid good English coin for. You may imagine that all of this gave me a still queerer feeling in the innards. However, I just made up my mind that I wasn't going to suffer the humiliation of being sick, besides I felt that I needed that breakfast more than fishes.

Luckily I had met two good companions on the voyage, a doctor and a retired banker and we swapped jokes and chatted, and laughted so heartily that though the sea got rougher, the queer feeling vanished. Nevertheless, it was a mighty one and I was mighty glad to see the grey cliffs of Dieppe.

On landing I had still another pronounced feeling; that of a great strangeness at hearing a different language. Now I had always prided myself on my knowledge of French. Hadn't I read Victor Hugo, Balzac, and Lamartine and understood them in all their delicate nuances? So I confidently went up to the first Frenchman and sprang my French on him—well to make a long story short, he must still be wondering whether I was a visitor from Mars.

Difference In French

One thing I have learned is that there is a big difference between French as she is writ and as she is spoke. However my knowledge of the former has helped wonderfully and after a week I am making myself fairly understood. More than ever am I convinced that the real difference between man and man lies not in color and race, but in language. You are pretty well cut off from a man when you can't speak his language.

From Dieppe to Paris I had a pleasant, sunshiny trip through beautiful apple orchards and quaint villages with thatched on slate roffs. But for the latter I could imagine myself travelling in parts of the United States so much alike are the landscape and the products. One thing, I noticed that will be of particular interest to war veterans is that the box cars still bore the legend; 8 hommes; 40 chevaux (8 men; 40 horses.)

Paris is a very beautiful city in spite of the fact that the buildings most of which are seven stories look rather rusty. Much as I said fine things about London the latter I have found is rather ugly compared with Paris.

Magnificent Paris

Paris is a city of magnificent boulevards and remarkably hand-

some and imposing squares. There is great nobility and beauty in French design. Art reigns supreme. I cannot recall having experienced a greater elevation of the soul than when I stepped into the Place de la Concorde; perhaps its historic associations may have helped to stir this feeling. In the center of this spacious square is Cleopatras' Needle; to the right is the dark mass of the Chamber of Deputies; to the left in the distance is the historic church, La Madeline, while nearer is the Hotel Crillion, famous for its war conferences. To the rear in the distance is the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, imposing in its grandeus. Facing the Place is the very beautiful Jardin (Garden des Tuilleries) while in the far distance the Eiffel Tower rears its splendid mass a thousand feet in the air.

Many stirring scenes were enacted in the Place de la Concorde during the French Revolution. The head of the beautiful queen. Marie Antoinette was cut off here, as well as those of Louis XVI, Charlotte Corday, Danton and Robespierre.

Reminded of Colored People

From the Arc de Triomphe noble wooded boulevards radiate in all directions. Among them is the famous Champs Elysees.

In spite of the difference of language—to which I am rapidly getting accustomed—I feel more at home in Paris than in London. The French remind me more of colored folks—they are just as noisy, lovable, excitable, light-hearted, pleasure-loving and take their own time about everything: two hours for lunch. They take time to live and get acquainted with life as they pass through it—which no doubt accounts for their very high state of artistic development. All during the day and late into the night they may be seen by hundreds of thousands sipping their cafe, beer or wine at the delightful tables on the sidewalks. Paris is indeed a city in which to dream dreams.

Another thing that has helped to make me feel more at home is the large number of colored folks. In my articles on England I said that I found a minimum of color prejudice there. In France it is apparently even less, for in Paris I am seeing what I did not in England, namely, the employment of Negroes. I see Negro officers in the white regiments, in the bands, stores, subway, banks, on the stage and as chauffeurs. On the main floor of the Louvre—a department store, I saw two on the sales force. One of them told me that he wanted to go to America but that the quota and the low value of the franc were in his way. In England the Negro is treated with courtesy but he is the last to be given a job.

Wages are much lower than in England, and since it takes 20 francs to make a dollar—before the war it took five—the wage of the French workman will sound ridicuously low to American ears. An American can live about a third less in Paris if he knows the language. If he doesn't it will cost him about a third more than in New York City. America is indeed a paradise for the worker, white or black.

As I said the Negro is even better treated here than in England. One of the first things I have discovered is that if I am to get along here I must throw overboard all the ideas of American race differences that have adhered to my psychology in spite of myself, and simply think myself a man.

What would not the Negro in America have accomplished if he had not to use up so much of his energy fighting the despicable color question—that philosophy of imbeciles which declares that the color makes the man.

But the truth is I had better not forget those "race differences' too much or I will have to re-learn them on my return.

Race Freedom

As I said the Negro can go anywhere. He is on the stage not as a flunkey, but as the equal of the white actors. The other night at the Folies Bergere, perhaps the most famous music hall in the world, I saw a sight that made the crackers, who are here in large numbers, raving mad. I stood by them and at the door as they left and heard their remarks.

This sight was one of the acts in which a magnificent Senegalese Negro, nude save for a loincloth, danced with an equally striking white woman, similarly dressed. It sure made the Mason-Dixon folks mad. In the dance the woman sat on the Negro's knee and caressed him. Then my mind ran back to the tremendous fuss that was made over "All God's Chillun" and I thought what a very queer old world this is after all. On all the public buildings is the motto: Liberty, Fraternity, Equality; and the French live up to it, at least so far as race is concerned.

For those wishing to write to me my address is c|o American Express, 11 Rue Scribe, Paris.

In my next article I will further impressions of Fra- also tell of many French which will sound peculi- icans.

Race Problem - 1925

Europe

England Offers Opportunity To Negroes of Wealth And Artists; No Place for Masses

Stage and Professional People Succeeding, American Writer Finds, While Laborers and Obscure Masses Long For the U. S. A.

Pittsburgh Courier

It is by this time, no doubt a matter of common knowledge that I was being sought by detectives from the famous Scotland Yard on the suspicion of being in the pay of Moscow. Since then I fear I haven't improved matters by calling on George Lansbury, member of Parliament, and one of the leaders of the Independent Labor Party. Mr. Lansbury has himself been accused of being in the pay of the Bolshevik government. When I told him of my experience he said, laughing: "They only suspected you before; now after being you come up here they'll know it. His office which faces the Houses of Parliament is just a few yards from Scotland Yard. Mr. Lansbury has promised to take me down to the House of Commons when it meets again and introduce me to some of the members there.

J. A. Rogers

Meets Prominent Negroes

In this article I will tell of some of the colored folk of importance I have met. As I said the Negro who is doing well here thinks there is no place like England, while those who are not think it about the last place on earth. Moral: For the rich Negro, Europe; for the poor, one, America. Many of the latter have told me that they would give anything to be able to get to the United States. They are barred by the quota.

Among the Negroes I have met here is Dr. Theophilus Scholes, author of "Glimpses of the Ages," one of the outstanding books on the Negro. Dr. Scholes is a graduate in medicine from Glasgow University and a German university. He did not follow that profession but went in for literature. He told me that the publication of his book had got him into considerable trouble. Dr. Scholes is one of the leading scholars of the race, and his works ought to be better known in the United States. I have seen them in several libraries there. I met him in the library of the British Museum where he studies most of the time. He invited me to tea and we discussed the race situation for several hours. From his experiences he though England was a bad place for a Negro but when I told him of conditions in America he admitted that the former was nothing in comparison. Dr. Scholes is planning to have his books published in the United States.

Another interesting colored person I met in the Museum was Prof. A. A. Chinappa, of Egypt and Zanziber. He is master of more than eight oriental languages and several European ones. He is a Civil Service examiner for the British Government and lectures in the schools here. During a conversation at tea at his home he told me that after the examinations in October he was planning to take a vacation in the United States.

I have also heard the names of more than a dozen others who are among London's leading physicians and barristers.

American Negroes

American Negroes here are mostly in the musical and theatrical line. Among the number I have met so far are Messrs. Turner Layton and Johnstone, John Payne, and Pierre de Caillaux. Born here but of American parentage is Miss Ira Aldridge, daughter of the famous Shakesperean actor of that name whom I also had the pleasure of meeting.

Messrs. Layton and Johnstone have been playing in the London music halls, a new one each week still they continue to be one of the most popular teams on the stage. I heard them recently at the Victoria Palace Theatre and the audience simply howled for encore after encore. They sing each night at the fashionable Cafe de Paris, as well as over the radio. They have also sung several times for the Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of York, and other members of the Royal Family. A London paper recently estimated that the pair were drawing $6,000 a week.

John Payne is a baritone who is well-known on the concert stage in America. He is one of the finest interpreters and singers of Negro spirituals I have ever heard. He is much in demand at functions of the elite here and receives a high sum for each appearance.

Mr. Payne owns a fine home on Regent's Park Road where he lives in princely style. He is also building a summer home at Rotting Dean. I was a guest at his home where I had a regular American dinner—needless to say what that was. One thing I miss here is my good eats. Present at this dinner was Lady Mary Cooke, who has taken a great interest in the work of Payne, and has done a translation and interpretation of the spirituals for the benefit of French audiences.

Miss Aldridge's Home

Miss Aldridge lives in a charming home on Bedford Gardens, Kensington, and is a gifted singer and composer. Starting her career at an early age she was one of nine students selected by the famous Jenny Lind to study under her. She proved a very apt pupil as two letters in Miss Lind's own hand testify.

At present she gives vocal lessons at a figure that would be considered very high even for America. Her compositions are popular over the radio and at the moving picture theatres. Among her compositions are: "Three African Dances." "Carnival Suite," and "Assyrian Love Song," all of which are published by Chappell and Co., of New York City.

Miss Aldridge's music room is filled with momentos of her father—the costumes in which he played Othello, medals, presents, and letters of congratulations from such notables as the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia and the president of Switzerland.

She also showed me many newspaper clippings praising her father. It might be well to remind Negro Americans of this great Marylander, so I will quote from Le Nord, a Russian paper of 1868, which says of him in his favorite role of Othello:

"No sooner did the Moor make his appearance than I felt myself. I ronfess it instantly subjugated me, not by the terrible and menacing look of the hero, but the naturalness, calm dignity and by the stamp of power and force that he manifested and of which he also seemed to be ignorant, contrary to the custom of great actors who very often on the stage appear too much pleased with themselves. He entered gloomy, mild and thoughtful. But under that calm air one foresaw and forebode the thunder, though quiet now would not tarry to break out; it was the lion asleep which ever when asleep commands respect.

"At the first words he pronounced I forgot theatre, the actors and even Shakespeare. What above all that characterizes Aldridge is that he produces his effects more by the expression of his face than by the words he utters or his gestures. They say he is not handsome. I find it impossible to give an answer to this question. I saw only on his brow the sublimity of genius."

Miss Aldridge's picture was recently painted by a vice president of the Royal Academy and is hung in the Academy.

And speaking of pictures I am reminded to say that on Oxford street, the heart of the shopping district, is the photograph of a Negro prominently displayed in the window of one of London's most fashionable photographers. This Negro, who is very dark, is Richard Donovan, who formerly lived in the United States, and is now a student here. Imagine a similar thing on Fifth Avenue or Pennsylvania Avenue.

Meets Distinguished Whites

Among the white persons of distinction that I have had the pleasure of meeting so far is Mr. John Harris, secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and Parliamentary Secretary. He has long been one of the leading agitators for justice to the African native, and is the author of several books on Africa among them being "Dawn in the Dark Continent," "Africa Slave or Free." It was a great pleasure to meet him as I had quoted from both these books in my "As Nature Leads."

Mr. Harris told me some surprising facts about slavery, which still exist in many parts of Africa, and particularly in Portuguese territory. The natives in these regions, he said, are forced to produce the cocoa, cotton, rubber and other products essential to the continuance of white civilization. "The dividing line between forced labor and slavery is a very thin one" he said, "and in most Colonial territories compulsory labor rests upon some form of domestic slavery. It is thus imperative that immediate action should be taken to secure the liberation of all slaves."

As to the South African situation, Mr. Harris foresees secession from the British Empire. The Bourbons there, he said, would never be content until they had the black man completely in their power. It will be recalled that the bill—the Colour Bar Bill—by which they had proposed to do so was recently defeated in the South African Senate. Failing to get their way legally, he predicted that the "crackers" of that region would demand their independence precisely as they did in the South in 1861.

In the event of successful break away from the Empire, Mr. Harris predicted that that would bring about the final triumph of the South African native since the white man would not be able to hold out against the superior numbers and survival power of the black man.

Speaking on the color situation as it affects the Western Negro, Mr. Harris deplored the fact that Americans had introduced color discrimination in England and on the Continent. Many of them he said were doing their utmost to get Negroes barred from hotels and other public places.

Writes Deploring Race Prejudice

Cites Achievements of the Three Alex. Dumases in France

Deriding a number of absurdities into which race prejudice leads white Americans, Albert Guerard, writing in the June number of Scribner's Magazine, speaks of the so-called "inferior" product of

mixture and cites the Dumas family as evidence against any such inferiority. Says Mr. Guefalda:

"There is a plaza in Paris dedicated to the three Alexander Dumases. The first, the son of a Haytian planter and of a Negress, was a general at the time of the Revolution and the Empire. The second unmistakably African in coloring and features, was the jolly giant who has fascinated three generations with his romantic tales, who wrote hundreds of several fortunes, managed newspapers and theatres, hobnobbed with the greatest in the land, and preceded Henry Ford in devising methods of quantity production. The third, besides giving an everlasting and deplorable model of maudlin romanticism in 'La Dame auc Camelias,' besides suffering from a painful excess of technical skill and Parisian wit, created the modern problem play, paved the way for symbolism on the stage before Ibsen had been heard of, and wrote homoletic paradoxical, glittering prefaces when Bernard Shaw, his ungrateful son, was still in his cradle. Few Nordic families could offer the same record of physical and intellectual energy as that 'colorful' dynasty of the Dumases.

"Once more, I am only pleading for careful study; I am not claiming in advance that the mulatto is a desirable product. I am only stating that the fine record of many people of mixed parentage should prevent us from accepting blindly any adverse verdict. On the whole, analogies drawn from other branches of biology are favorable to cross-breeding, if it be followed by selection. The finest breeds of dogs, horses and plants are the result of careful crossing. This proves very little, I know; but it may at any rate act as a check on a prior conclusion."

RACIAL WARS BREWING, FEARS LLOYD GEORGE

Says "Whites" Have Some Cause to Shiver.

YELLOW RACES AWAKEN

Trade Rivalries, Bolshevik Russia, Knowledge of Western Ideas Are Seen as Factors in Stirring Up Asia.

BY DAVID LLOYD GEORGE.

(Copyright by United Feature Syndicate, Inc. Copyright in Great Britain by London Chronicle. Exclusive world rights held by United Feature Syndicate, Inc. All rights reserved.)

LONDON, July 25.—There is a tendency at the present time in all continents, towards panic over the position of the white man vis-a-vis the colored; and there is a good deal of ferment, which has justified disquietude. What is the reason for all this shiver on the white skin?

They have reason to their shudder. In Asia, the brown and yellow races are seeking to throw off the dominion or domination of the pale-faced foreigner. China is in the throes of the most intense, widespread and best organized anti-foreign movement it has ever witnessed. Japan has, for twenty years, become a redoubtable naval and military empire and is now the most dangerous trade rival of Europe and America in the east. In India there is undoubted unrest. In Africa, a formidable war is even now in progress between the invading European and the native, the latter with European equipment and a leader trained in a European military school—and so far the European has had the worst of it. The Egyptian has for years given trouble. In the United States, the color question has always been a vexen one. The problem of the negro has not yet been solved and, in the Philippines, another colored race is querying American authority.

Numerically, the position is against the white. The number of colored human beings on the earth is 1,150,000,000, while there are but 550,000,000 white people.

Japan has led the way for color. The victory of Japan over Russia in 194 gave the east new confidence in its potentialities as regards war. We have probably underestimated the effect of the defeat of a great European military power in a standup fight with an Asiatic empire which had, up to that time, been regarded as effete and inferior. The old generation of Asiatics had been brought up under the fear of western superiority and regarded white races as invincible, and even the Japanese war did not entirely break the bonds of apprehension which were stapled in their hearts. But the existing generation is the one that was in its childhood when the new light of Asia flashed from the Japanese guns and the sound reverberated throughout that mysterious continent.

Learn Western Methods.

During the great war, the yellow races watched silently, with eager eyes, the white peoples strangling each other to death, and they are not unaware, now, of the fact that great white nations are lying exhausted after the struggle. In the meantime, they have been learning western methods and the western technique of war. Abd-El-Krim is something of a portent. He and his brother trained in the French and Spanish military schools in order to learn the best methods of overthrowing, in their native land, the supremacy of their teachers. And how well these warlike brothers have learned their lesson their fellow students can but tell. The armies of Spain have been driven to the sea and the legions of France, fresh from victory over the greatest military empire on earth, are falling back before the clansmen of this mountain chief. We are told that at the present moment, in China, the latest poison gas from the German factories is being manufactured. The machine gun, the trench mortar and every modern contrivance of warfare have found their way into the hands of the colored races, and it is the white races who have placed them there. One million Chinese, drilled in the European pattern, are now in battle array on Chinese soil.

Bolshevik Russia is no doubt doing its best to foment trouble and stir up the colored races in their desire to free themselves from the white man's thraldom. Russia is now an outcast and the nations with which she once associated gather their robes about them disdainfully as she passes. All outcasts revel in making trouble for others. The instinct that made the outcast aristocrats of France into revolutionaries at the end of the eighteenth century and turned their hands upon the class from which they sprang is inspiring Russia to agitate the colored peoples against the white races. Russia is the Mirabeau of the nations. Her hand is lifted against her old European associates and she is helping to stir up mischief for her former friends.

The fact remains there is no doubt at all that there is a growing revolt amongst the colored races against white control. It is not only in military matters that they have been instructed by us. Modern means of communication bring them much more easily into contact with the west and with western civilization. They have become familiar with it and, in turn, are adopting it amongst themselves more and more. They are receiving the education of the west and mix amongst the white men as equals. The printing press has penetrated even into darkest Africa and the natives have their own newspapers—a useful medium for any form of nationalist propaganda. The white races have set themselves to instruct their colored brethren and this is the result. The problem is one which has to be reckoned with.

Fanned By Trade Rivalries.

There is another factor which helps to accentuate color antagonism. Racial antipathies and prejudices are being fanned by acute trade rivalries. Trade jealousy and competition between the nations in the modern world is a development of the last hundred years. The passionate trade competition between Britain and Germany had something to do with the hatreds which fostered the war spirit. The same process is going on in the east, where highly industrialized Japan, having acquired all the special scientific skill of the west and with the unlimited cheap labor, is competing with the west. The Japanese are a race of small cultivators and live on what would be regarded in America or Britain as next to nothing. Lafcadio Hearn describes them as: "A people of hundreds of millions, disciplined for thousands of years to the most untiring industry and the most self-denying thrift under conditions which would mean worse than death to our working masses." A small wage in a factory enables these hardy sons of the soil to buy comforts and luxuries which were completely beyond their reach on the little crofts or quillets where they were brought up. Japanese industry has thus a reserve of physical and nervous endurance which comes from untold generations of labor on the soil and in the open air, removed from the nerve-wracking experiences of great aggregations of humanity. The Japanese are now drawing up the same kind of reserve which fed British industrial expansion at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which enabled Britain to found her industrial supremacy in Europe. At that time we drew, first of all, upon the surplus population from the land of Britain. Then, when this was exhausted in the next generation, the Irish famine came and we were able to draw from Ireland upon the industrial reserve of millions of quality.

Japan Just Beginning.

Britain has now exhausted her reserves and is working her industrial system with the generation which has borne the rack and poison of industrial life from its youth upwards; but Japan is only just beginning to use her human material, and the war gave her opportunity to the full for utilizing them for the purpose of capturing the markets of the east. To take one example, the average number of cotton spindles worked daily in Japan has risen from 1.9 millions in 1911 to 4.2 millions in 1923, while the value of woven goods generally has increased from 337 million yen in 1912 to 1,474 million yen in 1921. When Britain and America were concentrating their energies in war, and, in so far as they were producing goods, were doing so at inflated war prices, which were prohibitive as far the poor populations of the east were concerned, Japan was sweeping these markets into her own net and taking full advantage of our absorption in the west to penetrate into China and extend her tentacles there in every direction. Her rapidly increasing population is overflowing on the Chinese littoral. She sees in the resources of China a field for exploitation and enrichment, and she finds there to hand the coal and iron which are necessary to her if she is to develop her industries.

But what of the picture of a great federation of yellow races, equipped, drilled and led by Japan, breaking down civilization as the wild horsemen of Attila rode down Roman culture? As a blood curdler, it is the most successful of all of the shilling shockers. And its circulation just now is increasing rapidly. But, as a fact, it has no existence and as a prediction it is remote. We always forget that Semitic races are just as riven by racial antagonisms as the Caucasian peoples. The Chinese have no reason to love the Japanese. It is not so long ago they were at war with each other, and Japan still holds by force of arms a large tract of what was once Chinese territory. There is no more love lost between the two nations than between the French and Germans. In fact, there are probably greater differences of temperament, culture and traditions between the Japanese and Chinese than exist between any two great European races.

During the Versailles conference one thing that was very obvious was the terror of the Chinese for this increasing Japanese domination and their efforts to induce the great powers to help them tear out its grip, ever deepening in their flesh, were almost pathetic. It would be unfair to criticize Japan for taking the opportunity which presented itself, during the great war, when the white nations were occupied in an internecine struggle. Britain, Germany, America—they would all, doubtless, have done the same under similar conditions. Can America regard it as an outrage if Japan, advancing in industrial development, seeks to capture trade in China? Are these sufficient reasons for talking about "another inevitable war?"

It is no use being angry. To be angry is to be unjust. If the great powers show wisdom and patience, I do not believe there will be anything to fear in the end from any combination of yellow races. Not just yet. But if the powers do not consider the question sanely and fairly, looking the facts in the face and making allowances for prejudices and legitimate aspirations, it may well be that there is another inevitable war brewing in the devil's vat. It is the old struggle between force and fair play, between might and right, between mastery and fraternity — in other words, between paganism and Christianity. Which will win?

(Signed) DAVID LLOYD GEORGE.

Race Problem – 1925
Europe

The Color Line Not So Tight In Great Britain Says American Writer

By J. A. ROGERS
Author of "From Superman To Man."
Written Exclusively for Journal and Guide

London, England—To me, coming fresh from the United States, the most noticeable thing so far is the absence of the color line. When I arrived at Plymouth and after my bags had been gone through by the customs officer, my first necessity was to get a place for the night.

Mr. Rogers

Hearing that much color prejudice had arisen in England since the war I did not wish to suffer the embarrassment of being refused at a hotel and checked my bags at the railroad station while I went on recconnoitering tour of the town. I saw many places but hesitated to enter nor did I see a single colored person though I walked around for several hours. Finally I saw the Y. M. C. A. sign and went in.

The lady in charge received me courteously but said she hadn't a single vacancy and after trying to get me a room elsewhere suggested that I try a certain hotel, which turned out to be one of the best in town.

Received With Courtesy

I finally decided to try it and was received with instant courtesy. I was handed the foreigners visitors book wherein I had to tell about myself, who my parents are, where I was born and my age, etc. This is one of the unrepealed war measures. Most of the other names on the page were Americans who had just arrived like myself. One of the first things the American visitors did was to flock to the saloons ordering liquor eagerly for the fun of the thing and enjoying themselves like children just out from under the disciplinary eye of the teacher. To make matters worse the George Washington like the other ships of the American Line is really bone dry. As for me I had a glass of fine port just for luck.

For the night's accommodation and breakfast next morning I paid three dollars. The accommidation was much inferior to what I would have received in the United States for a like sum. Housing is much inferior to the States.

Early next morning I took the Great Western for Cornwall, where the opening scenes in my approaching novel are laid. After a pleasant ride through some of the loveliest country I have ever seen I arrived in the quaint and delightful old town of Penzance. At this time the English countrysides are a scene of remarkable beauty. The fields are cut up with green hedges on which all kinds of wild flowers are blooming.

Englishmen Cordial

I had always imagined the Englishman as being very stiff when travelling. Back of my mind was the story of an Englishman who is said to have hesitated to tell another whose coat was on fire of it because he had not been introduced to him. Quite the contrary I found my fellow-travellers in the same compartment willing to talk after I had opened conversation.

When they learned I was from America they became even more interested. And I noted that when they spoke they said: "You, Americans," not "You, colored people." Here one is thought of in terms of nationality, not of race. It seems a very difficult thing to get an Englishman at home interested in race. Here, at least, all the dark peoples from the other parts of the Empire are thought of first as Britishers. Not once so far in the many conversations I have had has race ever been referred to with the result I have come to think that it simply isn't thought about. Wherever I go in barber shops, restaurants, hotels, theatres, I am treated as any other man. And because of not knowing where to go to find some of the cheaper accommodations I have been forced to go to some of the best places. Whatever the colonial policy of the Empire may be— and God knows that it is bad in most parts of Africa, here in the Mother Country a man regardless of color is treated according to his merits and capabilities. The single black man I met all the time I was in the south of England said when I remarked to him on the absence of prejudice, "Why, this is the worst part of England. It is where you Americans come. You ought to go to the north of England where I have lived for more than twenty years."

"Go Where Your Pocketbook Will Take You"

When I asked him to recommend me to a place in London he gave me this notable reply:

"Go, where your pocket will take you. Act just as if you were a white man in America." This Negro is from Barbadoes and is a medicine doctor, selling roots and herbs to credulous white folk. He says that although times are hard and there is unprecedented unemployment that he makes an average of twenty-five dollars a day for a few hours talk. Negroes, I notice, are not the only ones who fall for fake medicine.

This part of England is one of the most prosperous being known as the Cornish Rivera. The weather is delightful in summer and although it is about as far north in latitude as northern Canada snow in winter is a rarity.

While in Penzance I visited Land's End, the most southerly tip of England. Here immense boulders are piled up by the hand of Nature forming a most astonishing sea wall. It appears as if some giant hand had taken up these huge boulders, some of them weighing many tons and carelessly piled them up hundreds of feet high. Some of these great rocks look as if an infant could disturb the balance and send them all hurtling down. Nevertheless they have been in that same delicate position for thousands and thousands of years. With its tremendous waves dashing against these granite cliffs with its great caves and blowholes its weird formations and the marvelous coloring of the rocks and the waters, Land's End is a place that one does not forget very readily. The only other natural sight that I know excels it is the Grand Canyon.

Tin, a Product of Cornwall

Cornwall is also noted for its tin mines. Students of history will recall that the Phoenician merchants used to visit it long before Julius Caesar in order to get that product. One of these mines I saw known as the Ding-Dong has been worked before the time of Christ and still is. Some of these mines extend under the sea.

The Cornish people are very polite. Seeing few colored faces one would think they would gaze at a Negro but they never do, accepting him as a perfectly normal human being. I went for long walks in the delightful narrow green lanes meeting here and there alone a woman in the fields. There is apparently not the slightest reserve about meeting me and if, just as a test, I ask a question her voice is as friendly and normal as ever. More than ever after this do I feel positive that color prejudice has to be taught and that there is no such thing as instinctive hate of one human species for another. For, if it were, surely those people who see Negroes least ought to show the most fear at contact with them. Here, however, are these people, who, as I said, rarely if ever see a colored face acting just as if on the other side of the Atlantic there was not a tremendous color problem.

Nearly all of the land around Penzance belongs to Lord St. Leven who, on a very high cliff cut off by high tide known as St. Micheal's Mount, has a magnificent castle like one reads about in fairy tales.

Leaves For London

A few days later I left this beautiful part of the country third class for London. The English coaches are quite unlike the American being much smaller, but more artistic in appearance. First class, the only other class, is so high that it is only for the rich.

After a seven hours' ride thr country fully as beautiful as t I had seen on the way down rived at London, whose outsk looked just the same as tha any American city.

In my next I will tell of my experiences in London and of some of the places I have visited.

PRESTIGE OF WHITE RACE THREATENED, POWERS BELIEVE

European Statesmen Predict Effect of Syrian Rebellion Will Reach to Philippine Islands.

BY CHARLES M. M'CANN.

London, November 2.—European statesmen believe that the repercussions of Syria's rebellion against government by the white race will reach as far as the Philippines. There is grave concern among the colonial powers for white prestige in Asia, Africa and the near east.

Events in Syria combined with recent Moroccan, Chinese and Turkish defiance of western civilization, it is feared, will lead to further uprisings in the east which, perhaps, may eventually be fatal to white domination.

Sympathetic With France.

In their own interest, the powers, perforce, are sympathetic toward France in her Syrian difficulties, however much they may disapprove of French methods of administration. This was pointed out to the United News by one in position to speak for Great Britain and with authoritative knowledge of the attitudes of the other colonial powers. It is felt that defeat for France in Syria would be defeat for all colonial powers wherever they exercise authority over native ponulations.

The color line cannot be found between each pair of opposing forces in the various colonies and mandate areas, for in some cases it is the east against the west as in the case in north Africa. There the caucasian Riffians lead the fight against white men, although there are negroes carrying rifles on either side.

The United States apparently is not vitally interested in the Syrian disorders, but it was said that this uprising against the French combined with other blows since the war at white prestige would be felt as far as the Philippines.

Authorities Worried.

"You may be sure," a thoroughly competent authority told the United News, "that the American authorities in the Philippines are worried, even if Washington is not."

The powers take the view that the future of their interests throughout Asia and Africa is threatened by the series of rebellions against white suzerainty which began when Turkey, whose population is only twice as large as that of New York city, successfully defied an alignment of the greatest powers in Europe. To the Turkish victory at Lausanne is ascribed responsibility for all the trouble of the past two years in Morocco and China and it is a contributing factor to the unrest in India.

Soviet Russia is charged with lending aid to subject peoples by instigating trouble throughout Asia. The powers claim to have positive information that Russian agents constantly are busy at such work, especially in China, Afghanistan, Turkey, India, Persia, Syria, Morocco and Tunisia.

Bolshevik concentrations may be expected soon in Syria if the present situation continues there, it is believed.

American Negro Writer, Traveling In Great Britain, Stirs English Suspicion That His Trip Is Being Financed By Russian Soviets

(Special Correspondence To The Age)

London, England—J. A. Rogers, well-known author and journalist, who left the United States some months ago in search of excitement is apparently finding it. A few days ago he was grilled at the famous Scotland Yard under the suspicion that he was an agent in the pay of the Bolshevik government.

It is said that the trouble started in the British Passport Control Office when Rogers on aplying for his vise said that he wanted permission to go to Africa. Being a Negro and an author, along with the fact that he made it known that he expected to travel extensively, it believed to have aroused the suspicion that his funds came from Moscow.

Accordingly instructions were forwarded to Scotland Yard to investigate Rogers at the address he had given.

Rogers, however, did not go straight to London, but went instead to Penzance, Cornwall, in search of matter for his coming novel. In the meantime the detectives had gone to the London address and not finding Rogers there accused another American of being Rogers.

When interviewed Rogers took the affair quite humorously: "I hope Moscow will take the hint," he laughed, "and send me on some money. Believe me, I can use it. This is a hard country to live in."

Wanted To Visit Africa

"The trouble," he said, "began in New York City when I applied for a vise to go to Sierra Leone in British West Africa. The truth is that I had only the slightest hope of being able to go so far—when I get to France I do hope to visit Algeria and Morocco—but knowing many American Negroes who had talked of going to Africa, and having heard that the latter were not permitted to land there, I thought I would verify the matter and asked."

After some questioning Rogers said that he was told in the New York office that he could not be given a vise for Africa and that he would have to take up the matter in England. Then the New York office authorities apparently became suspicious and took him into an inner office where he was questioned by a young woman.

"This young woman," says Rogers, 'evidently wanted to find out whether I was a musician or a Communist, but instead of going to the point began to ask me several questions in a negative was as: "You're not going to join a band?" "You're not going to Glasgow, or India, or Russia, or Germany?" She also didn't seem to believe that I, a Negro writer, could be travelling on my own. Well, you can hardly blame her for that.

Gave Whaley's Address

"In applying for a vise one must give an English address, but knowing no one there I gave the address of Mr. Whaley of the team of Scott and Whaley, that had been given me by my friend, Lawrence Brown, the composer.

"Arriving in England I visited Cornwall, Devon and other places, where I had a splendid time. Later I arrived in London and was congratulating myself that I was really having a holiday from the eternal color question when, to my great astonishment, I was informed by Mr. Johnstone, of the team of Layton and Johnstone, that Scotland Yard had been looking for me for some time and had been accusing Whaley of being me.

"Accordingly, I went to Scotland Yard where I was questioned by Inspector William Brust. He received me very courteously and told me that he was only carrying out instructions, whish were to the effect that I had doubtful associations in New York City. I waited, while he consulted a large sheaf of documents, for him to name these questionabble parties, expecting the names of any of the dozen or so Negro Communists I know in New York, or perhaps that of Marcus Garvey, when, to my great astonishment, he named Dr. DuBois, who, he informed me, was "a dangerous man."

"This, as I said, was news to me for not only had I hitherto not regarded DuBois as dangerous to white world domination, but the fact is that although I lived not so many blacks away from him I have the slightest possible personal acquaintance with him. I am further associated with the "Messenger", which opposes most of DuBois' policies.

"Thought Money Was "Red"

"I was also questioned as to the source of my income, the inspector informing me that Moscow was causing a lot of trouble among the colored races and would only be too glad to get hold of a man of my education. I told him that the money I was traveling on was the result of my hard earned savings. After asking me to leave a copy of "From Superman to Man" for him to read, he advised me to register with the police, and told me that I wouldn't be troubled any further.

"In spite of the courtesy and this assurance I felt a bit uncomfortable at first. It is not pleasant to think that one is being followed everywhere by sleuths, still all in all it was great fun.

According to Rogers he was trailed from New York to Plymouth by a detective who continued on the S. S. George Washington to France. This alleged Secret Service man, he says, made friends with him the second day out and brought up the subject of Communism several days later.

"Something told me that this man was a detective," says Rogers, "particularly after the questions that had been put to me in New York City. I have been around the police and the courts too long not to know a "dick" when I see one so I filled him full of "bull".

"When he finally brought up the subject of Communism one evening as we paced the deck and declared that it was the only cure for the ills of the world I was ready for him and shot him a full dose of the usual line of Communist chatter. I thought that if he was a "dick" I'd not let him take all that long trip for nothing. And the amusing part of it was that it was rumored on board that I was a Secret Service man. Yes, Europe, like the South hasn't got over the war, yet.

"When I arrived in England I forgot all about this incident."

Race Problem—1925.

Europe.

SAVANNAH TIMES
MAY 19, 1925

Frederick Lee Discusses New Move of Colored Races

Ever since Woodrow Wilson at Versailles dropped ths golden apple of self-determination upon the peace table in the sight of all the smaller nations of the world, there has been a growing effort by the colored races to throw off the domination of the white peoples. Frederick Lee of Peking, China, discusses the causes and outcome of this "Mighty Surge of Color" in the June issue of The Watchman Magazine. He claims that:

"The most stupendous, if not the most urgent, problem facing the statesmen of the world today is the problem of color. The races of the Near and the Far East, with their shades of black, brown, and yellow, are determined to secure a hearing before the world tribunals, and to have an opinion, if not a decision, handed down that all races of earth are equal, and that upon this principle all political acts shall be based. This determination was never greater nor more fervid than it is today. The fermentation of racial sovereignty and self-determination is working in darkest Africa, in mystic India, in teeming China. .... Th's new doctrine of sovereignty is being taught in the universities of the Far East; .... it is being preached in its temples. The Orient has also found a champion in Soviet Russia, who is vigorously campaigning the whole East and stirring up antipathy against the Western powers. .... Russia has taken the side of the nations of color partly as a threat to the white nations who have outlawed her, but principally because she sees a psychological opportunity to propagate her new principles of life and government.

"There is no question about it—the problem of color is the greatest problem facing the world today. It may not be as urgent as the reparations problem and the security of Europe through the adjustments following the World War. But the problem of the Pacific is to become as much greater than the problem of the Rhine as the Pacific is greater than the Rhine. The tide of the Pacific—which washes the shores of Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Siberia, China and the Philippines—and of its complement, the Indian Ocean—which washes the shores of India and Africa—representing the great tide of sentiment among all these peoples, is rising. The deluge is no longer creeping upon us slowly, but it becoming a great and mighty wave that threatens to inundate the West unless the oil of racial equality is speedily poured upon the troubled waters. .... It is folly for the Western nations to continue on, apparently oblivious to the rising tide; it is folly for them to work on with the same air of superiority they have ever shown toward the weaker nations. Make peace by granting justice; this is the only key to the situation. ....

"It was with this spirit of magnanimity and idealistic discernment that the late President Wilson went to the peace council. The whole East had high hopes when the president set sail. They felt that justice would rule at the peace table if ever it could rule. .... Never had diplomats and statesmen such an opptrounity to lay true and secure foundations of government based upon justice to all people before theories can be applied—such conditions as greed, lust for power, suspicion, hate. The ideal ever falls before the practices of weak, unrighteous men.

"Thus it was that the presidential program fell down in Paris. The principle of self-determination fell into the background, and expediency, that apology for many an unjust act, came to the front. .... It was further demonstrated that this principle, so fervently advocated by Mr. Wilson, could not be applied, when Baron Makino of Japan introduced an amendment to the original draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations: 'The equality of nations being the basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord as soon as possible to all aliens, nationals of states members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect making no distinctions, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality.' .... The demand of Japan for equal recognition and its appeal for all peoples of racial difference fell upon deaf ears. .... Though there was a large majority at the peace council in favor of this amendment, it was pigeonholed and finally forgotten.

"The Japanese, the Chinese, and all peoples of color, went from the conference with their hopes shattered. .... But the seeds of sovereign rights have been sown among all peoples. .... The peoples of the East are now alive to their latent powers, they are cognizant of their vast resources in men, materials and mentality. By acts of exploitation and encroachment the West has prodded the East until she is now fully awake. Now, apparently, the West would gladly soothe her to sleep again.

"But the East is unwilling to sleep on. Behold a vast and mighty giant, recently awakened and desirous of throwing off his shackles both material and moral, appealing to a great conference of nations to stop the importation of narcotics and being rudely refused! .... Is it any wonder that the whole East is arising; that peoples once at odds with one another are calling for an international colored conference in which they may evolve some method by which they may unitedly bring the white peoples to their senses.

"Dynamite was once known only as an instrument of destruction. It is now known as the most helpful instrument of construction. .... Is it not possible that the dynamite of ideal theories that the great statesmen of this present world fear in the practical working out of political affairs shall some day actually aid in the building up of a stable and just world? .... The dynamite of regeneration for a lost world can be used only by the mighty God. Through Him all true principles, even the most ideal, are to be worked out. .... The day is soon to come when God will hurl this dynamite into this sinful world and a miracle will come forth. All obstacles will be cleared away, all mountains will be leveled, and a highway for the Lord will be made in the earth, a highway of eternal peace. The only hope for all nations of color, as well as for the white race, is in the power of God which changes things, even to the rebirth of a corrupt and unrighteous heart. In the mighty plans of God is found the solution for all world perplexities."

The general conference in Washington a few months ago of wood using industries, when a more extended program was recommended

French General Gets Literary Award For Book on Black Fighters

PARIS, June 19.—(A. N. P.)—Popular approval has met the announcement that the French Academy the highest artistic and literary tribunal in France, has awarded to the family of General Charles Mangin, French hero of Verdun, who died May 12, its yearly grand price of 10,000 francs for the finest production in French literature.

Gen. Mangin wrote numerous volumes about the Sengalese and other African troops and it is this work which the academy in its announcement said "We desire to posthumously crown the literary work of the deceased general.

WAR BETWEEN RACES PREDICTED BY AUTHOR

Austen Thinks Bolshevists Fomenting Agitation.

BY DON SKENE.

(Copyright Cable to the Chicago Tribune and The Commercial Appeal.)

LONDON, July 12.—The ominous events in China, Morocco, and India apparently are the preliminary stages of an unparalleled war to death between the white and colored races, with the Pacific as the central battleground, writes E. Britten Austen, noted English author and frequent contributor to the Saturday Evening Post and other American publications, in the Sunday Pictorial today. He firmly believes the world is almost blindly rushing towards a struggle directed by a shrewd Bolshevik campaign which will make the fall of the Roman empire look like a small local affair in the destinies of the white nations.

"The shadow of a war cloud in the east is falling darkly upon the hitherto sunny world supremacy of the white race," writes Mr. Austen. "It is unpleasantly possible that the cloud may be cloven tomorrow or the day after, luridly, by the lightning flashes of war. The white man's prestige will disappear when the savage, barbaric millions from Africa and Asia can defy the white man.

"The white man has forcibly fed the ancient populations with the newest theories of education, politics and social custom. He has fatuously presented them with thousands and thousands of cinemas showing the white races in a contemptible light. He has committed the crowning folly of leading the colored races into battle against white men. In Africa, India, Indo-China, and China, tens of thousands of demobilized war auxiliaries have returned to spread the wondrous tale that the white man is not invincible.

"The colored races hate the white man with a hate whereof we have no conception. Moscow's one great reiterated hope is that the innumerable millions of colored races rise and massacre the white man. They have used feverish propaganda to accomplish this. They count cunningly on Japan. Although Japan is equal with the western nations in the war of commerce, the white man insultingly treats her nationals as an inferior race. Her populations are desperately overcrowded, but the white man denies them an outlet. Japan could fight a war against America or Great Britain or both with a reasonable prospect of at least temporary success. If she should, the whole world's colored race would seeth in fanatic excitement.

"The Bolshevik agitation is calculated to be carried out against Great Britain and Japan. If Great Britain, Japan, as a protagonist of Africa, must protest. If Great Britain takes joint action with Japan as a wedge to drive into the Anglo-American friendship, the work of the Washington conference will be undone and the yellow war on the Pacific will see the two great white people disunited. If Japan takes saparate action in China, the United States will assuredly intervene.

"Moscow is making most of the material for a complete set of troubles in the far east. The French entanglements in Morocco are the best the Bolsheviks could pray for. The spectacular success by Abd-El-Krim might easily bring a Moslem holy war throughout Northern Africa."

JOHN P. DAVIS SEES LIBERIAN CONSUL ABROAD

Bates College Debater And Afro Correspondent Is Now In Liverpool

FIRST ARTICLE OF SERIES ON BIG MEN

What Black Men Are Doing Abroad To Be Told Exclusively For The Afro

At the beginning it might be wise to give the reader a general idea of this sketch and the ones that are to follow. Their purpose is to bring the readers of the AFRO-AMERICAN *into some contact with prominent persons of color residing in England and Europe, who are on this side of the water or of their social status because there has been practically no attempt to bridge the gap of ignorance with real information. These sketches will not be minute in details but be a travesty on facts. Their simple purpose will be to give a straight-forward account of prominent colored people and to record in part their opinions on race matters.*

JOHN P. DAVIS
With the U. S. Bates College Debating Team, Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, England.

(Written expressly for the AFRO-AMERICAN. Republication forbidden.)

7-13-25.

Race Problem - 1925.

Europe.

SAVANNAH TIMES
MAY 10, 1925

Frederick Lee Discusses New Move of Colored Races

Ever since Woodrow Wilson at Versailles dropped ths golden apple of self-determination upon the peace table in the sight of all the smaller nations of the world, there has been a growing effort by the colored races to throw off the domination of the white peoples. Frederick Lee of Peking, China, discusses the causes and outcome of this "Mighty Surge of Color" in the June issue of The Watchman Magazine. He claims that:

"The most stupendous, if not the most urgent, problem facing the statesmen of the world today is the problem of color. The races of the Near and the Far East, with their shades of black, brown, and yellow, are determined to secure a hearing before the world tribunals, and to have an opinion, if not a decision, handed down that all races of earth are equal, and that upon this principle all political acts shall be based. This determination was never greater nor more fervid than it is today. The ferment of racial sovereignty and self-determination is working in darkest Africa, in mystic India, in teeming China. .... Th's new doctrine of sovereignty is being taught in the universities of the Far East; .... But in the affairs of men there is many a slip between theory and practice. .... Conditions have ever to be taken into account before theories can be applied—such conditions as greed, lust for power, suspicion, hate. The ideal ever falls before the practices of weak, unrighteous men.

"Thus it was that the presidential program fell down in Paris. The principle of self-determination fell into the background, and expediency, that apology for many an unjust act, came to the front. .... It was further demonstrated that this principle, so fervently advocated by Mr. Wilson, could not be applied, when Baron Makino of Japan introduced an amendment to the original draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations: 'The equality of nations being the basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord as soon as possible to all aliens, nationals of states members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinctions, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality.' .... The demand of Japan for equal recognition and its appeal for all peoples of racial difference fell upon deaf ears. .... Though there was a large majority at the peace council in favor of this amendment, it was pigeonholed and finally forgotten.

"The Japanese, the Chinese, and all peoples of color, went from the conference with their hopes shattered. .... But the seeds of sovereign rights have been sown among all peoples. .... The peoples of the East are now alive to their latent powers, they are cognizant of their vast resources in men, materials and mentality. By acts of exploitation and encroachment the West has prodded the East until she is now fully awake. Now, apparently, the West would gladly soothe her to sleep again.

"But the East is unwilling to sleep on. Behold a vast and mighty giant, recently awakened and desirous of throwing off his shackles both material and moral, appealing to a great conference of nations to stop the importation of narcotics and being rudely refused! .... Is it any wonder that the whole East is arising; that peoples once at odds with one another are calling for an international colored conference in which they may evolve some method by which they may unitedly bring the white peoples to their senses.

"Dynamite was once known only as an instrument of destruction. It is now known as the most helpful instrument of construction. .... Is it not possible that the dynamite of ideal theories that the great statesmen of this present world fear in the practical working out of political affairs shall some day actually aid in the building up of a stable and just world? .... The dynamite of regeneration for a lost world can be used only by the mighty God. Through Him all true principles, even the most ideal, are to be worked out. .... The day is soon to come when God will hurl this dynamite into this sinful world and a miracle will come forth. All obstacles will be cleared away, all mountains will be leveled, and a highway for the Lord will be made in the earth, a highway of eternal peace. The only hope for all nations of color, as well as for the white race, is in the power of God which changes things, even to the rebirth of a corrupt and unrighteous heart. In the mighty plans of God is found the solution for all world perplexities."

The general conference in Washington a few months ago of wood using industries, when a more extended program was recommended

French General Gets Literary Award For Book on Black Fighters

PARIS, June 19.—(A. N. P.)—Popular approval has met the announcement that the French Academy the highest artistic and literary tribunal in France, has awarded to the family of General Charles Mangin, French hero of Verdun who died May 12, its yearly grand price of 10,000 francs for the finest production in French literature.

Gen. Mangin wrote numerous volumes about the Sengalese and other African troops and it is this work which the Academy in its announcement said "We desire to posthumously crown the literary work of the deceased general.

WAR BETWEEN RACES PREDICTED BY AUTHOR

Austen Thinks Bolshevists Fomenting Agitation.

BY DON SKENE.

(Copyright Cable to the Chicago Tribune and The Commercial Appeal.)

LONDON, July 12.—The ominous events in China, Morocco, and India apparently are the preliminary stages of an unparalleled war to death between the white and colored races, with the Pacific as the central battleground, writes E. Britten Austen, noted English author and frequent contributor to the Saturday Evening Post and other American publications, in the Sunday Pictorial today. He firmly believes the world is almost blindly rushing towards a struggle directed by a shrewd Bolshevik campaign which will make the fall of the Roman empire look like a small local affair in the destinies of the white nations.

"The shadow of a war cloud in the east is falling darkly upon the hitherto sunny world supremacy of the white race," writes Mr. Austen. "It is unpleasantly possible that the cloud may be cloven tomorrow or the day after, perhaps, by the lightning flashes of war. The white man's prestige will disappear when the savage, barbaric millions from Africa and Asia can defy the white man.

"The white man has forcibly fed the ancient populations with the newest theories of education, politics and social custom. He has fatuously presented them with thousands and thousands of cinemas showing the white races in a contemptible light. He has committed the crowning folly of leading the colored races into battle against white men. In Africa, India, Indo-China, and China, tens of thousands of demobilized war auxiliaries have returned to spread the wondrous tale that the white man is not invincible.

"The colored races hate the white man with a hate whereof we have no conception. Moscow's one great reiterated hope is that the innumerable millions of colored races rise and massacre the white man. They have used feverish propaganda to accomplish this. They count cunningly on Japan. Although Japan is equal with the western nations in the war of commerce, the white man insultingly treats her nationals as an inferior race. Her populations are desperately overcrowded, but the white man denies them an outlet. Japan could fight a war against America or Great Britain or both with a reasonable prospect of at least temporary success. If she should, the whole world's colored race would seeth in fanatic excitement.

"The Bolshevik agitation is calculated to be carried out against Great Britain and Japan. If Great Britain acts alone to protect her nationals, Japan, as a protagonist of Africa, must protest. If Great Britain takes joint action with Japan as a wedge to drive into the Anglo-American friendship, the work of the Washington conference will be undone and the yellow war on the Pacific will see the two great white people disunited. If Japan takes saparate action in China, the United States will assuredly intervene.

"Moscow is making most of the material for a complete set of trouble in the far east. The French entanglements in Morocco are the best the Bolsheviks could pray for. The spectacular success by Abd-El-Krim might easily bring a Moslem holy war throughout Northern Africa."

JOHN P. DAVIS SEES LIBERIAN CONSUL ABROAD

Bates College Debater And Afro Correspondent Is Now In Liverpool

FIRST ARTICLE OF SERIES ON BIG MEN

What Black Men Are Doing Abroad To Be Told Exclusively For The Afro

At the beginning it might be wise to give the reader a general idea of this sketch and the ones that are to follow. Their purpose is to bring the readers of the AFRO-AMERICAN *into some contact with prominent persons of color residing in England and Europe, who are on this side of the water or of their social status because there has been practically no at-*

JOHN P. DAVIS
With the U. S. Bates College Debating Team, Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, England.

(Written expressly for the AFRO-AMERICAN. Republication forbidden.)

London, England.—In 1723 Liverpool was the first English seaport to engage in traffic in Negro slaves along the Spanish Main. Today Liverpool is the residence of the Consul-General of Liberia, the Negro Republic.

His offices situated in Drury Buildings, Honourable Charles E. Cooper is in charge of all Consular affairs of Liberia in the British Isles. He comes from a stock of one of the oldest families of his country and is justifiably proud of his lineage.

Father A Merchant

Mr. Cooper is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Jesse R. Cooper, of Monrovia, Liberia, whose father was a member of the late London firm of Henry Cooper & Sons, Merchants and Shipowners, for over half a century—the firm of Henry Cooper & Sons is held in high esteem in this country, Great Britain, Germany and France, where the firm did extensive business.

First Native Official

Mr. Cooper enjoys the privilege of being the first native sent out from his country as an accredited Consular official to any parent country since 1847—the year of the Republic's independence. In 1906 he graduated from Liberia College, receiving the B. A. with honours, subsequently he was Consul for Spain in Monrovia (the capital City of Liberia) during a period of 13 years; he has been also accredited to the German Government as Consul-General for Germany, with residence in Hamburg, for a year, and has served in that capacity in Great Britain since 1921.

Loyalty To Liberia

Upon entering his office one cannot help being impressed with the extreme loyalty of Mr. Cooper to the country of his birth. His room is tastefully decorated with priceless relics of Art which are Liberian. Draped with the flag of the country is the seal of Liberia. Also under the National colours are the pictures of President C. D. B. King and Ex-President D. E. Moward, the immediate predecessor of President King.

Of Small Statue

The man himself is of extreme interest. Small of stature and slightly stout, with dark brown skin and straight black hair; he presents a neat and quiet appearance. With a very great reticence and much coaxing he related a few bare facts about himself. He wore in the lapel of his coat, a little red silk decoration, significant of an honour bestowed on him by the President of Liberia. In addition to this great honour he has been decorated by the French, Spanish and Belgium Governments.

Mr. Cooper is very highly esteemed in Liverpool, he is frequently invited to important civic and social functions, and has, on several occasions, spoken at public banquets.

Attitude Of Americans

He commented on the attitude of the American Negro towards Liberia. He pointed out that the purpose of Liberia was to enable Negroes to have an autonomous State, where they could enjoy liberties from which they would otherwise be debarred.

Not Sympathetic

It was his opinion that the Afro-American were not as sympathetic with the struggles of Liberia as they might be; due primarily to the fact of a lack of understanding and appreciation of the struggles of the Liberians in endeavoring to establish on the great Continent of Africa a National Ego. This understanding could only be arrived at by contact, brought about by emigration of the right sort and not otherwise.

On Marcus Garvey

In speaking of Marcus Garvey and his plan for Negro colonization in Africa, he said, "Garvey's idea was a good one, but that his business methods were impracticable." Garvey has done more harm than good; were he more of a business man than a grandloquent propagandist he would have effected a triumphant success, but, like all things, we only see the folly of our ways when it is too late."

Liberia No Paradise

When asked how the American Negro could help Liberia, he remarked, "By giving his quota of wealth and intellectual attainment, both scientific and economic. Liberia is a country with great potential wealth and numerous opportunities. What Liberia desires is that nobody comes there hoping to find a Paradise.

She is a young country laden with possibilities for development. She needs young men with capital and skill to start companies for the exploitation of her natural resources. To come to Liberia without capital is futile! She has large quantities of mahogany, cedar and other valuable woods. Her soil is very fertile and cotton and coffee are indigenous products. Cattle raising is also profitable. Liberia has an especial need for mining engineers to mine her oil, diamonds and gold, and electricians to electrify her cities and towns."

Melting Pot

As the United States of America has been a "melting pot" from which has eminated a strong and vigorous nation, composed of every nationality in Europe and of even the descendants of the various black tribes of Africa so must Liberia be also the "melting pot" for the members of her racial group in America, West Indies, Sierra Leone, Accra, Lagos, South Africa and other parts of Africa, from which, will also eminate a strong, vigorous and united African nation with malice and ill-will towards none; but with love for all—contributing its quota towards the World's civilization and the uplift of humanity.

A National Ethiopia

These are the fundamental dynamic powers prevailing in the minds of the Liberian people; to which, (Mr. Cooper added) are the prime motives of our ancestors, who suffered, aboured and died fo ra consummation of a National Utopia."

SHUT NEGRO TARGET SHOW.

Authorities Forbid "Hit 'im in th' Head" at Paris Exposition.

PARIS, June 20 (AP).—The moral censors feel that they have cleaned up the Paris Modern Arts Exposition by abolishing the one lonely British attraction. They pass as innocuous modernized Oriental dance shows such as created a sensation in the Midway Plaisance at the Chicago Exposition, but they hesitated over a side show where the public throw tennis balls at a negro's head. They did not like the idea of a French citizen of any color being treated in such an ignominious manner. Therefore they closed it.

The exposition's "attractions" consist mainly of candy stands and street fair vending booths which are anxious to get foreign gold. Some of the concessions advertise that in their booths "Four languages spoken; English, Irish, Scotch and American."

my own part, or upon the part of Americans of African descent against white Americans for any inequalities, past or present, real or imaginary, resulting from the mass contact of these two races in the United States. Or even so, if we felt that we had axes to grind, I think we should be disposed to consider them family axes, and that it would neither quite comport with family dignity nor reflect commendable sportsmanship to bring them to Europe to grind them.

White men have probably not handled the race situation in America precisely as angels would have handled it, but it would hardly be fair to say that we black men have neglected to let them know that we had taken some noice of the discrepancy. But let the dead past bury its dead. We are entering upon a new era in race relationship in America, an era characterized by a steadily growing spirit of mutual desire for clearer understandings and better attitudes. And while it is true that new post-war economic conditions have contributed largely towards this happier situation it is none the less true that the initiatory stimulus is creditable to the Christian forces of the United States, South as well as North, as the continued, and, we trust, permanent direction of the movement is being fostered by them through the agency of competent, well balanced and representative interracial committees. And while Utopia still tarries, and we have not yet passed from grace to glory, we are, nevertheless, moving along from strength to strength. Grace is being replenished with grace, and we are almost persuaded that it doth not yet appear what it shall be.

In Le Palais de Beaux Arts at Brussels the other day, I saw that striking statute by V. van Hove, entitled, "La Vengeance." The subject is an African black, presumably of the Belgian Congo, the rope that had recently shackled him now broken, beginning to arise, in his right hand a dagger firmly grasped self-confidence and determination written on his swarthy face, every muscle of his fine sinewy body tense with the imminence of the moment of his attack. The sculptor died in 1891. Could he have lived a quarter of a century longer, he would have witnessed the fulfillment of so much of his prophecy as had to do with at least the beginning of the breaking of the fetters of the black man's ignorance of his own worth and power, both as an industrial and as a military factor in the life of the world today. That from somewhere there has come within the last decade a remrkable awakening on the part of the darker races of the earth there can be no question. Whether anything like a general desire for vengeance or violence is to follow that awakening lies, I believe, well within the power, and so within the province of the Christian Church to determine.

It is hardly possible within the necessary limitations of time set for these discussions to present a lucid thesis of the race question. One must content himself, therefore, with the barest outlines. It has required but a short while, as go the lives of races, for us to come to mutual and practically unchallenged agreements as to what the race question is not.

1. It is not a question of relationships as between an elect group of beings fashioned just before high noon after God's own image, a little higher than the angels, and upon which the Creator looked and saw that it was good, on the one hand, and a sort of missing link species of the brute order fashioned after working hours, in the dark somewhat after the similitude of apes, but whether higher or lower, it is difficult to say, in either case, however, possessing neither soul nor semblance of capaci for mental develop-

was quite red
y, and who,
aughed right
mous shame
, condemned
the last gen-
d child of
wood and
s better be-
t have been

dulgence in mine when it was quent nudity, and upon which the Creator darand his consequent ed not look at all, on the other.

2. It is further agreed that it is not a question as to how best to administer a divinely bequeathed heritage over the productive potentialities of a race of men unfortunate enough to have had somewhere in the remote past a forbear who possessed a sufficient sense of humor to see something ludricous in his sainted father's unscrupulous in-
being unable to choke it, laughout and was, for the infamous himself and all his seed to the l
of this unexampled felony, com
eration, man, woman and c
to be "hewers of wo
drawers of water" for his be
haved—for they could not
slower witted-brethren.

London, England.—In 1723 Liverpool was the first English seaport to engage in traffic in Negro slaves along the Spanish Main. Today Liverpool is the residence of the Consul-General of Liberia, the Negro Republic.

Liberia-American

With offices situated in Drury Buildings, Honourable Charles E. Cooper is in charge of all Consular affairs of Liberia in the British Isles. He comes from a stock of one of the oldest families of his country and is justifiably proud of his lineage.

Father A Merchant

Mr. Cooper is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Jesse R. Cooper, of Monrovia, Liberia, whose father was a member of the old Liverpool firm Henry Cooper & Sons, Merchants and Shipowners, for over half a century—the firm of Henry Cooper & Sons is held in high esteem in this country, Great Britain, Germany and France, where the firm did extensive business.

First Native Official

Mr. Cooper enjoys the privilege of being the first native sent out from his country as an accredited Consular official to any parent country since 1847—the year of the Republic's independence. In 1906 he graduated from Liberia College, receiving the B. A. with honours, subsequently he was Consul for Spain in Monrovia (the capital City of Liberia) during a period of 13 years; he has been also accredited to the German Government as Consul-General for Germany, with residence in Hamburg, for a year, and has served in that capacity in Great Britain since 1921.

Loyalty To Liberia

Upon entering his office one cannot help being impressed with the extreme loyalty of Mr. Cooper to the country of his birth. His room is tastefully decorated with priceless relics of Art which are Liberian. Draped with the flag of the country is the seal of Liberia. Also under the National colours are the pictures of President C. D. B. King and Ex-President D. E. Moward, the immediate predecessor of President King.

Of Small Statue

The man himself is of extreme interest. Small of stature and slightly stout, with dark brown skin and straight black hair; he presents a neat and quiet appearance. With a very great reticence and much coaxing he related a few bare facts about himself. He wore in the lapel of his coat, a little red silk decoration, significant of an honour bestowed on him by the President of Liberia. In addition to this great honour he has been decorated by the French, Spanish and Belgium Governments.

Mr. Cooper is very highly esteemed in Liverpool, he is frequently invited to important civic and social functions, and has, on several occasions, spoken at public banquets.

Attitude Of Americans

He commented on the attitude of the American Negro towards Liberia. He pointed out that the purpose of Liberia was to enable Negroes to have an autonomous State, where they could enjoy liberties from which they would otherwise be debarred.

Not Sympathetic

It was his opinion that the Afro-American were not as sympathetic with the struggles of Liberia as they might be; due primarily to the fact of a lack of understanding and appreciation of the struggles of the Liberians in endeavoring to establish on the great Continent of Africa a National Ego. This understanding could only be arrived at by contact, brought about by emigration of the right sort and not otherwise.

On Marcus Garvey

In speaking of Marcus Garvey and his plan for Negro colonization in Africa, he said, "Garvey's idea was a good one, but that his business methods were impracticable." Garvey has done more harm than good; were he more of a business man than a grand-loquent propagandist he would have effected a triumphant success, but, like all things, we only see the folly of our ways when it is too late."

Liberia No Paradise

When asked how the American Negro could help Liberia, he remarked, "By giving his quota of wealth and intellectual attainment, both scientific and economic. Liberia is a country with great potential wealth and numerous opportunities. What Liberia desires is that nobody comes there hoping to find a Paradise.

She is a young country laden with possibilities for development. She needs young men with capital and skill to start companies for the exploitation of her natural resources. To come to Liberia without capital is futile! She has large quantities of mahogany, cedar and other valuable woods. Her soil is very fertile and cotton and coffee are indigenous products. Cattle raising is also profitable. Liberia has an especial need for mining engineers to mine her oil, diamonds and gold, and electricians to electrify her cities and towns."

Melting Pot

As the United States of America has been a "melting pot" from which has eminated a strong and vigorous nation, composed of every nationality in Europe and of even the descendants of the various black tribes of Africa so must Liberia be also the "melting pot" for the members of her racial group in America, West Indies, Sierra Leone, Accra, Lagos, South Africa and other parts of Africa, from which, will also eminate a strong, vigorous and united African nation with malice and ill-will towards none; but with love for all—contributing its quota towards the World's civilization and the uplift of humanity.

A National Ethiopia

These are the fundamental dynamic powers prevailing in the minds of the Liberian people; to which, (Mr. Cooper added) are the prime motives of our ancestors, who suffered, aboured and died fo ra consummation of a National Utopia."

SHUT NEGRO TARGET SHOW.

Authorities Forbid "Hit 'im in th' Head" at Paris Exposition.

PARIS, June 20 (AP).—The moral censors feel that they have cleaned up the Paris Modern Arts Exposition by abolishing the one lonely British attraction. They pass as innocuous modernized Oriental dance shows, such as created a sensation in the Midway Plaisance at the Chicago Exposition, but they hesitated over a side show where the public throw tennis balls at a negro's head. They did not like the idea of an French citizen of any color being treated in such an ignominious manner. Therefore they closed it.

New York Times 6/21/25

The exposition's "attractions" consist mainly of candy stands and street fair vending booths which are anxious to get foreign gold. Some of the concessions advertise that in their booths "Four languages spoken; English, Irish, Scotch and American."

my own part, or upon the part of Americans of African descent against white Americans for any inequalities, past or present, real or imaginary, resulting from the mass contact of these two races in the United States. Or even so, if we felt that we had axes to grind, I think we should be disposed to consider them family axes, and that it would neither quite comport with family dignity nor reflect commendable sportsmanship to bring them to Europe to grind them.

Christian Under
11-12-25
Jackson, Miss.

White men have probably not handled the race situation in America precisely as angels would have handled it, but it would hardly be fair to say that we black men have neglected to let them know that we had taken some noice of the discrepancy. But let the dead past bury its dead. We are entering upon a new era in race relationship in America, an era characterized by a steadily growing spirit of mutual desire for clearer understandings and better attitudes. And while it is true that new post-war economic conditions have contributed largely towards this happier situation it is none the less true that the initiatory stimulus is creditable to the Christian forces of the United States, South as well as North, as the continued, and, we trust, permanent direction of the movement is being fostered by them through the agency of competent, well balanced and representative interracial committees. And while Utopia still tarries, and we have not yet passed from grace to glory, we are, nevertheless, moving along from strength to strength. Grace is being replenished with grace, and we are almost persuaded that it doth not yet appear what it shall be.

In Le Palais de Beaux Arts at Brussels the other day, I saw that striking statute by V. van Hove, entitled, "La Vengeance." The subject is an African black, presumably of the Belgian Congo, the rope that had recently shackled him now broken, beginning to arise, in his right hand a dagger firmly grasped self-confidence and determination written on his swarthy face, every muscle of his fine sinewy body tense with the imminence of the moment of his attack. The sculptor died in 1891. Could he have lived a quarter of a century longer, he would have witnessed the fulfillment of so much of his prophecy as had to do with at least the beginning of the breaking of the fetters of the black man's ignorance of his own worth and power, both as an industrial and as a military factor in the life of the world today. That from somewhere there has come within the last decade a remrkable awakening on the part of the darker races of the earth there can be no question. Whether anything like a general desire for vengeance or violence is to follow that awakening lies, I believe, well within the power, and so within the province of the Christian Church to determine.

It is hardly possible within the necessary limitations of time set for these discussions to present a lucid thesis of the race question. One must content himself, therefore, with the barest outlines. It has required but a short while, as go the lives of races, for us to come to mutual and practically unchallenged agreements as to what the race question is not.

1. It is not a question of relationships as between an elect group of beings fashioned just before high noon after God's own image, a little higher than the angels, and upon which the Creator looked and saw that it was good, on the one hand, and a sort of missing link species of the brute order fashioned after working hours, in the dark somewhat after the similitude of apes, but whether higher or lower, it is difficult to say, in either case, however, possessing neither soul nor semblance of capacity for mental development, and upon which the Creator dardulgence in mine when it was quite red ed not look at all, on the other.

2. It is further agreed that it is not a question as to how best to administer a divinely bequeathed heritage over the productive potentialities of a race of men unfortunate enough to have had somewhere in the remote past a them., to be "hewers of wood and forbear who possessed a sufficient sense of humor to see something ludricous in his sainted father's unscrupulous in- and his consequent nudity, and who, being unable to choke it, laughed right out and was, for the infamous shame himself and all his seed to the last generation, man, woman and child of haved—for they could not have been slower witted-brethren.

Race Problem - 1925 I

Europe

THE CLOUD IN THE EAST

Here is a reproduction of a famous allegorical cartoon in which the former Kaiser is depicted as an angel of prophecy, pointing out to the other countries of Europe the gathering storm and destruction in the East—the menace of the yellow peril. In this article the former Kaiser, now in exile, discusses the danger he still sees.

WINNING GERMANY FOR THE WHITES FROM THE REDS, BLACKS AND TANS.

It is revealed in London that fear of Russia enabled Great Britain to bring western Europe to the new peace of Locarno. John Steele, THE TRIBUNE Foreign correspondent, says that Austen Chamberlain, British foreign minister, saw another war coming. The question was where Germany would be in it.

Peace with the soviets of Russia is impossible. It is impossible just as peace with Napoleon was impossible. War was the texture of Napoleon's existence. It is the first principle of Russian syndicalism or Red communism, which cannot live in peace with the established capitalistic individualistic system of social order and government.

Conflict is unescapable between two such systems. The soviets do not deny it or disguise it. They can't. It would be an abandonment of principle if they did. They can make other retreats, but not from the doctrine that their relation to the rest of the world is one of war.

That makes them deal in bad faith in every agreement they enter with another nation. They can't help it. It would be against their principles to keep faith. The more sincere they are the less they'll be in good faith. They are as devout missionaries in cannibal land. Their work is to destroy the whole social order which is different from the one in which they believe and they cannot in conscience compromise. With the soviets duplicity in dealings with other nations is a religion.

By the treaty of Versailles the victors in the world war made Germany an outlaw. A terrifying peace followed a terrible war. The loser was to be kept under the heel. He was told that his conduct had branded him and he would be kept out of the society of other white nations.

In the unavoidable conflict between sovietism and the individualistic society of white civilization the place of Germany by tradition and conviction was with its recent enemies, but that place could not be taken unless these enemies would make it possible. They were driving Germany to agreements and treaties with Russia. Russians were on the outskirts of every conference in which Germany received new rebuffs and new humiliations. Every time a fresh aggression against German territory was made Germany was turned more toward the soviets. It is disclosed that not only a trade agreement between Germany and Russia was signed at Rapallo, but there was a secret agreement for common action against the league of nations and Poland.

The British empire is the principal object for soviet attack. It may not be at this time to the Russians the most aggravating and tempting object in the capitalistic world. That may be the United States, but the empire is the principal European figure, and it is accessible. The United States is hard to reach. The British empire has a long boundary of subject peoples in great unrest and discontent and sovietism is a gospel for the man under the heel.

All along this boundary of subject peoples, black and yellow and tan, the soviets could promote more unrest. They could instigate uprisings. The blacks, yellows, and tans are ripe for a leadership against the whites everywhere, and with the whites of Europe exhausted after their war with each other and keeping their hatreds hot by the peace they made with each other the opportunity seemed at hand to have revenge for the centuries of white dominion.

Russia recognized that these great Asiatic and African masses were easily converted to the cause against property and capital and the individualistic states of the occident. Russia itself cannot be reached or penetrated. It cannot be reached from the north or the south or the east. If Japan or China, or both, tried to get into eastern Siberia it would be as if some invader of the United States could get only into Arizona. Even the European corridor into Russia is virtually impenetrable, as armies have found out when they thought they had penetrated. In this security Russia has used every means for the overthrow of the political and social orders of civilization which it regards as enemies inherently and everlastingly.

What form this conflict will take and when we cannot predict, but the British saw that if Germany threw in with the soviets because Europe was not an endurable place a naval power would not be able to stop the next rush across Europe. The object of British statesmanship which has been good enough to keep the empire going until now from its island center was to bring Europe together in a peace which would stop the hating and permit a front to be made against Russia. The British had nothing to gain from the perpetuation of war hatreds and preparation for new wars. The British wanted to keep the frontier of Asia from moving to the Rhine, and the Locarno security pact provides for that.

It was fortunate for white civilization that the soviets gave Germany a treatment not only full of the duplicity which other nations had encountered but also full of dictation and high-handedness. The world gets some benefits from incorrigible Russian characteristics, and it did when the soviets, having made agreements with the Germans, tried to ride them.

We do no' know where or when the whites and the Reds, the blacks, tans, and yellows will meet in settlement of the issues they have between them, but we know that it is a good thing Germany has not been forced into the soviet combinations but has been permitted to take a stand with the group which, in such a struggle, includes the United States.

EX-KAISER COMES OUT AS FOE OF THE BLACK MAN

Instead of Continuing to Saw Wood, Talks Glibly of "White Supremacy" and Black and Yellow Peril—Effectiveness of Negro in World War Rankles

From the New York Times

LONDON, Oct. 17.—An interview with the former Kaiser, in which he reiterates all his old views on the "yellow peril," is printed in the Observer tonight. The former German Emperor forsees [illegible] receiving help against the European powers primarily from Soviet Russia, perhaps also from Japan.

"According to press reports," says the former Kaiser, "200,000 men in the pay of Moscow and armed and equipped by Japan are said to be held in readiness for [illegible] in case of an emergency."

From this William Hohenzollern draws the conclusion that the maintenance of peace in Europe depends upon the revival of Germany, and that is possible, he contends, only when the peace treaty is scrapped.

"I know what I am saying," he declared, "for I kept peace in Europe for twenty-five years. England is not at present prepared to acknowledge the facts. France, on the other hand, is prepared for every emergency. She is said to be establishing a strong air base on the Rhine again both London and Berlin.

"Marianne seems to be indulging in a little flirtation with Bolshevist Russia and with Japan at the expense of the Anglo-Saxon bloc. That is the reason why France will not pay her debts to the United States, although her income is ample enough even without reparations from Germany. She uses American money for armaments."

"The backbone of Europe is Germany, hence Germany must be destroyed," he says. "Germany, in their calculations, constitutes a breach in the Western wall through which the Bolsheviki and Asiatic allies can pour their yellow hordes for a final onslaught upon Europe."

"This cataclysm that threatens the white race and Western civilization is certain to have sinister if not fatal consequences to the prosperity and safety of the United States. America sometimes forgets that both Japan and Russia are her neighbors, for in these days of aerial navigation oceans or stretches of ice no longer divide nations. Japan, backed by Moscow and China, is a formidable antagonist.

"If London, Paris and Washington sincerely desire to avert this catastrophe they have only one choice—they must rearm Germany and put her on her feet again."

"America's refusal to take sides against China is sensible and intelligible as representing her interests, but the principle of race equality promulgated by Senator Borah Threatens the supremacy of the white race.

"It will be quoted by all colored nations. What is sauce for the Chinese goose is sauce for the colored gander. What he claims for the Chinese he must grant to the African and to the Indian."

William sees the blacks of Africa raising their claims. He says:

"The blacks may base an additional claim to recognition as equals upon the fact that they were employed by the white powers on European soil to fight the best blood of the white race in Europe, the Germans, and to keep them in bondage.

"Senator Borah will be hailed as a champion of colored nations and will be acclaimed by the Moscow Third International, for his statement asserts the principle that the Bolsheviki are at pains to spread over the whole world, namely, the equality of the colored races with the white race. No country, America least of all, may safely refuse to bear a share in the struggle to uphold the leadership and purity of the white race."

J. A. Rogers Makes Comparison of French and American Customs

"No Disgrace in France," He Writes, "to Be Black or Have Kinky Hair" — Hopes to Return to United States Soon

In this article I will tell of some of the French customs and how they differ from American ones.

Coming from a country where it is not legitimate to have a drink, one of the things that has struck me most is the enormous quantity of wine that is consumed. A Frenchman takes wine with his meals as an American is supposed to take water, and in the cheaper restaurants if you do not order wine you are charged extra on your bill. Drinking with each meal is such a fixed custom in France that I fancy the foes of "the Demon Rum" will have a rather hard job trying to introduce prohibition.

One of the most difficult things to an American used to a hearty feed in the morning is the French breakfast, which consists only of rolls and coffee. It is difficult to get a substantial meal before 11:30. Unlike the American restaurants, the French restaurants are open only about three hours around noon, and about four hours in the evening. Food is about a third cheaper than in England and America, quality for quality. Many places serve an entire course, wine included, for four francs or about 19 cents. But to eat in such places one must have a rather robust stomach. Tipping is the custom in France, and if you were to forget the waiter, he'd prety soon tell you about it.

When you go to the theatre the usher expects a tip—it is her pay—and at the hotel, one-tenth of the price of your room is added to the bill for the chambermaid.

The means of transportation in Paris are street car, auto bus, subway and taxi. The latter are even more numerous than in New York City, and ever so much cheaper. Taxis in Paris are almost as cheap as street cars and four persons can ride from one end of the city to the other for about fifty cents.

The public conveyances all have first and second class. One can ride all over the Paris subway second class for about two cents. But when you get to your station you'd better open the subway door yourself or you'll be carried by. The same holds true when you are getting on.

As was said the advocates of prohibition will find a virgin field to work in; so also will the advocates of Sunday closing as Sunday is a gerat business day here—many of the places close on Monday instead.

In the markets, large heaps of snails are on sale. I ate one for curiosity's sake. It was tough and rather tasteless, and I have decided that so far as snails and oysters are conecrned the little dears can go on enjoying their lives.

Wine, brandy, cognac and beer are very cheap. You can get a quart of good wine for about ten cents. It is certainly not comforting to my thirsty friends in the great American Sahara to say this, but the fact is that you can get a schooner of beer (or schope, as it is called here) for three cents. Is it any wonder that almost every fifth person one meets in Paris is an American?

Omelette Without Eggs

There is never a rule without an exception. You have heard the old saying: One can't make an omelette without breaking eggs. Well, it is all wrong. The other day I stopped at a restaurant and ordered two boiled eggs. Soon the waitress returned to say something about her having no boiled eggs, but that I could have an omelete. Well, I have found that when I don't quite understand the best way out is to say: "Oui." But, when she had gone, I reflected a bit. When the omelette came my curiosity at seeing it was about as far as I got with it.

Speaking French is more than a notion. You start out to say one thing and you finish by saying another. This matter of a difference of language goes so deep that even the cats and dogs will not notice you, if you call them in the English manner.

And speaking of cats, I am reminded to say that a black cat running across your track is a lucky sign here. Thirteen is a lucky number with the French.

Another custom is that a duty is levied on merchandise brought into the city of Paris. This is reminiscent of the time when the states of the union had to pay duty on one another. A taxi-driver leaving Paris had better get a ticket for the quantity of gas taken out. And if he brings in more than he takes out he must pay the duty.

No Color Line.

But to me, a Negro, the most striking thing in France is the attitude toward the Negro. Just reverse the Anglo-Saxon or cracker attitude and you have it.

As I said in my last article, one finds Negroes, black Negroes, employed everywhere. I have talked with more than a score of French Negroes, principally from the French West Indies, and they tell me that the natives of those islands enjoy full equality with the Frenchman at home.

In my last article, I spoke of Benglia, the magnificent Senegalese at the Follies-Bergere. I have since returned there and I have found that his contact with the white woman in his act has been cut to a minimum. One act has been entirely elimniated. I remarked on it to a Frenchman and he replied: "C'est les Americains." One hears more English than French spoken at the Folies-Bergere. Of one of the side-shows I imagined that I was back in New York City.

As I write, I have before me a copy of Premier Poincare's warning to Americans to leave their color discriminations at home. Still they have money and are capable of doing a lot of mischief.

In the shop-windows on the Grand Boulevards may be seen wax-models of real Negroes, men and women, kinky hair and all, dressed with the latest clothing as advertisements. This it seems to me is a little more than even the Negro at home, with his inferiority complex would do in his shop-window. To be black is certainly no disgrace in France.

The star in Parisian shows are full-blooded Negroes. Some nights past I went to the Gaumont Palace, one of the finest cinemas I have ever been in. After the pictures there was an acrobatic feature in which the star was a clever little black boy The act wound up with a boxing contest between this little Negro and a white boy. As they pummeled each other, I waited breathlessly to see which would be made to win. The white boy, I said, surely. But to my astonish-

Race Problem — 1925. II.

Europe

ment the black boy not only was made to knock out the white one, but he knocked out two of the white men, then stood with one of his feet on the white boy, with arms folded as a conqueror. And the audience applauded.

In front of the Palace of the Trocadero, looking toward the Eiffel Tower, among other statues, are those of two African queens, thick lips and all. I remember that the figure representing Africa in front of Buckingham Palace, London, is a white girl.

I found not a little of color discrimination in London, but so far I have been unable to find the least trace of it here, that is, so far as the Frech are concerned. At present, I am living in the Latin Quarter. Here one sees almost every race on earth, and all live peaceably. More than ever am I convinced that the statement that there is a Godo-rdained hostility between races is one of the biggest lies ever told.

I have since had the pleasure of meeting Rene Maran, famed author of Batouala and being a guest at his home. I will say something about him in my next article.

AMERICANIZING RUSSIA

The Russian people have long been oppressed. They were freed from slavery about the same time the American Negroes were. A superficial thinker will tell you that people who have been oppressed will have a common sympathy with others who have been oppressed. Close students know better. The penalty of injustice and oppression is that it breeds in the breast of the oppressed the desire to oppress others. This probably accounts for the intense prejudice which the Irishman has frequently held against the Negro. And the Jew, imprisoned in Siberia and beaten by the Russian Cossacks for centuries, when he is prejudiced, is the worst anti-Negro type to be found.

We say this to explain the attitude of the Russian soviet socialistic, or rather communistic, government in last week canceling the engagement of an American Negro comic opera company. The Negro company was engaged for a season of concerts in Moscow and Leningrad. And, strange to say, a protest came from the management of the State Grand Opera. The Russians, too, who are known to be so logical, gave some typical American reasoning. They said, "Negroes are so little known in Moscow, while in most other parts of Russia they are never seen oustide of picture books. Many Russians believe that American Negroes are oppressed and benighted, and still speak African dialect.

"The cancellation of this engagement does not mean that Russia is opposed to foreign artists," said Comrade Kovtzen Zye, a member of the Union of Art Workers. "On the contrary, artists are welcomed regardless of race or color so long as they have artistic merits."

This reasoning would do credit to Mississippi. Comrade Zye, a communist, assures us that artists are welcome regardless of color provided their color does not reveal that they are colored, whatever that means. The truth is that the Russians are not yet emancipated. The centuries of anti-Jewish teachings and hatred have had their effect. And it is not difficult to understand how people prejudiced against a group of whites could very easily convert their prejudices to operations against Negroes.

So far the Russian communists have not made any impression upon more than five foreign Negroes in New York. Its recent so-called American Negro Labor Congress which met in Chicago was almost entirely attended by neurotic and harmlessly insane people—and only about 25 or 30 of these could be coralled out of the entire eleven million Negroes in the United States. Besides, it would be necessary to give the correct interpretation to that attendance. Most of them had their way paid and like everybody else, would enjoy a trip to Chicago.

Russian communism fell down sadly here, for in America and in the South, Negro artists appear before white audiences constantly. That more of them do not appear is due to their dislike of travel in the South because of Jim Crow cars and poor hotel accomodations. Yes, Russia has been Americanized. The American dollar is a tremendous civilizer. It says, "In God we trust;" but the truth is, that other people say in their hearts, "In gold we trust."

J. A. Rogers Returns to United States

"In Spite of Absolute Freedom," He Says, He Is Glad to Be Back—to Give Series of Lectures

J. A. Rogers, author and newspaperman, returned to the United States on the French liner "Rochambeau" Saturday, after a two months' stay in Europe.

"In spite of the absolute freedom from color restrictions, I'm very glad to be back," he said. "When it comes to the matter of being able to earn a living and in knowing how really to provide for personal comfort, the United States is as far ahead of Europe as the former is behind Europe in intellectual development, culture and art.

Europeans are intensely interested in America, such large numbers of them wish to come here that were it not for immigration restrictions this country would soon be flooded. The lot of the American worker, white or black, is at least three times better than of the European; wages are not only higher but the cost of living is proportionately lower."

Negroes Interested in France

According to the author his first article on Paris brought him exactly 103 letters. "When I gave my address to readers of The Amsterdam News asking those who were interested to write me, I had no idea that I would receive so many replies. All but one writer wanted to come to France to live, and wished to know either the best way to earn a living or how to get into business there. It was impossible to answer all and so I should like to give a brief, general reply here.

"First of all there is the very great barrier of language. Except one can find work among Americans or English persons, it will be very difficult to get along unless one has a working knowledge of the language, for no matter how much one learns French here he will find difficulty in understanding it as it is spoken there.

"I had thought myself extra well prepared but after a two months' residence I was just beginning to understand free and easy conversations. A Frenchman coming to the United States in search of work will find it infinitely easier to get along both because it is much easier to find work in America and because the feeling of nationality is nothing near as strong in America as it is in European countries.

"The Frenchman, Englishman, or German provides for his countryman first. In America color precedes nationality; in European countries the exact opposite is true; a black Frenchman will, generally speaking, find it much easier to get work than a white American. Except I were a very good jazz player there are more than a dozen reasons why I should never think of going to France to earn a living. Besides the foreign worker, white or black, has to pay a tax to the French government for the privilege of working. Ah, but when it comes to the matter of earning my money here and spending it there, me for it every time!

"Not only is Paris the most wonderful place I have ever lived in but conservatively speaking, at the low rate of exchange one can live there, if he knows how, three times cheaper than in New York City. And the Parisian bitterly complains of the high cost of living at that.

"I made extensive inquiries on the subject of engaging in business and the gist was that while one could do well in certain lines, as the hotel and the cafe businesses, there was still the matter of nationality. Marry a Frenchwoman and set her up in business if you want to get along, was the characteristic reply to queries.

"Color cuts no ice in Europe, but money does. A Negro with no money there will pretty soon wish himself back in the United States. I met any number of colored Americans and West Indians who were eager to get back but hadn't the price. I also met many colored Frenchmen who were eager to get here. No, I am afraid that the Negro, as a group, will have to fight out his problem here. It is only the exceptional Negro who will be able to survive in Europe with its very hard working conditions."

Rogers intends to make this clearer, he says, in a series of talks he will give in Harlem.

Distinguished Scientist Arrives

Accompanying Rogers on the Rochambeau was M. Rene Marrabet, of Paris, who comes to the United States on a lecture tour. M. Marrabet, who studied ethnology at the University of Chicago and the Sorbonne of Paris brings with him some interesting motion pictures of life and scenery in French Africa. He has traveled over the greater part of North and South America, Europe, North and West Africa in pursuit of his studies. He speaks several languages including French, English, Spanish, and Arabic.

Prince Kojo Tovalou Houenou has gone to Dahomey, France or whatever may be his native land and we are glad that he has gone. Kojo caused his kinsmen in blood no end of trouble and embarassment. He did not pay his bills when he could avoid it and he seemed to be utterly ignorant of how a Prince should conduct himself. After imposing upon all of the friends among his own people, Kojo attempted to play the role of an eccentric curiosity among certain white people. He wound up in jail and if the reports of his many caprices and escapades are true he is indeed lucky that he was able to leave this country. Kojo was a distinct liability to the American black people. Battling Siki, the Senegalese prize fighter is another who did us no good. His antics were so semi-barbaric that he was hardly regarded as a full grown man. When these brothers in blood of ours come over here they ought to be kind enough to carry themselves like gentlemen and save us embarassment. It is a fact, be it right or wrong, that the whole race of black people is judged by those who can command the spot-light and the attention of the public. We have no regrets over the departure Prince Kojo and Battling Siki.

First Phrase of Whites' Danger As Seen By Paris

American and British Zones In the Pacific Are Pushed Too Far Apart. Race Figures Are Circulating In Europe.

BY STERLING HEILIG.

(Special Correspondent of The Commercial Appeal.)

PARIS, Nov. 1.—The struggle for the Pacific is seen by Paris as the first phase of the danger of white races, outnumbered by the yellows.

In this Paris agrees, even with ex-Kaiser Wilhelm, in sensational interviews, has been recalling his old waring against "the yellow peril." As will be seen.

All Europe is alert on the subject. According to Prof. Grotjahn, the eminent German statistician, the white race is dying out, the black race is also doomed, but the yellow people will survive.

"No race can survive unless every thousand inhabitants can boast 20 children per year," says the professor, who has just finished his great compilation. "The white race is under this minimum, throughout the world!

"The United States is slightly over the minimum, but cannot balance the other figures, which are very below the limit needed to save the white race."

That it will be seen, first, in the Pacific, is agreed by Sir Leo Chiozza Money, the sociological authority. Whites of British stock (including Irish) number 70 millions outside Europe and 47 millions at home. Portugal has more abroad than at home, while Spain has about equal numbers. Relative to home populations, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians and Dutchmen are small in number outside Europe. Even if all these whites were massed around the Pacific they could not prevail, along with the United States, in growth, against the teeming yellow outreach.

Furthermore, says Pierre Bruneau, the Paris authority, the World War made a great change in the Pacific. In obtaining from the League of Nations a mandate over the former German islands north of the equator, Japan has become a great Pacific Ocean power.

"Henceforth, a Japanese Pacific cuts the American Pacific in half and has maritime frontiers with the British Pacific. The islands have become precious relay stations for submarines and hydroavions, which, laying in wait around them, can threaten the passage of capital battleships.

"Now, Japan is specially increasing her fleets of submarines, hydroavions and long-trip cruisers," says Bruneau "This explains why both the United States and Great Britain will seek to limit, in a new naval conference, cruisers, submarines and naval airplanes in the same proportions that capital ships were limited at the Washington conference of 1921-1922. The two Anglo-Saxon powers will then go on developing their bases outside the zone for which the statu quo was fixed.

"Singapore will be a formidable place of war, both of naval and air power, susceptible of receiving the great British fleet stationed at Malta. And the United States will continue to fortify the Hawaiian Islands, where, from April to June last, were held important manoeuvers of fleet, army and aviation."

Alas, these precautions of the white race are only temporary, according to Paris. Even today, they throw the Yellows together with a third and equivocal power which is neither white nor yellow—Red Russia.

"Japan has particularly lacked coke coal and petroleum," says the Paris authority. "From the Dutch Indies and the United States, she had to import half her supply of the latter.

"But, in occupying the Russian part of Saghalien in 1920, Japan discovered there a veritable block of coal deposits and immense reservoirs of petroleum. For this reason, Japan made her treaty with Russia of Jan. 20, 1925. The final negotiations were settled and closed in the end of August, 1925."

Thanks to her Russian alliance and relations in Siberia, Manchuria and China. Japan is now assured, across waters dominated by her fleets, a full supply of coal, petroleum, iron and cotton for long years to come, at home.

"But, as the Yellows are already too numerous for their territories and insuficiently fed, their spread of population over the great distances of the Pacific renders critical the precious coal, petroleum and iron regions beyond home waters of the yellow peoples. To these, the Russian treaty of today opens the road tomorrow!"

Here we see the desperately friendly act of Great Britain for ourselves.

In terminating her alliance with Tokyo and concluding an entente with Washington (says Paris), London stirred up and provoked—you might say, actually caused—this accord between Japan, Russia and China, "which," says Pierre Bruneau, "singularly complicates the problems of the Pacific."

"With the backing of the Soviets, the two great yellow peoples are seen to be opposed, squarely, in the Pacific, to the white Anglo-Saxons!"

Great Britain did it with her eyes wide open.

Her own existence in the Pacific, in view of Yellow expansion, will require desperately all the aid which the United States can give to Australia, New Zealand, and the English possessions in Oriental waters.

The situation of the United States is almost as critical.

Comparatively weak in population, not only in the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands but along our entire Pacific coast line down to the equivocal Mexican border, we shall need all Great Britain's backing in the Pacific to maintain a struggle of white race genius, science and high heart against the swelling birth-rate of the Yellows.

"The expansion of the Yellows is simply bound to be like that of steam in a boiler—the Pacific being the safety-valve," says Paris.

Even with the Pacific safety-valve, Europe is threatened with the explosion, says ex-Kaiser Wilhelm.

Germany is the western bulwark against Pan-Easternism as the British-American effort in the Pacific is the eastern bulwark against it! So says the ex-Kaiser. We are bound to compress the Yellows on both sides (so it would seem) till they explode!

I have already referred to Wilhelm's celebrated warning of 30 years ago against the "Yellow Peril." The idea was that of Sarisen. The then kaiser made a picture of it which was circulated everywhere. Now, he is quoted as saying that "the Yellow Peril is a reality in Germany."

"The colored races (brown and yellow) propose the ruin of Europe," said Wilhelm in his recent "Observer" interview. "The weakening of Germany opens the passage for Bolshevist Asiatic armies through the lines of defence which England and France should concentrate on building up against the Yellow Peril. Culture, religion and civilization are threatened with extinction, from the Volga to the Rhine. Poland and Czecho-Slovakia can interpose no serious resistance."

The ex-kaiser then proceeds to warn the United States (already fully occupied in the Pacific) that "this cataclysm (of the Asiatics in Europe) will have sinister if not fatal consequences to the prosperity and safety of the United States.

"America sometimes forgets," he says, "that both Russia and Japan are her neighbors; for in these days of aerial navigation, oceans or stretches of ice no longer separate nations!"

With this, the ex-kaiser gets squarely into the Pacific with us.

"Senator Borah," he says, "according to a recent statement attributed to him, favors the scrapping of territorial rights until now granted the whites in China. If the senator's statement means anything, it means hereafter that the Chinese are to be placed on the same footing as Europeans, and that privileges based on recognition of different moral and legal standards are to be withdrawn.

"The senator's speech," concludes the ex-kaiser, "blows a breach into the line of defence of the white races!"

Great powers of sinister outreach—the yellow race, Soviet Russia and the Third Internationale—have eyes intent on every white activity in the Pacific.

STERLING HEILIG.

Race Problem - 1925

Europe

According to Count Antonio Cippico, an Italian Fascist, Fair France is now dreaming of a supremacy in Northern Africa similar to Germany's pre-war dreams. The Count asserts that it is now the French policy to exert oppression in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, in order to consumate a gigantic program of continental and eastern expansion. In this contemplation the weaker wing of French serfdom must bend to the group of the selfish projectionists who would elevate the strong upon th backs of the weak There must be much virture, both commercially and economically, in Africa, so intense are the efforts, of nations to exploit her resources. King Leopold, of Belgium had his day in Africa, and paid his toll. Great Britain has tenaciously clung to her African holdings with 99-year leases and other instrumentalities which permit self aggrandizement.

And now comes France, according to Cippico, with cager hands of invasion of the moral rights of a peaceful people, who have paid their respects to France in past years by sending "shock" troops to line the battle trenches in defense of offense of France.

Negroes Are Trooping Back Home From North, Railroad Officials Say

Sparta, Ga., July 31.—(Special.)—According to local railroad officials the tide of travel among the negroes from this section to the northern states has turned and they are now trooping back home in great numbers. Almost daily the trains brings back several who have been away several years.

They say they are getting back "home" before another hard winter comes on as they do not want to live through another in the north. Many negroes from here are dying in the north and bodies are being shipped back here for burial almost daily. Their deaths are said to be the result of exposure during the cold winters.

Local farmers predict that by early spring the labor problem in this county will be solved by the return of many negroes.

French Bar "Hit the Negro" Game

Paris, July 2.—(Associated Negro Press)—The "Hit the Negro" game, so pulumarian American midways, was barred from the Paris-Modern Exposition by the officials of the exposition. The idea of a French citizen of any color being treated in such an ignominous manner was repulsive to the citizens.

French Marshal Going To Africa to Study Possible Use of Black Troops

(Special to The News)

PARIS, Jan. 12.—If the French military men's program goes through there will not be many troops left in Africa when Garveyites reach there to establish an empire, for Marshal Petain is sailing from Marseilles on Saturday, proceding to Dakar, French West Africa. A correspondent learned that the marshal will remain in the French possessions for a few months studying military reorganization and the possibilities of recruiting black troops for the Colonial Army. One difficulty will be the eventual transportation of black troops should they be needed at any point for strategic purpose. Marshal Franchit d' Esperey is now crossing the Sahara with a dozen wheeled cars, studying the organization of military automobile transport across the desert.

France's Color Line

THE bitter struggle in Morocco between the Riff tribes under Abd-el-Krim and the authority of Governor General Lyautey raises for reexamination the question of the success of the French colonial experiment in North Africa—especially in relation to the race and color question.

France has a deserved reputation of having come closer to solving the color question than any other great Western Power. The situation both within France itself and in her colonies is free from those tragic prejudices which make Britain's dominion in Egypt and India seem so hopeless and form a continual ferment of injustice and conflict in South Africa and in the United States. Snobbish Americans who recently tried to carry their accustomed treatment of the Negro to Paris and demanded the exclusion of that race from some of their favorite resorts received a sharp reminder of the different situation there and here. Resort owners who bent to their demands were promptly punished by the French Government, and the Americans were warned that they could not import their race prejudices into France. Other colonial Powers of the Twentieth Century have generally asserted, directly or indirectly, the doctrine of white superiority. "But France," as William Milligan Sloane says in his recently published "Greater France in Africa," "flatly asserts that there is no race and color question, at least officially, and uses every effort to secure complete equality, even social."

The French attitude toward race and color has two main sources. One is the natural tolerance, the spirit of "live and let live," which is one of the finest characteristics of the French people. The other is a definite political policy which recognizes the value of the people of North Africa as a military reservoir and sees the advantage of holding their friendship and loyalty. Yet in spite of the generally reasonable attitude of the French, both official and unofficial, toward race and color, equality is far from achieved in North Africa, if we accept the account of Mr. Sloane. In fact, equality is a slogan for political consumption rather than an actual administrative program. Mr. Sloane visited Morocco and Algeria as a guest of the French Government and a representative of the Committee France-America. The account of his visit may without offense be said to be friendly toward France. Yet he does not conceal that, in spite of any assertion to the contrary, there is a race and color question in North Africa and that French experiment is, at best, only an approach toward the enormous difficulties and intricacies of a problem where science and reason find themselves continually halted by ancient human prejudices and passions. Even in Algeria, where France has had a foothold since 1815 and general control for three-fourths of a century, Mr. Sloane finds that race equality is not yet a reality.

WHITE RACE HIGH HATTING WAY TO WAR OF COLORS

BY JOHN STEELE.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

LONDON, Oct. 8.—A stern warning of the peril of the colored races was given to the church congress at Eastbourne yesterday by Viscount Willingdon, who has been governor of Bombay and Madras and who is now in charge of Indian affairs. The viscount said the war convinced the colored races that the white man's civilization has many defects and that the moral ideals of the east in some ways is higher and more noble than the white man's. The colored races are demanding fair treatment.

"I am convinced that the white races must realize the necessity of treating all colored men in a spirit of absolute equality, giving up their attitude of color superiority," Viscount Willingdon said.

Warns of Race War Peril.

His warning was supplemented by J. H. Oldham, a member of the international missionary council, who said:

"A solid white front means a solid yellow front, and that in the end can have only one meaning—war. The desire in every human breast for equal opportunity and equal recognition is a desire that cannot be smothered. It may smoulder, only to break out one day in devouring flames like a prairie fire.

Attacks U. S. Exclusion.

"Already the exclusion policy of the British dominions and the United States has produced a tension. The Englishman's sense of superiority and his natural reserve have resulted in exclusiveness and social discrimination which are bitterly resented.

"Although there is nothing in common between Islam and bolshevism, many of the leading Moslems are now inclining to throw in their lot with the bolshevists for the sole reason that the bolshevists treat them as equals while the western nations do not."

The literature of French Africa is fairly large [he says], and many so-called novels deal with real life in Algeria. A dispassionate reader finds the plot, either incidentally or mainly, concerned with the hard lot of natives who, after being Gallicized, aim at social equality. There is in them a frank admission of the friction between the subject and dominant races. This would seem to indicate that in Algeria at least there is a race, if not a color question.

There are many complexities of race and color in North Africa. The Arabs belong to the Semitic branch and the Berbers to the Hamitic division of the Caucasian race. Both are therefore technically "white," but long exposure to African suns and circumstances has given them a hue almost as dark as that of the Negroes, who have for centuries formed another considerable element in North Africa —larger still today, when France imports troops from south of the Sahara to fight her battles for her. In the cities there is also an appreciable Jewish admixture. Mr. Sloane says that in the large cities of Algeria the Europeans and the natives have separate quarters, although mixing in a business way. Of the country communities Mr. Sloane gives this description:

> Some are purely Oriental towns of small size, with crooked dirty streets, a little market-place and scanty bazaars, with a mosque and shabby minaret. Others are just as purely European, built of low one- or two-storied bungalows, arranged on streets in some variation of the checker-board plan, with a public square, shops, and a tavern or two. In the European towns of Algeria there are always a few natives, in the native towns a few Europeans. But for all practical purposes the permanent inhabitants are segregated from each other.

Segregation in a modified form is also under way in Morocco. The mixing of Europeans and natives in the large cities has not been entirely satisfactory, says Mr. Sloane.

> Accordingly at a certain distance, a mile at least, generally more, from the great towns and administrative centers of each district there have been erected small French hamlets where the officials and their families reside in pleasant French homes. . . . These bits of France, kept discreetly apart, seem to give no offense to the natives, content with their own unmolested towns and cities, their mosques uncontaminated by infidel feet, their bazaars and market-places.

PRINCE KOJO AND CHICAGO MATRON OFF FOR AFRICA

Do Not Sail, However, Until Photographer's Bill of $300 Is Settled in Police Station

Much to the chagrin of prejudiced white people congregated on the French Line pier at the foot of West Fifteenth street, Prince Kojo Tavalou Houenou of Dahomey sailed Saturday for Havre, France, with Mrs. Harry W. Knowlton and her daughter, Jacqueline, both white, of Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Knowlton is going on a trip around the world, and plans to sojourn in West Africa.

When the three arrived at the pier in a taxicab with their baggage an hour before the Paris was due to sail, Mr. Gaynell Greely, a photographer of 109 West 135th street, urged the payment of a bill of $300.

"Pay me the $300 you owe me," she said, "or you won't sail today."

After a heated argument Mrs. Knowlton took her small daughter to cabin 438 in the first class and left her there in charge of the stewardess while she went in a taxicab to the West 30th street station. Prince Kojo walked to the police station from the pier with the detective. By the time they arrived Mrs. Knowlton had settled the financial dispute over the payment for the photographs, and Mrs. Greely told the lieutenant at the desk that she had no complaint to make.

The Prince and Mrs. Knowlton drove back to the pier and arrived in time to catch the Paris, which, fortunately for them, had been delayed twenty minutes through having to wait for the Atlantic Transport liner Minnekahda to back out from the next pier. The little girl said her name was Jacqueline Roper Knowlton and that her father was in Chicago.

In the hurry to get on the liner Mrs. Knowlton forgot to collect some of her baggage which had been left in charge of a porter, and a Victrola, some jazz records and a ukelele were left behind on the pier.

Mrs. Knowlton said she was going to visit the King of Dahomey and stay at his palace before going for a tour of the world with her daughter. When asked to pose for a picture the Prince and his friend declined at first, but finally agreed. Mrs. Knowlton slipped her arm through that of Prince Kojo and little Jacqueline stood between them as the cameras clicked.

The Prince was a guest of honor on Friday night at the Little Episcopal Chapel of the Messiah, 206 East 95th street, when King Nana Amoah III of the Fantis made a strong appeal to Negroes of Harlem to migrate to his realm in West Africa.

Prince Kojo speaks English and French fluently in addition to the native language of Dahomey, which is under French protection. He is a graduate of the University of Bordeaux where he took degrees in law and medicine.

The Prince said that he was hurrying home because his father was seriously ill.

The Prince was subjected to several insults during his stay in Chicago and one one occasion was ejected from a Loop restaurant.

FRENCH ACTOR'S ROLE CUT TO PLEASE YANKEES

American Whites Objected To Scenes Of Senegalee And French Girl

J. A. ROGERS IS STILL IN FRENCH CAPITOL

Afro Correspondent Finds Black Figures In wax and African Queens in Bronze

By J. A. ROGERS
Author of "From Superman To Man"

Paris, France, (By Mail) —To me, a Negro, the most striking thing in France is the attitude toward the Negro. Just reverse the Anglo-Saxon or cracker attitude and you have it.

As I said in my last, one finds Negroes, black Negroes, employed everywhere. I have talked with more than a score of French Negroes, principally from the French West Indies, and they tell me that the natives of those islands enjoy full equality with the Frenchman here.

Benglia

In my last, I spoke of Benglia, the magnificent Senegalese at the Folies-Bergere. I have since returned there and I have found that his contact with the white woman in his act has been cut to a minimum. One act has been entirely eliminated.

I remarked on it to a Frenchman and he replied: "C'est les Americains." One hears more English than French spoken at the Folies-Bergere. At one of the side shows I imagined that I was back in New York City.

As I write I have before me a copy of Premier Poincare's warning to Americans to leave their color discriminations at home. Still they have money and are capable of doing a lot of mischief.

Shop Windows

In the shop windows on the Grand Boulevards may be seen wax models of real Negroes, men and women, kinky hair and all, dressed with the latest clothing as advertisements. This, it seems, is a little more than the Negro at home, with his inferiority complex, would do in his shop window. It is certainly no disgrace to be black in France.

The star in many Parisian shows are full blooded Negroes.

Black Boxer

Some nights past I went to the Gaumont Palace, one of the finest cinemas I have ever been in. After the pictures there was an acrobatic feature in which the star was a clever little black boy. The act wound up with a boxing contest between this little Negro and a white boy. As they pummelled each other I waited breathlessly to see which would be made to win. The white boy, I said surely. But to my astonishment, the black boy not only was made to knock out the white one but he knocked out two of the white men, then stood with one of his feet on the white boy with arms folded as a conqueror. And the audience applauded.

Two African Queens

In front of the Palace of the Trocadero looking toward the Eiffel Tower among other statues are those of two African queens, thick lips and all. I remember that the figure representing Africa in front of Buckingham Palace, London, is a white girl. I found not a little most every race on earth, and all of color discrimination in London live peaceably. More than ever am but so far I have been unable to I convinced that the statement that find the least trace of it here, that there is a God-ordained hostility beis, so far as the French are concerned. tween races is one of the biggest lies ever told.

I have had the pleasure of meeting Rene Maran, famed author of "Batouala," and being a guest at his home. I will say something about him in my next.

In Latin Quarters

At the present I am living in the Latin Quarter. Here one sees al

The literature of French Africa is fairly large [he says], and many so-called novels deal with real life in Algeria. A dispassionate reader finds the plot, either incidentally or mainly, concerned with the hard lot of natives who, after being Gallicized, aim at social equality. There is in them a frank admission of the friction between the subject and dominant races. This would seem to indicate that in Algeria at least there is a race, if not a color question.

There are many complexities of race and color in North Africa. The Arabs belong to the Semitic branch and the Berbers to the Hamitic division of the Caucasian race. Both are therefore technically "white," but long exposure to African suns and circumstances has given them a hue almost as dark as that of the Negroes, who have for centuries formed another considerable element in North Africa —larger still today, when France imports troops from south of the Sahara to fight her battles for her. In the cities there is also an appreciable Jewish admixture. Mr. Sloane says that in the large cities of Algeria the Europeans and the natives have separate quarters, although mixing in a business way. Of the country communities Mr. Sloane gives this description:

Some are purely Oriental towns of small size, with crooked dirty streets, a little market-place and scanty bazaars, with a mosque and shabby minaret. Others are just as purely European, built of low one- or two-storied bungalows, arranged on streets in some variation of the checker-board plan, with a public square, shops, and a tavern or two. In the European towns of Algeria there are always a few natives, in the native towns a few Europeans. But for all practical purposes the permanent inhabitants are segregated from each other.

Segregation in a modified form is also under way in Morocco. The mixing of Europeans and natives in the large cities has not been entirely satisfactory, says Mr. Sloane.

Accordingly at a certain distance, a mile at least, generally more, from the great towns and administrative centers of each district there have been erected small French hamlets where the officials and their families reside in pleasant French homes. . . . These bits of France, kept discreetly apart, seem to give no offense to the natives, content with their own unmolested towns and cities, their mosques uncontaminated by infidel feet, their bazaars and market-places.

PRINCE KOJO AND CHICAGO MATRON OFF FOR AFRICA

Do Not Sail, However, Until Photographer's Bill of $300 Is Settled in Police Station

Much to the chagrin of prejudiced white people congregated on the French Line pier at the foot of West Fifteenth street, Prince Kojo Tavalou Houenon of Dahomey sailed Saturday for Havre, France, with Mrs. Harry W. Knowlton and her daughter, Jacqueline, both white, of Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Knowlton is going on a trip around the world and plans to sojourn in West Africa.

When the three arrived at the pier in a taxicab with their baggage an hour before the Paris was due to sail, Mr. Gaynell Greely, a photographer of 109 West 135th street, urged the payment of a bill of $300.

"Pay me the $300 you owe me," she said, "or you won't sail today."

After a heated argument Mrs. Knowlton took her small daughter to cabin 438 in the first class and left her there in charge of the stewardess while she went in a taxicab to the West 30th street station. Prince Kojo walked to the police station from the pier with the detective. By the time they arrived Mrs. Knowlton had settled the financial dispute over the payment for the photographs, and Mrs. Greely told the lieutenant at the desk that she had no complaint to make.

The Prince and Mrs. Knowlton drove back to the pier and arrived in time to catch the Paris, which, fortunately for them, had been delayed twenty minutes through having to wait for the Atlantic Transport liner Minnekahda to back out from the next pier. The litle girl said her name was Jacqueline Roper Knowlton and that her father was in Chicago.

In the hurry to get on the liner Mrs. Knowlton forgot to collect some of her baggage which had been left in charge of a porter, and a Victrola, some jazz records and a ukelele were left behind on the pier.

Mrs. Knowlton said she was going to visit the King of Dahomey and stay at his palace before going for a tour of the world with her daughter. When asked to pose for a picture the Prince and his friend declined at first, but finally agreed. Mrs. Knowlton slipped her arm through that of Prince Kojo and little Jacqueline stood between them as the cameras clicked.

The Prince was a guest of honor on Friday night at the Little Episcopal Chapel of the Messiah, 206 East 95th street, when King Nana Amoah III of the Fantis made a strong appeal to Negroes of Harlem to migrate to his realm in West Africa.

Prince Kojo speaks English and French fluently in addition to the native language of Dahomey, which is under French protection. He is a graduate of the University of Bordeaux where he took degrees in law and medicine.

The Prince said that he was hurrying home because his father was seriously ill.

The Prince was subjected to several insults during his stay in Chicago and one one occasion was ejected from a Loop restaurant.

FRENCH ACTOR'S ROLE CUT TO PLEASE YANKEES

American Whites Objected To Scenes Of Senegalee And French Girl

J. A. ROGERS IS STILL IN FRENCH CAPITOL

Afro Correspondent Finds Black Figures In wax and African Queens in Bronze

By J. A. ROGERS
Author of "From Superman To Man"

Paris, France, (By Mail) —To me, a Negro, the most striking thing in France is the attitude toward the Negro. Just reverse the Anglo-Saxon or cracker attitude and you have it.

As I said in my last, one finds Negroes, black Negroes, employed everywhere. I have talked with more than a score of French Negroes, principally from the French West Indies, and they tell me that the natives of those islands enjoy full equality with the Frenchman here.

Benglia

In my last I spoke of Benglia, the magnificent Senegalese at the Folies-Bergere. I have since returned there and I have found that his contact with the white woman in his act has been cut to a minimum. One act has been entirely eliminated.

I remarked on it to a Frenchman and he replied: "C'est les Americains." One hears more English than French spoken at the Folies-Bergere. At one of the side shows I imagined that I was back in New York City.

As I write I have before me a copy of Premier Poincare's warning to Americans to leave their color discriminations at home. Still they have money and are capable of doing a lot of mischief.

Shop Windows

In the shop windows on the Grand Boulevards may be seen wax models of real Negroes, men and women, kinky hair and all, dressed with the latest clothing as advertisements. This, it seems, is a little more than the Negro at home, with his inferiority complex, would do in his shop window. It is certainly no disgrace to be black in France.

The star in many Parisian shows are full blooded Negroes.

Black Boxer

Some nights past I went to the Gaumont Palace, one of the finest cinemas I have ever been in. After the pictures there was an acrobatic feature in which the star was a clever little black boy. The act wound up with a boxing contest between this little Negro and a white boy. As they pummelled each other I waited breathlessly to see which would be made to win. The white boy, I said surely. But to my astonishment, the black boy not only was made to knock out the white one but he knocked out two of the white men, then stood with one of his feet on the white boy with arms folded as a conqueror. And the audience applauded.

Two African Queens

In front of the Palace of the Trocadero looking toward the Eiffel Tower among other statues are those of two African queens, thick lips and all. I remember that the figure representing Africa in front of Buckingham Palace, London, is a white girl. I found not a little of color discrimination in London but so far I have been unable to find the least trace of it here, that is, so far as the French are concerned.

In Latin Quarters

I have had the pleasure of meeting Rene Maran, famed author of "Batouala," and being a guest at his home. I will say something about him in my next.

At the present I am living in the Latin Quarter. Here one sees

Race Problem - 1925

Europe

ALLIES MUST REARM GERMANY TO THWART PERIL OF SOVIETS AND ASIA, SAYS EX-KAISER

Cataclysm Threatening White Race Certain to Affect U. S., He Says

By KAISER WILHELM.

(A statement given at Doorn, Holland, to GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK, for publication in the United States.)

"THIRTY years ago," the Kaiser remarked to me in Doorn, "I called Europe's attention to the Yellow Peril. Europe's leading statesmen would not listen. Today the menace overhangs not merely Europe, but all Western civilization. It threatens the United States no less than the British Empire. International Capitalism, as foe as dangerous as international Bolshevism and working on parallel lines, seems to blind the statesmen of the world to the fact that white civilization itself is in jeopardy."

Again and again, the Kaiser refers to changing phases of the situation in Asia. He views with interest the recent treaty between Russia and Japan with adherence of China.

"The fact is," he asserts, "that the long foreseen and expected Triple Alliance in Asia, not only against Europe, but against the white races, primarily the 'Anglo-Saxon Bloc,' has become a reality. Its program is 'ASIA FOR THE ASIATICS.'

"If a serious difference with any European or Anglo-Saxon nation, or group of nations, arises, China is, so it seems, to receive assistance primarily from Russia and perhaps also from Japan. According to press reports two hundred thousand men in the pay of Moscow, armed and equipped by Japan, are said to be held in readiness for China in case of emergency. Russia and Japan, press dispatches insinuate, decided to establish in common a great naval base in Vladivostok as a counterstroke against the English in Singapore.

"Of course, Japan, Russia and China, though allies, nevertheless have many conflicting interests and occasionally may act independently of each other. Just as the powers of the 'Entente Cordiale' occasionally opposed each other's interests.

Japan, it seems, is building ships, destroyers and submarines for herself as well as for the Russian Government. It is possible that China has agreed to raise, and is actually preparing to raise, a standing army of 800,000 men trained and commanded by Russian and Japanese officers only, European or American officers being excluded.

"In Western China an Indian and Thibetan army is believed to be in formation. Its destination is obvious. America, England and France (although France is possibly a limited partner in the enterprise) are designated as potential antagonists in the secret clauses of the treaty. The Yellow Peril I predicted 30 years ago has arisen in grim reality.

Soviet's Eyes on China

"Moscow will surely labor, tooth and nail, to Bolshevize China. The Soviets hope to have the Chinese masses at their disposal in time for their final invasion of Europe and the destruction of its hated civilization. The Orientals are 'cute customers' with their weather eye open. They lost no time joining hands while their future antagonists, France, England and America, were busy trampling upon Germany.

"Even now the Entente Powers pillage and illtreat my country instead of equipping and reviving her as speedily as possible for the defense of Europe and white civilization against Bolshevism and the Yellow Peril.

"Lord Fisher, in his memoirs, admits that he twice advised his King to 'Copenhagen' (i. e., to destroy without declaration of war) the German fleet. Today, according to the experts in the British press, France can, if she desires, and uses her bombing airplanes, 'Copenhagen' all London.

"The failure to evacuate Cologne in defiance of treaty stipulations is detrimental to Great Britain. England's hope for peace rests solely upon the balance of power in Europe. A weak and disarmed Germany is no continental foil (as Prince Bismarck said: 'Festlandsdegen') for Great Britain.

Hope to Ruin Europe

"The maintenance of peace in Europe depends upon the revival of Germany. This is possible only if the peace treaty is scrapped. I know what I am saying, for I kept the peace of Europe for 25 years. England is not, at present, prepared to acknowledge the facts. France, on the other hand, is prepared for every emergency. She is said to be establishing a strong air base on the Rhine against both London and Berlin. She uses American money for armaments.

"The Bolshevists propose to ruin Europe such as we know it today, with the help of the colored races. The backbone of Europe is Germany. Hence Germany must be destroyed. Germany, in their calculations, constitutes a breach in the Western wall through which the Bolshevists and their Asiatic allies can pour their yellow hordes for a final onslaught on Europe.

"The emasculation of Germany by Great Britain and France opens the passage for the Bolshevist-Asiatic armies through the line of defense which England and France are so intent upon building up (without Germany) against the Yellow Peril Plus Bolshevism.

"Where is the European line of defense? Balkan States on the left, Balkan States on the right. Between them nothing. Germany, the center of the European line of defense, is eliminated. She has neither arms nor army. She is a dismantled fortress. With about a million open and secret Bolshevistic sympathizers in Germany who would join hands with their Russian colleagues, culture, religion, civilization are threatened with extinction from the Volga to the Rhine.

"Poland and Czecho-Slovakia can interpose no serious resistance. Both will be swamped in a serious encounter. Who, then, holds the broken line of defense?

"The opinion has become obsolete that the Teutons are by race and tradition 'Westerners.' Recent studies point to the probability that Germany is "the face of the East turned toward the West,' that the Teutons are 'Easterners.'

British Empire at Stake

"India, Burmah, Indo-China, Egypt, London, all alike are menaced. The existence of the British Empire itself is at stake. The Hedjas Kingdom is no more. In Syria the Arabs are rising.

"This cataclysm that threatens the white race and western civilization, changing the face of the world in Europe and Asia, is certain to have sinister, if not fatal, consequences to the prosperity and safety of the United States. America sometimes forgets that both Japan and Russia are her neighbors, for in the days of aerial navigation, oceans or stretches of ice no longer divide nations. Japan, backed by Moscow and China, is a formidable antagonist.

"If London, Paris, Washington, sincerely desire to avert this catastrophe they have only one choice. They must rearm Germany and put her on her feet again. A united Europe, plus Germany, can thwart Bolshevism. If Germany is excluded from the European front, all is lost.

"Leading statesmen are bound to keep their eyes open and to consider the necessity of an eventual joint action to ward off the danger menacing their race. America thinks she is too far away. However, she too, will be drawn into the whirlpool. America should and could have kept out of the last World War. She can not keep out of the next.

"Without any armed Germany no solid front of civilization against Bolshevism and the 'Yellow Peril' is possible.

"The slogan, 'Asia for Asiatics,' so seductive to the ears of the colored races, is turned by the Moscow Internationalists into 'Down with the Christian Religion, Out with the Missions, Away with the Whites.'

Recalls Policy to China

"The German press reports that the conduct of the Chinese Government is courteous toward the Germans. This proves that my policy towards China was just, correct and fair. This policy found its expression by the fact that the Chinese and German flags flew side by side over Tsing Tau.

"At the same time it is not wise to ignore the essential differences between the yellow race and the white race. Senator Borah, the chairman of the committee on foreign relations of the United States Senate, favors a scrapping of the 'rights of extraterritoriality' until now granted to the 'whites' in China, and exhorts the Powers to replace the existing arrangements by a policy respecting the intangibility and the national rights of a great people.

"If the Senator's suggestion means anything it implies that hereafter the Chinese are to be placed on the same footing as Europeans, and that the privileges based upon the recognition of the different moral and legal standards of the two races are to be withdrawn. Yesterday the white man in China appeared before a white court: hereafter he is to be arraigned before a Chinese judge. Whether the British will assent to this total reversal of the coolie policy of the last century remains to be seen.

"Should Senator Borah's point of view be accepted by the white powers, the consequences will be far-reaching. The Senator's statement blows a breach into the line of the defense of the white races. America's refusal to take sides against China is sensible and intelligible as representing her interests. But the principle of race equality promulgated by Senator Borah threatens the supremacy of the white race. It will be quoted by all colored nations. What is sauce for the Chinese goose, is sauce for the colored gander. What he claims for the Chinese, he must grant to the African and to the Indian.

Claim of Black Men

The black continent will raise its voice. The blacks may base an additional claim to recognition as equals upon the fact that they were employed by white powers on European soil to fight the best blood of the white race in Europe, the Germans, and to keep them in bondage. Senator Borah will be hailed as the champion of the colored nations and will be acclaimed by the Moscow Third International for his statement asserts the principle the Bolshevists are at pains to spread over the whole world: the equality of the colored races with the white race. No country, America least of all, may safely refuse to bear its share in the struggle to uphold the leadership and the purity of the white race.

"In a recently published order the King of Siam warns Siamese students in Europe to refrain from marrying white girls or women. The closing sentence runs: 'The Siamese race is exactly as good as any other race in the world.'

"In my picture inspired 30 years ago, I clearly foreshadowed the danger. The Yellow Peril I predicted is taking form.

"Both Great Britain and America have unwilling debtors. Both have far-flung empires, far-flung commercial interests. Both are Christian nations. Both are threatened by a relentless and cunning foe. Vast forces are rapidly consolidating against them. They can not safeguard their interests without a strong German Empire, equipped to defend Europe against the Bolshevist-Mongol invasion, and Bolshevist risings.

"I gave warning once. But my warning fell on deaf ears. Instead of uniting, the white races lacerated each other with suicidal mania, calling upon Mongol and negro for aid. These matters must be discussed they are urgent, not brooking delay.

"Forewarned is forearmed!"

Copyright, 1925, by George Sylvester Viereck. Entered in Stationer's Hall London. All rights reserved.

Race Problem – 1925. I.
Europe.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER
FEBRUARY 25, 1925

The French "Unknown.

Complete anonymity was essential to the fulfillment of the fine idea of interring an unknown French soldier in a national mausoleum. It was desired that every mother or wife or sister or sweetheart who lost a loved one in the great war and who never had the poor consolation of having his body recovered and identified might feel that possibly the mausoleum was reared over the corpse of the one who was lost. Anonymity made the mausoleum truly national in the broadest sense. Every effort was made to make certain that the identity of the hero could never be discovered. And yet no sooner had the entombment been completed than stories began to circulate as to the identity of the fallen soldier. One of these stories was to the effect that the hero was a traitor who had been shot by a French firing squad. Another had him identified as an American picked up by mistake. Still another placed him as a Senegalese Negro.

These stories were more or less disturbing, but they were as nothing in comparison with the sensation which has been caused by the publication in a German paper that the unknown hero of France is in reality a German soldier named August Schultz who was picked up on Combres battlefield where the French and German dead lay piled in confused heaps. Every detail of Schultz's pedigree is given, and it is stated that the information is authoritative. However, no convincing specification as to the source of this "authoritative" data is supplied.

Of course the story is a malicious canard. It is a destestable effort to disturb the national conscience of France. There is not the remotest possibility that the unknown hero is other than a soldier of France who fell honorably fighting for his country. Never was greater care taken to make assurance doubly sure. Yet even the suggestion that France may be honoring an enemy is sufficient to cause a vague uneasiness.

It is a cowardly business, and there can be no doubt that the great majority of the German people will deplore this ghoulish endeavor. Instead of making the French people question the certainty which is essential to patriotic devotion it should render them more satisfied than ever that no mistake has been made. Some of the earlier tales did have a certain element of plausibility. This German story has no plausibility whatever.

In France, in England, in Italy, in the United States one unknown hero typifies the known heroism of each nation's soldiers, and his tomb is a shrine for patriotic pilgrimage. To attempt to question the sanctity of any one of these shrines is an offense almost beyond understanding.

HOME FROM RUSSIA

—Photo by Defender Staff Photographer.

LOVETT FORTE-WHITEMAN
Writer and lecturer, who returned to Chicago Monday from an eight-month sojourn in soviet Russia. Mr. Forte-Whiteman is now acting as special American correspondent for several leading Russian daily newspapers. The costume worn by Mr. Forte-Whiteman is the prevailing style in Russia today, he says.

MILWAUKEE LIVING CHURCH
MAY 16, 1925

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, so constant a preoccupation of the European mind, constitutes the subject of most of the articles in the February *Contemporary*. The French Outlook is discussed by that well-informed writer, Mr. Sisley Huddleston. He explains the failure of M. Herriot as being due largely to an attempt to satisfy both parties. In such matters as, for example, diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and again in the proposal to secularize Alsace-Lorraine, much was done to affront the clericals, nothing to placate the radicals. But France's most serious problem "is no longer the reparations problem—which has been brushed aside—, is no longer the problem of security, which does indeed trouble the French, but for which an immediate solution is not necessary. It is the financial problem." After some discussion of her "stupendous financial difficulties," Mr. Huddleston utters a warning to France's creditors. "There cannot be any question of effective French payments for a number of years to come." Debate on the subject is futile, on account of the "utter impossibility in which France finds herself to pay at present anything at all." Dr. William Miller describes Nine Months of Greek Republicanism, concluding that the Greek Republic has shown itself to be a conservative democracy. Negro Race-Movements in America are treated by the Rev. A. M. Chirgwin with extraordinarily little prejudice. He describes the movements headed by Booker T. Washington, by Dr. Dubois, and by Marcus Garvey. Mr. Georg Meri gives a most interesting account of Communism in Reval, telling how armed revolt inspired by the Third International united together all parties in Esthonia, Communist included, so that now a spirit of mutual coöperation prevails. There are other articles upon The Mandatory System, Heine, The Water Supply of Egypt and the Sudan, Imperial Preference, and History in Poetry from Agincourt to Rabelais. The section headed Foreign Affairs deals with the thorny subjects of Opium, the Protocol, the occupation of Cologne, etc. Amongst the books reviewed are *The Literary Genius of the Old Testament*, by P. C. Sands, the second volume of the *History of Oxford*, edited by Sir Charles Mallet, and the Quennells *Every Day Life in Roman Britain*.

JOBOKEN N. J. OBSERVER
APRIL 3, 1925

FRANCE WAS SAVED BY BLACK COLONIALS

"France's attitude toward black and colored folk is peculiar. England knows negroes chiefly as colonial 'natives' or as occasional curiosities on London streets. America knows negroes mainly as freedmen and servants. But for nearly two centuries France has known educated and well-bred persons of negro descent. They filtered in from the West Indies, sons and relatives of French families recognized as such under the Code Napoleon, while under English law similar folk were but nameless bastards. All the great French schools have had black students here and there; the professions have known many and the fine arts a few scattered over decades; but all this was enough to make it impossible to say in France as elsewhere that negroes cannot be educated. That is an absurd statement to a Frenchman. It was not that the French loved or hated negroes as such; they simply grew to regard them as men with the possibilities and shortcomings of men, added to an unusual natural personal appearance.

"But for Black Africa, Germany would have overwhelmed France before American help was in sight. A tremendous wave of sentiment toward black folk welled up in the French heart. And back of this sentiment came fear for the future, not simply fear of Germany reborn, but fear of changing English interests, fear of unstable America. What Africa did for France in military protection, she could easily repeat on a vaster scale; wherefore France proposes to protect herself in future from military aggression by using half a million or more of trained troops from yellow, brown and black Africa.

"Her military program brings France face to face with the problem of democratic rule in her colonies. French industry has had wide experience in the manipulation of democracy at home; but her colonial experience is negligible. Legally, of course, the colonies are part of France. Theoretically, colonials are French citizens, and already the blacks of the French West Indies and the yellows and browns of North Africa are so recognized and represented in Parliament.

"But beyond this more or less nebulous theory looms the immediately practical problems of French industry. The question is, Is France able to make her colonies paying industrial investments and at the same time centres for such a new birth of negro civilization and freedom as will attach to France the mass of black folk in unswerving loyalty and will to sacrifice? Such a double possibility is to-day by no means clear."—Foreign Affairs.

Prince Kojo Back.

Prince Kojo Tovalou-Houenou, son of a line of kings who ruled the country of Dahomey prior to the French conquest; president of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Black Race; and barrister at the Paris Court of Appeals, is agai na visitor to Chicago. The Prince is the guest of Mrs. Harry Knowlton, 39 East Schiller street, during his stay in the city. Chicago Bee

According to statements made recently, the Prince thinks that "America has the most intelligent, the most artistic and the kindest people of the whole black race, and it was a great discovery to me to realize the latent talent in my people here.

"America is not utilizing these great forces that lie like a gold mine waiting for development" the prince said. 3-16-25

"The most original art of America lies in its colored people," he continued, "America needs the artistic impulse of her colored people, to balance her economic and scientific leadership. However, I am afraid America will never give recognition to the genius—in sculpture, painting, drama and dancing, that abounds in the colored people.

"After Europe recognizes individuals, America will do so, as in the case of Roland Hays, but prejudice will prevent America using these forces to create a great national art."

Prince Kojo lectured, Tuesday, May 5th at the Cercle Francais at the Grace Hickox studios. Julius Bledsoe, baritone, sang.

When 10 years old, the prince was takn to Paris by his father where he studied in the University of Paris. He is a director of the newspaper, "Les Continents."

Europe Since Louis XV Has Always Used Colored Troops

France Used Black Men To Conquer Territory Larger Than Europe—600,000 Fought In World War

General Charles Mangin is dead. He was buried Friday. It is significant that what troops from Lorraine, his native home had the place of honor in the big military spectacle, but behind them were the men Senegalese whom he had organized into the finest shock troops of all Euroupe.

(By E. Ten Eyck for A. N. P.)

In a significant and illuminating contribution to "Seas and Colonies," a publication representing the French Maritime and Colonial League, General Mangin, one of France's outstanding World War heroes, and authority on things Military, in discussing his country's and other nations' employment of Colonials and African soldiers, traced the use of colored troops beginning before the Christian era by Egypt and up to the recent world war conflict, where the European countries were reported to have used at least six hundred thousand.

Record of Courage

"Under Louis XV Marshal Saxe had in his army a Negro brigade, which charged at Fontenoy. The army of the Antilles, which successfully defended Guadaloupe throughout the revolutionary wars, was composed almost entirely of blacks. Formed of its remnants, the royal African regiment, which served in the campaign in the kingdom of Naples under the first Empire, was recruited from all the Negro elements which could be collected. In 1912 Murat led it to Russia and it defended Dantzig in 1813. Such troops have always been employed in the defense of the homeland.

France raised native forces in all her colonies. Her Algerian tirailleurs fought in the Crimea, in Italy and in France during the campaign in 1870. Since Senegal was occupied, France has conquered in Africo an empire larger than Europe solely with black soldiers. Her domination, always beneficient, was extended by the destruction of slave-hunting Sultans, like Ahmador, Samory Rabat and Snoussi. In Indo-China and Madagascar the native population has furnished us excellent troops.

Negro Fighters

"Everything had to be improvised after 1914. Nevertheless, Western Africa furnished 270,000 combatants, Black Africa 181,000, Indo-China 49,000, Madagascar 41,000, the older colonies 38,000, Djibouti and Oceanica 3,000—a total of 600,000 combatants. They also furnished an additional non-combatant force of 200,000.

American Precedent

"There is a single precedent for such effort—that set by the Negro population of the United States, whose liberation was at stake in the war of secession. President Lincoln hesitated a long time about freeing the slaves and specially about arming them. But the ex-slave reinforcement of 300,000 men assured Northern victory.

"At present, Northern Africa contributes to the French army 101,000 soldiers, of whom 26,000 are in France and 16,000 are on the Rhine. The inter-ministerial commission of native recruiting has fixed the possibilities of normal recruiting at 330,000 men, 120,000 from Northern Africa and 210,000 from the tropical counties.

JOYNSON-HICKS SEES WORLD-WIDE RED PLOT

British Home Secretary Says Moscow Contemplates Violence, but Britain Is Prepared.

Copyright, 1925, by The Chicago Tribune Co

LONDON, May 3.—Moscow is directing a world-wide plot to enforce Communism in every country, by violence if necessary, and the British Government is prepared to fight the Red menace with every weapon, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary, declared in a special statement to the Sunday Times.

"I am satisfied of the existence in Europe of a definite effort to enforce Communistic ideas and propaganda in every country, even by riot if necessary," said Sir William. "I might have said by revolution, but that is too strong a word at the moment, yet ultimately that is precisely what the Bolshevists intend. It is clearly the aim of the Communists in this country to subvert the existing order of things. This definite object on the part of the political party, however, shall carefully be considered by the Government and myself.

"Almost daily I receive and consider reports on the Communist activities here. I feel if more people read Bolshevist literature they would be more alive to the real aim of these people. The Government is fully cognizant of the present state of affairs and will take the steps necessary for protection."

This statement from a Cabinet Minister is regarded here as an official confirmation of the Red activities and the British challenge to them.

WAR FORCES DIAGNE TO CANCEL TRIP

Negro High Commissioner Of French Colonial Troops Is Detained By Trouble With Riffians In Morocco

NEW YORK, May 27.—Word has been received here that Deputy Blaise Diagne, one of France's leading statesmen, who was scheduled to visit this country this spring on a lecture tour, has been forced to cancel the trip, because of complications in French colonial affairs, brought about by the war begun against the French protectorate in Morocco by Adb-el-Krim, conquering Sultan of the Riffs. Deputy Diagne was to have lectured in at least a dozen of the principal cities of the country under the management of Lieut. Raymond W. Logan, a colored World War hero.

Is Over Troops

Deputy Diagne's diplomatic offices under the French government are those of Deputy to the Senegalese in the French Legislature and High Commissioner for the Colonial Troops of France. The latter post places one of the most miportant duties in the carrying out of the campaign of the French against the Riffians in the Negro statesman's hands. The war is principally being fought between the French colonial soldier and the Riffs. Over 85 per cent of the soldiers that are holding a 60 mile front against 40,000 Moslems and 20,000 skilled Riffian riflemen are Algerians, Moroccans and Senegalese subjects of the French Protectorate over whom Deputy Diagne has the highest authority.

Won Fame

Diagne recruited the African soldiers in the World War, who won considerable fame by their stands against the Germans during the crucial days of the latter part of the year of 1917. He was accused of illegal and unjust procedure in recruiting and the handling of these soldiers by Rene Maran, Negro winner of an annually awarded French literary prize. Clemenceau, the Tiger of France, testified in Diagne's behalf, however and cleared him of these charges.

NEGRO DEPUTY CANNOT ENTER UNITED STATES

Colonial Situation Makes Visit Impossible

Blaise Diagne, member of the French Chamber of Deputies from the Senegal, who signed agreements with Raymond Logan of this city to tour America and for whom definite arrangements on a large scale were made in fifteen metropolitan centers, is not expected to make the trip as proposed at this time, because of recent developments in the French Colonies. The black deputy is the ranking member of the colonial committee of the chamber.

Diagne recruited the Sengalese troops which won fame on the Aisne, the Marne, at the Chemin des Dames and at Verdun. He was entrusted with this mission by Clemenceau in 1917, but refused tht decoration of the Legion of Honor for the service. Since trouble began in the colonies, Diagne has been the subject of litigation at Paris, but has been victorious in his legal battles.

INTEREST IN JAPAN TO CURB RACE PREJUDICE

To the Editor:

I would like to see more of the impending Japanese situation being featured in our press. I believe that if the general enemy sees that we are interested it will be easy to fight segregation, prejudiced action, etc.

Truly,

E. B. HENDERSON.

R. F. D. 13, Falls Church, Va.

"What is the colored American thinking of the big world affairs? The government and the press indicate perturbation over the Japanese situation. Articles appear regularly burdened with probabilities of war and prospects of the outcome. It is presumed by many students of warfare that the following will happen: First, Japan will make war suddenly, when she is ready. In one stroke, the Philippines, Guam, and possibly Hawaii would fall. Japan would ring the far east seas with explosives. Keeping her major ships in home waters her fast cruisers, airplanes and submarines will be used to demoralize our shipping. To make offensive war we would have to travel 5,000 miles. A long war would be the prospect.

England is by nature of things expected to be neutral. India and Egypt demand this. Russia seeing her chance at world capitalism has of late been cultivating the friendship of Japan.

What will happen here? Steel and munition profiteers will again begin the harvest of gold. Swash-buckling desk warriors will begin to ply their stock and trade. If a sea war is on, thousands of the best of this generation will become fish eaten carrion. And what will it all be about? A few hundred per cent Pacific coast dwellers who love the Japanese when they serve them as hired men and women but who hate to compete with them as employers in the capitalistic game have propagandized the country to such an extent that Congress passed a bill officially declaring Japanese inferior and unassimilable and making special immigration provisions which the Japanese consider insulting to their national and racial dignity.

Essentially the problem is a color problem, an affair between nations based upon the idea of an inescapable difference between races. It is claimed that equality of races, it is claimed that culture, education nor religion of any kind can make up for these differences so as to make it possible for these colored and white races to live neighborly in peace and amicableness when in the same locality. In our country the race relations are fast approaching a crisis. Segregation, limitation of opportunities for improvement or for better understanding, and absolute denial of participation in affairs of community or general government are creating a situation that will become unbearable in some places very soon. Men like Sherril and Slemp are doing their bit in this direction.

What are we going to do about it? Are we going to sit quietly by and ostrich-like see nothing but that the situation will right itself after years of education and biding our time? Or is there anything in the situation that offers opportunity for us to establish more securely our claims to manhood? Had the last war meant more to us, had the 92nd Division been practically wiped out before Metz, had our homeland been rudely assailed so that horrors might have been within our sight and vision, I believe the American white people would like unto the ancient Egyptians have been less hard of heart. Even the Cracker, Irwin Cobb, was writing in the Lorimer weekly after a visit to the 15th regiment in action on the front line that he Negro would receive greater privileges than ever before, but he could not forsee how little comparatively were to suffer as a nation i nthat war.

Now with the oncoming clouds, and the need of consolidating every patriot interest, it seems to me that the press and organizations that are hunting around for policies might begin to work upon the idea that no properly interested color stricken American in a campaign waged upon the theory of the Inescapable Differences of Races and God intended inferiority always of some races, to demand for loyal support in such a conflict some modicum of concession of citizenship rights we are denied.

To my mind it is going to be hard to get some of the people who are voteless, subject to lynching and peonage

Race Problem - 1925 II

Europe.

(in the colored press) on the attitude of the race towards this international development. A majority of Negroes well organized under special circumstances could make its propaganda felt.

Truly yours,
E. B. HENDERSON.
R. F. D. 13, Falls Church, Va.

RUSSIA SOLVES RACE PROBLEM SAYS WHITEMAN

Lecturer Home F A- broad Was Recip Of Many High Hono

TOWN NAMED FOR HIM

Race Pilgrim A l s o M a d e Honorary Member Of Fa mous Regiment

By E. Everette Grave

Chicago, Ill.—That the Russian Soviet Republic under the rule of the workers' Soviets has been the first state in the history of the world which has actually solved the problem of racial discrimination, is the view of Lovett Fort-Whiteman, writer and lecturer who has just returned from en eight months' tour of European and Asiatic Russia.

In an interview with the Afro American, Mr. Whiteman told of the enthusiastic reception given him by the Russian workers, and of his amazing experiences in the Bolshevik republic.

Speaks Everywhere

"I was received most cordially by the workers of the factories, by the peasants, by the persons in highest authority in the Russian state. Everywhere I was asked to deliver lectures, to attend meetings, to explain the nature of the race problem in America. I spoke to large audiences at many of the largest universities of the country the University of Moscow, the University of Sverdloff, the University for Oriental Sciences, the Military University at Tashkent, Turkestan. I was made American correspondent for many of the leading Russian newspapers, including the organ of the government, the Moscow Izvestia (News).

"Upon my visit to Ukraine, I was made a member of the famous Third Cossack Division—the division which four years ago made the famous march across the ice of the Caspian sea to defeat the troops of the counter-revolutionist, Wrangel.

Town Named For Him

"In Turkestan, the workers voted unanimously to change the name of the town Kaufmansky to Whitemansky in my honor.

"The life of Russia today presents the most striking contrast to life in any capitalist country, and especially to Russian life under the Czar. In place of repression, there is freedom. In place of exploitation of the great mass of the workers by a handful of wealthy men, we find the industries owned and managed by the workers themselves, through their elected factory councils, the Soviets.

In place of racial discrimination, we find absolute equality of all workers, regardless of race or color. It is the worker who is supreme The worker runs the industries and the government, the worker has first choice of lodgings, the children of workers receive preference in the schools and the universities.

All Races Equal

"There was no country in the world more harrassed with racial problems than Russia before the Revolution. In the Crimea, it was Tatter against Turk; in the Caucuses, Georgian against Armenian; in the Ukraine, Gentile against Jew, and in Asiatic Russia, Moslem against Christian. The Jew was the Negro of Russia. The Jew was discriminated against, segregated, lynched Racial maladjustment was an outstanding fact in the social life of olf Russia.

"Today, racial problems are unknown in Russia. The Jewish worker is free. And in respect ot the races of the Caucuses, of Crimea, and of Eastern Russia, which constituted colonials within the old Russian empire, the recent territorial realignment made by the Soviet government has meant the creation of a number of republics in which each of these races may enjoy group autonomy as a solution of the national and racial problems and the means by which every trace of racial friction is obliterated.

Revolution Necessary

"My eight months' stay in Russia has rendered me thoroughly convinced that the solution of the Negro problem in America is possible only after the revolutionizing of the American social order. Race prejudice springs from the capitalist order of society—that system in which the workers of all races toil hat the exploiters may grow fat. Race riots, lynchings, racial hostility between the black and white worker are conditions conducive to he maintenance of the system. For it is only by dividing the workers among themselves—white against black, Jew against Christian—that he bosses can prevent the workers rom taking possession themselves.

Mr. Whiteman is planning to tour the country for a series of lectures in which he will tell the workers of America the true state of affairs in Soviet Russia.

Scotland Yard Detectives Grill Rogers Under Belief He Is a Communist in Pay of Bolshevik Government

Suspicion Aroused When He Sought Vise of Passport for African Trip — Say DuBois Is Dangerous

LONDON, Aug. 15.—J. A. Rogers, well-known author and journalist, who left the United States some months ago in search of excitement is apparently finding it. A few days ago he was grilled at the famous Scotland Yard under the suspicion that he was an agent in the pay of the Bolshevik government.

Accordingly instructions were forwarded to Scotland Yard to investigate Rogers at the address he had given. Rogers, however, did not go straight to London, but went instead to Penzance, Cornwall, in search of matter for a novel. In the meantime the detectives had gone to the London address and not finding Rogers there accused another American of being Rogers.

When interviewed Rogers took the affair quite humorously. "I hope Moscow will take the hint," he laughed, "and send me on some money. Believe me I can use it. This a hard country to live in."

"The trouble," he said, "began in New York City when I applied for a vise to go to Sierra Leone in British West Africa. The truth is that I had only the slightest hope of being able to go so far—when I get to France I do hope to visit Algeria and Morocco—but knowing many American Negroes who had talked of going to Africa, and having heard that the latter were not permitted to land there I thought I would verify the matter and asked."

After some questioning Rogers said that he was told that he could not be given a vise for Africa and that he would have to take up the matter in England. Then the authorities apparently became suspicious and took him into an inner office, where he was questioned by a young woman.

"This young woman," says Rogers, "evidently wanted to find out whether I was a musician or a Communist, but instead of going to the point began to ask me several questions in a negative way as: 'You're not going to join a band?' 'You're not going to Glasgow, or India, or Russia, or Germany?' She also didn't seem to believe that I, a Negro writer, could be travelling on my own. Well, you can hardly blame her for that.

"In applying for a vise one must give an address, but knowing no one there, I gave the address of Mr. Whaley of the team of Scott and Whaley, that had been given to me by my friend, Lawrence Brown, the composer.

"Arriving in England I visited Cornwall, Devon and other places where I had a splendid time. Later I arrived in London and was congratulating myself that I was really having a holiday from the eternal color question when to my great astonishment I was informed by Mr. Johnstone of the team of Layton and Johnstone that Scotland Yard had been looking for me for some time and had been accusing Whaley of being me.

"Accordingly I went to Scotland Yard where I was questioned by Inspector William Brust. He received me very courteously and told me that he was only carrying out instructions, which were to the effect that I had doubtful associations in New York City. I waited for him to name these questionable parties, expecting the names of any of the dozen or so Negro Communists I know in New York, or perhaps Marcus Garvey, when to my great astonishment he named Dr. DuBois, who he informed me was 'a dangerous man.'

DuBois Dangerous.

"This, as I said, was news to me, for not only had I hitherto not regarded DuBois as dangerous to white world domination, but the fact is that, although I lived not so many blocks away from him I have the slightest possible personal acquaintance with him. I am further associated with the Messenger, which opposes most of DuBois' policies.

"I was also questioned as to the means of my income, the inspector informing me that Moscow was causing a lot of trouble among the colored races and would only be too glad to get hold of a man of my education. I told him that the money I was travelling on was the result of my hard earned savings. After asking me to leave a copy of 'From Superman to Man' for him to read, he advised me to register with the police, and told me that I wouldn't be troubled any further.

"In spite of the courtesy and this assurance I felt a bit uncomfortable at first. It is not pleasant to think that one is being followed everywhere by sleuths, still all in all it was great fun."

Trailed to Plymouth.

According to Rogers he was trailed from New York to Plymouth by a detective who continued on the S. S. Washington to France This alleged Service Service man, he says, made friends with him the second day out and brought up the subject of Communism several days later.

"Something told me that this man was a detective," says Rogers, "particularly after the questions that had been put to me in New York City. I have been around the police and the courts too long not to know a 'dick' when I see one, so I filled him full of bull.

"When he finally brought up the subject of Communism one even-

ng as we paced the deck and declared that it was the only cure for the ills of the world I was ready for him and shot him a full dose of the usual line of Communist chatter. I thought that if he was a 'dick' I'd not let him take all that long trip for nothing. And the amusing part of it was that it was rumored on board that I was a Secret Service man. Yes, Europe, like the South, hasn't got over the war yet

"When I arrived in England I forgot all about this incident."

J. A. Rogers Tells of His First Impressions of Paris, France

On the first of September, after a very pleasant stay of two and a half months in England, I said good-bye to my English friends and took the train for Folkestone, en route to Paris. I had heard much about the roughness of the English Channel, and when I saw the small steamer that was to take us across the choppy waves I felt that for once I was in for a dose of sea sickness. My feelings weren't helped any when I saw the deckhands passing around small wooden collection plates for tribute to Father Neptune.

And they weren't a bit too soon either, for no sooner had the little boat pushed off than dozens of folk around me began to give up the breakfast for which they had just paid good English coin, all of which gave me a still queerer feeling in the innards.

However, I just made up my mind that I needed that breakfast more than the fishes and was going to hang on to it. Luckily I had met two bon compagnons de voyage and a doctor; we swapped jokes, and chatted and laughed so heartily that though the sea got rougher the queer feeling vanished. Nevertheless, it was a close shave and I was mighty glad to see the cliffs of Dieppe.

On landing I had still another pronounced feeling—that of utter strangeness at hearing a different language. Now, I had always prided myself on my knowledge of French. Hadn't I read Victor Hugo, Balzac, Lamartin. and the other French classics and I understood them in their all delicate nuances. So I confidently went up to the first Frenchman and sprung my French on him—well for all I know he must still be wondering whether I was a visitor from Mars. One thing I have learnt is that there is a big difference between French as she is writ and French as she is spoken. However, my knowledge of the former has helped wonderfully and after a week I am making myself pretty well understood. More than ever am I convinced that not in color or race lies the great difference between men, but in langauge. Not to be able to speak another's tongue is to be almost entirely cut off from him.

From Dieppe to Paris I had a sunshiny, pleasant trip through beautiful apple orchards and quaint villages with thatched houses or slate roofs. But for the latter I could have imagined myself traveling in parts of the United States, so much alike are the landscape and the products. One thing I noticed that will be of particular interest to veterans of the war is that box cars still bore the well known legend: "40 hommes, eight cheveaux" (40 men, eight horses).

Paris is a very beautiful city in spite of the fact that the buildings, most of which are seven stories, look rather rusty. Much as I said fine things about London, the latter I have found is rather ugly compared with Paris.

Paris is a city of magnificent boulevards and remarkably handsome and imposing squares. There is great nobility and beauty in French design, and art reigns supreme. I cannot recall having experienced a greater elevation of the soul than when I stepped into the Place de la Concorde. Perhaps its historic associations may have helped to stir this feeling. In the center of the spacious square is Cleopatra's Needle, much handsomer than the one in New York City; to the right is the dark mass of the Chamber of Deputies; to the left in the distance is the historic Church La Madeleine, while nearer is the Hotel Crillon, famous for its war conferences. To the rear in the distance is the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, and arch of imposing grandeur. Facing the Place de la Concorde is the very beautiful Jardin (Garden des Tuileries), while in the far distance the Eiffel Tower rears itself 1,000 feet in the air.

Many stirring scenes were enacted in this beautiful square during the French Revolution. It was here that the head of the beautiful queen, Marie Antoinette's head, was cut off as well as that of Louis XVI. Others guillotined here are Charlotte Corday, Danton and Robespierre.

From the Arc de Triomphe noble wooded boulevards radiate in all directions, among which is the famous Champs Eylsees.

In spite of the difference of language—to which I am getting rapidly accustomed—I feel more at home in Paris than in London. The French remind me more of colored folks—they are quite as noisy, excitable, light-hearted, pleasure loving, and take their own time about everything. The average lunch is of two hours' duration. They take time to live and get acquainted with life as they pass through it—a fact which no doubt accounts for their very high state of artistic development. All during the day and late into the night they may be seen by hundreds of thousands sipping their cafe beer or wine at the delightful tables on the sidewalk. Paris is indeed a city in which to dream dreams.

Another thing that has helped me to feel more at home is the large number of colored folk. In my articles on England I said that I found a minimum of colored prejudice. In France it is apparently even less, for in Paris I am seeing what I did not see in England, namely, the employment of colored people. I see Negroes here—of course, they are French—as officers in the white regiments, in the bands (music), stores, subways, as chauffeurs, on the stage, in the banks, etc. On the main floor of the Leuvre—a department store equal to Wanamaker's—I saw two on the sales force. One of them said that he wanted to emigrate to America, but that the quota law and the low value of the franc were in his way. In England the Negro is treated with courtesy, but he is the last to be given work. It is a white man's country when it comes to that.

Wages are much lower than in England, and since it takes 20 francs to make a dollar—before the war it took only five—the wage of the French workman will sound ridiculously low to American ears. Living, to an American with his

...ell money, is about a third less than in New York City, but to a Frenchman it must be very high, particularly in Paris, which is a tourist city. America is indeed the paradise of the worker, white or black.

As I said the Negro is even better treated here than in England. One of the first things I have discovered is that I must throw overboard all the ideas of American race difference which have adhered to my psychology in spite of myself, if I am to get on. What would not the Negro in America have accomplished if he had been treated like the man he is here, and did not have to use up so much of his energy fighting the despicable color question—that philosophy of imbeciles which de-

Race Problem—1925.
Europe.

"I Ain't a Bolshevik Now Says "Big Bill" Haywood, Mushing Back to America

Radical Leader Wishes He Were in Leavenworth Prison. Leaves Russia After Refusing to Stir Up Revolt Among American Negroes.

BY RAYMOND FENDRICK.

(Copyright Cable to the Chicago Tribune and The Commercial Appeal.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, Jan. 3.—Bill Haywood, who fled to Russia several years ago, is going home.

A week ago a ragged, starving tramp came to the Near East Orphanage at Alexandropol, in the soviet republic of Armenia, and begged food, clothes and shelter overnight.

"I am Bill Haywood, but I ain't a Bolshevik anymore," he said apologetically. "I wish I had never run away from Leavenworth."

The communist internationale paid Haywood a small salary for a long time to act as adviser to its American propaganda section, but when M. Zinoviev ordered Haywood to prepare a plan a year ago and direct the revolutionary propaganda among negroes, Haywood refused and the Bolsheviks kicked him into the street. They wanted to smuggle him into Georgia on a rum runner and organize a negro uprising in the south.

He and his pal, Williams, another communist exile, began to beg and bum their way from Moscow to Constantinople, where they hoped to find velvet jobs.

"I am hungry and homesick," Haywood told Director Yarrow, who is a brother of the Chicago reformer, "and if I cannot find work in Constantinople I am going back to the United States. I would rather live in Leavenworth any time than Bolshevik Russia. It ain't a white man's country."

A year on the road between Moscow and the Caucasus not only made a physical wreck of Haywood, but utterly disgusted him with the Bolshevik government.

The next morning he packed up his ragged kit and started off alone through the mountains toward the Turkish frontier. A heavy snow storm started the next day and peasants saw him dragging himself wearily through the deep snow that night. No one has reported seeing him since then.

N. Y. EVENING WORLD
APRIL 30 1925

BERLIN

KARL LUDWIG, Prince of Thurn and Taxis, wrote the following letter to the Neues Weiner Journal: "In a recent edition you published an article by Peter Kinkel entitled 'Negro Blood on the German Throne.' As a descendant of the family Tascher de la Pagerie, I can not let that article go unanswered. Herr Hinkel said: 'The Negro ancestors of Empress Josephine were also ancestors of German Princes.' He reasoned that Josephine, being the daughter of Creoles, inherited Negro blood. According to Mayer's dictionary, Creoles are natives of pure European blood, sangue azur, found in former Spanish, French and Portuguese colonies in America, Africa and India. The distinction was made between native-born Europeans and new arrivals.

* * *

"JOSEPHINE was born in Martinique, daughter of Joseph Gaspard de Tascher de la Pagerie and his wife, Desverges de Sannois. Her grandparents on her father's side were Gaspard Joseph de Tascher de la Pagerie and Mlle. Bourreau de la Chevalerie; on her mother's side M. Desvargers de Sannois and Miss Mary Catherine Francis Brown. So Josephine's ancestors were French and English. The Tascher de la Pagerie family was but two generations in Martinique and had not time to be assimilated or lose its pure Orleans character. Please be kind enough to print this denial."

U. S. JOINS ALLIES IN MOVE AGAINST COMMUNIST BANDS

England, France, Italy and Germany Form Combine To Oust "Red" Agitators.

BY CHARLES M. McCANN.

London, May 30.—Coincident with the opening in Glasgow today of the international communist congress it was stated authoritatively in London that England, France, Italy and Germany were agreed on a united international offensive against communist agitators in their respective countries.

It was reported, too, that the United States had agreed to cooperate in the exchange of information on communistic activities and that the American secret service would aid in keeping a check on international radicals.

England Starts Drive.

England's drive against the communists already has started. The government today took steps to rid the country of undesirable aliens and to tighten the restrictions under which they enter the British Isles. Several foreigners, including a number of hotel managers who have been resident here for years, have been ordered to leave the country in ten days' time. The reason given for their expulsion is their failure to comply with the regulations which are imposed on all foreigners, including Americans.

The government, it is announced, intends to comb London and expel all aliens who have neglected the registration laws. Orders have been issued at the seaports against admitting suspicious aliens.

France's campaign has been started with the decision to eject 680 representatives of Russian trade organizations. Germany and Italy are understood to be preparing similar measures against agitators.

Communist Undaunted.

While the "anti-red" drive was getting under way, 200 delegates attended the opening of the communist congress at Glasgow. Harry Pollitt, an English communist leader who recently was kidnaped by the British fascisti, presided over the meeting. He announced there were 5,000 communists in England.

"We will not cease our activities," Pollitt told the convention, "until we have smashed every vestige of the capitalistic machine. We will confiscate capital without compensation and give it to the workers."

Pollitt cautioned the visiting communists against permitting the local fascisti to break up their meetings. Before the session opened, however, two men had secretly entered the hall and sprayed the floors with liquified gas, besides planting a few stink bombs. The hall, as a result, was not tenable for several hours.

STABILIZATION of currency has acted as a check on German emigration. During 1923 Germans who left to establish homes in other parts of the world numbered 115,000, while in 19[illegible] the number dropped to 54,000.

French Hero Lauds Negro as Asset in Military Power

By E. Ten Eyck

In a significant and illuminating contribution to "Seas and Colonies," a publication representing the French Maritime and Colonial League, General Mangin one of France's outstanding World War heroes, and an authority on things military, in discussing his country's and the other nations' employment of Colonials and African soldiers, traced the use of colored troops beginning before the Christian era by Egypt and up to the recent World War conflict, where the European countries were reported to have used at least six hundred thousand. His comment on the precedent established by Lincoln is accepted by some as a hint that Europeans give the Negro soldier of the Civil War period a large measure of responsibility in making the preservation of the Union possible through victory of the Northern armies of which they became a part to the extent of 300,000 men. General Mangin states:

Record of Courage

"Under Louis XV, Marshal Saxe had in his army a Negro brigade which charged at Fontenoy. The army of the Antilles, which successfully defended Guadaloupe throughout the Revolutionary wars, was composed almost entirely of blacks. Formed on its remnants, the royal African regiment, which served in the campaign in the Kingdom of Naples under the first empire, was recruited from all the Negro elements which could be collected. In 1812 Murat led it to Russia, and it defended Dantzig in 1913. Such troops have always been employed in the defense of the home land. France raised native forces in all her colonies. Her Algerian tirailleurs fought in the Crimea, in Italy and in France during the campaign of 1870. Since Senegal was occupied France has conquered in Africa an empire larger than Europe solely with black soldiers. Her domination, always beneficent, was extended by the destruction of slave-hunting Sultans, like Ahmador, Samory, Rabat and Snoussi. In Indo-China and Madagascar the native population has furnished us excellent troops.

Negro Fighters

"Everythng had to be improvised after 1914. Nevertheless, Western Africa furnished 270,000 combatants; Black Africa, 181,000; Indo-China, 49,000; Madagascar, 41,000; the older colonies, 38,000; Djibouti and Oceanica, 3,000—a total of 600,000 combatants. They also furnished an additional non-combanant force of 200,000.

American Precedent

"There is a single precedent for such effort—that by the Negro population of the United States, whose liberation was at stake in the War of Secession. President Lincoln hesitated a long time about freeing the slaves and especially about arming them. But the ex-slave reinforcement of 300,000 men assured Northern victory.

"At present, Northern Africa contributes to the French army 101,000 soldiers, of whom 26,000 are in France and 16,000 are in the Rhine. The interministerial commission of native recruiting has fixed the possibilities of normal recruitment at 330,000 men, 120,000 from Northern Africa and 210,000 from the tropical countries."

This testimony from an unquestioned European military expert is illuminating and should help the people in America to place a proper estimate on her loyal colored citizenship such as is not usually acclaimed. It will also perhaps hearten the colered peoples themselves on both sides of the ocean to realize the recognition of their power in this one direction. In further analysis, not only this type of contribution to a country, help in defence, importance in war, but as a contribution in peace, in industry — culture, in general progress and welfare may be emphasized!

French Colored Deputy, Blaise Diagne, Here for Series of Lectures

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 12.—Blaise Diagne, the famous French Deputy, representing the Senegal in the Chamber of Deputies of France, will tour the United States this spring, delivering a series of lectures in the following cities: Washington, D. C.; Baltimore, Md.; New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Mo., and St. Louis. Arrangements are being made to have Boston; Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Columbus, Ohio; Cincinnati, Ohio, and Louisville, Ky., included in the itinerary.

Deputy Diagne first came into international prominence during the world war when as High Commissioner of Colored Troops of France he recruited the famous Senegalese regiments which won immortal fame on the Aisne, the Marne, at the Chemin des Dames and at Verdun. In 1917 when the situation of the allied forces seemed desperate Clemenceau, the Tiger of France, entrusted him with the delicate mission of recruiting colored troops from French West Africa. His success is now one of the interesting chapters of French history. As a result of his work the French Government wished to confer upon him the Legion of Honor, but he refused this recognition and recommended that it be given to one of the officers who accompanied him to Africa on his mission.

It was this task which afforded a French bi-monthly newspaper, Les Continents, a pretext for asserting that Mr. Diagne had received a stated sum of money for each recruit obtained. In the libelous suit, which resulted from this article, the editor of the paper was convicted to a suspended sentence of six months' imprisonment, to have the decree of the court published in six leading French newspapers, and to pay a fine of 1,500 francs and to 2,000 francs damages, which Mr. Diagne voluntarily donated to a welfare organization for French colored troops in Paris. The testimony of Mr. Clemenceau was an important factor in influencing the jury to return a verdict vindicating Deputy Diagne and punishing the newspaper in question.

The high esteem in which Mr Diagne is held by the Chamber of Deputies is shown by the fact that he has recently been named a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and Chairman of the Committee on Colonial Affairs. This latter honor makes Mr. Diagne the most important figure of the colored race in contemporary national history.

The distinguished statesman will be accompanied throughout his tour by Mr. Rayford W. Logan, a graduate of the M Street High School, Washington, D. C., and Phi Beta Kappa from Williams College, Massachusetts. Mr. Logan, shortly after his graduation from Williams enlisted in the 372d Infantry, Red Hand Division, and rose rapidly to the rank of first lieutenant. He served with conspicious bravery with the Infantry, Red Hand Division, in France and after securing his discharge from the American Expeditionary Forces at the close of the war has made his home in Paris.

Mr. Logan returned to France early in December to complete details of the tour. He is now back in America to co-ordinate the efforts of the several groups who are in charge of the lectures in the various cities included in Mr. Diagne's itinerary. Mr. Logan states that Mr. Diagne's enthusiastic over his forthcoming tour of this country because it will give him an opportunity to bring greetings from the colored subjects of France and to gather first-hand information of the colored race in the United States. The tour, which will last about six weeks, will begin the early part of April, 1925.

No Color Line In Gay Paree, So Girls Quit

White Actresses Told to Leave When They Refuse To Share Dressing Room.

PARIS, France, Jan. 8.—America's serpent-headed line of segregation received a rude setback here recently, when white actresses, refusing to use the same dressing rooms as colored actresses at the reopening of the internationally famous Moulin Rouge Theatre, were given the alternative to either use the dressing rooms or quit.

The whit actresses quit, and were told to get back to America as best they could. The management of the house secured a high-class troupe of mixed artists in a huge holiday reopening. Among the colored stars were Emma Maitland, declared one of the prettiest girls on the stage today, and Theresa West, former star of "Shuffle Along" and "Dixie to Broadway."

The white actresses, discovering that there were no individual dressing rooms, and that both colored and white artists would have to use the same room, rebelled emphatically declaring that they would refuse to appear unless other arrangements were made. The management refused to change the rule, with the result that the colored stars are putting on a snappy revue and scoring big hits at every performance.

CHINESE DRAW COLOR LINE IN LONDON RESTAURANT

An English Judge Decides That the Chinaman Was Acting Within His Rights in So Doing

From the London "Daily News"

Certainly no bigger than a man's hand was the cloud which darkened for a few moments yesterday the serenity of Mr. Mead's court at Marlborough street. A mere matter of the refusal of a Chinese licensee to supply a colored man. Mr. Mead treated the whole affair with the summary common sense of the ordinary intelligent and fair-minded Englishman. Every refreshment house keeper, he thought, could use his discretion as to whom he should serve; he considered there was no breach of the license, and dismissed the summons. At the same time, he said, he did not think it was fair.

Here is a place called a Chinese restaurant. No one in the world would expect that people keeping a Chinese restaurant would discriminate as to color. There is an invitation to all well-behaved people to go into this restaurant to get refreshment. They go. Then they are told they are not to be served. That is not fair.

And with a prosaic and rather dangerous suggestion that restaurant keepers who do not wish to serve colored people should put up a notice to that effect, Mr. Mead dismisses the summons and the subject. Solomon himself in similar circumstances could probably have done nothing else. Yet there is a sinister parallel in this little trivial case to the old servant's remark in Karl Radek's famous play. She begins reading in the newspaper the brief paragraph that the Robots have formed a trade union. "That's nothing," she says, "I don't understand it," and does not read to the end. It was only her own death warrant and the doom of the entire society of which she was a humble representative that she had neither the patience to read nor the intelligence to understand. And how many of us have?

There may be something to be said for closing the eyes to a coming danger; there is evidently much to be said for not merely staring at it indefinitely in paralyzed impotence; but there is also surely something to be said for once in a while looking it calmly in the face. Tick off on your fingers the places in the wide earth where the little cloud which hung over Mr. Mead's court yesterday already darkens the whole sky, heavy with imminent menace. There is South Africa, where "black outnumbers white by four to one," as Mr. Ramsay Muir reminds us today. There is India, where the British peace creates a population problem growing yearly more serious. There is Japan with its land hunger, and North Africa, where France is drilling her black regiments and Australia, where the menace of yellow invasion forever before her eyes, and China writhing in vain—but who shall say if forever in vain?—against white "penetration." There is America, with her many-sided race problems, her lynchings and immigration laws, and Canada, with her periodic alarms. It is not a subject for an article, nor even for a book; there is matter here for a whole library. But is not the moral clear? We chatter about our population questions and our emigration schemes; but unless we can arrive at some real philosophy of the color question our debates are probably idle. Another issue, slowly but certainly arising, will overshadow and engulf them. Mere force is a vain argument, as history has proved times out of mind; mere opportunism—mere dismissal of the summons—is hardly better, for it will only come up in another form. What then, is our answer to be?

Race Problem—1925.
Mexico and Central America.

RESOLUTION WOULD BAR NEGROES FROM HONDURAS

Incorporation of Blacks by Banana Shippers Seen as Menace

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS, Jan. 27.—A resolution to amend the immigration law so as to bar negroes from Honduras was introduced in the national congress today, the reason for the resolution is the alleged menace created along the Atlantic coast by the importation of negroes by banana shipping companies to compete with native labor.

This immigration is declared to have brought about numerous clashes in which there have been many casualties among the negroes as well as among the native population.

BLACK FOLKS NOT WANTED IN SALVADOR

SAL SALVADOR, May 18.—(A. N. P.)—The Salvadorean Congress has approved a motion forbidding the entry into Salvador of members of the black races.

In official documents this country is termed El Salvador, and is the smallest and most densely populated of the Central American Republics. Population numbering less than two millions is composed chiefly of mixed stocks, Indians, Portuguese, Mexicans and whites. Separate schools are maintained for the pure whites and Indians.

San Salvador Sets Up Color Bar

SAN SALVADOR, May 3.—All colored persons will be barred from entering this republic, according to a law just passed by the Salvadorean Congress.

San Salvador, which is in Central America, has an area of 7,225 square miles and a population of 1,500,000.

As Salvadoreans are a mixture of Spanish, Indian and Negro, being rather dark in complexion, it is being wondered whether the congress is aiming at a wholesale expulsion of the population, including many of the congressmen themselves.

Colored Workers in Costa Rica

WASHINGTON.—Of the total work force of 9,000 employees of Costa Rica, 75 per cent of 4,000 working on railroads, 80 per cent of 2,000 working for independent planters, 50 per cent of 600 working in fruit growing occupations, 30 per cent of 1,850 working in railway occupations, 20 per cent of 450 working for tradesmen and merchants, and 5 per cent of 300 working in unclassified occupations are Negro workers.

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
MAY 4, 1925

SALVADOR BAN ON NEGROES

SAN SALVADOR, Republic of Salvador, May 3.—The Salvadorean Congress has approved a motion forbidding the entry into Salvador of members of the colored race.

L. I. CITY N. Y. DAILY STAR
AUGUST 13, 1925

The Mexican Government today rejected a petition fro sugar interests to permit the entrance of negro labor into L California from the United States, saying that with the nu of Japanese and Chinese already in the country the prese large numbers of negroes would prove a serious race proble

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
AUGUST 23, 1925

Mexico Will Bar Our Negroes.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 22.—The Mexican Government will prohibit the entrance of American negroes, despite the request of planters in Sonora, Sinaloa, Lower California, for request for permission. The Government states that with Chinese and Japanese problems it is not wise to introduce another elsewhere.

Mexico Objects to All-Negro Colony

MEXICO CITY, Mex., Feb. 12.—(A. N. P.)—According to reliable information given out here the interior department has rejected an application from an organization said to represent American colored men and women which wished to colonize 1,000 families in this country. President Calles, in his recent visit to the United States, declared that he hoped to go back home and build a school like Tuskegee.

SAY MEXICO REFUSES TO ADMIT NEGROES

NEW YORK, Aug. 28—(By A. N. P.) According to dispatches from Mexican newspapers the Mexican government will prohibit the entrance of colored workers into the country. Permission is said to have been denied sugar planters in lower California to import colored labor, due, so the report runs, to the diffilulties the Mexican government is already having with Chinese and Japanese immigrants.

Mexico Calls a Halt on Soviet Activity; Calles Denies Bolsheviki Have a Base There

Copyright, 1925, by The New York Times Company.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, May 5.—The Mexican Government gave warning today that Soviet Russia would not be permitted to carrie on Bolshevist operations here. The statement made by Tchitchevin Soviet Foreign Secretary, that the Soviet had a base in Mexico brought a sharp statement direct from President Calles that Mexico under no consideration would permit the preaching of doctrines foreign to the understanding of Mexicans or any attempt to teach Mexican doctrines which could influence Mexican hopes of working out their own salvation. President Calles stated the Russian's speech may have been misunderstood but the Mexican Government felt obliged to clear up the points mentioned by Tchitcherin. The Calles statement was forced by the activity of reds in Mexico for the past few months. Rumors in all parts of Mexico have whispered that the Russian Embassy in Mexico City was actively working to develop disciples among the Mexican people and that certain troubles among cotton mill workers and other factories could be traced to influences of representatives of the Soviet The climax was reached during the May day parade when groups of radicals in speeches opposed to parade of laborers and used harsh language aaginst the President and some members of the cabinet. It was stated that the Russian Minister was seen close in contact with these radical groups.

The New York Times correspondent can say semi-official information that the Calles Government's tired of trouble caused by Russians and other Europeans and has decided to maintain a close watch on the activities of known radicals, among them the Soviet Minister and his associates.

The first move made to renew radical activities will be a sign for the dismissal of the Minister and possibly the breaking of relations between Mexico and Soviet Russia.

Mexicans feel that Mexico has enough troubles of its own without having alien groups stirring up more. They also believe the United States under no consideration would permit Russia to establish a Bolshevist base in Mexico.

Race Problem—1925.
Moving Pictures Relating to.

WEST VIRGINIA SUPREME COURT BARS "BIRTH OF NATION" FILM

T. G. Nutter of Local N. A. A. C. P. Tells How Victory was Won

New York, April 14.—Colored citizens of Charleston and of the state of West Virginia have won a great victory before the State Supreme Court which has decided that "The Birth of a Nation" shall not be exhibited in the Rialto Theatre in Charleston.

"The Birth of a Nation" was to be shown April 1 to 4, and the city had been flooded with advertisements. Thursday afternoon, March 26, T. G. Nutter, President of the Charleston Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, together with W. W. Sanders, vice-president of the N. A. A. C. P. Branch and State Supervisor of Negro Schools Capt. G. E. Ferguson, hotel proprietor and former member of the N. A. A. C. P. Branch executive committee, called on Mayor W. W. Wertz. The delegation protested against the film being shown in violation of a special law which colored leaders put through the legislature in 1919, expressly to prohibit this film.

Mr. Nutter informed Mayor Wertz he had power to prevent the showing under that statue as well as by exercise of the police power of the city. The Mayor after consultation with the City Solicitor notified the theatre managment that "The Birth of a Nation" should not be shown and that if attempts were made to show it, he would confiscate the film and arrest the manager and all the employees of the theatre, also any owner of the film who might be in Charleston.

The Mayor asked Attorney T. G. Nutter to prepare the necessary affidavits describing the film and showing violation of the law. Thereupon the management asked for a committee of colored citizens to view the picture to see if objectionable portions could be cut out. Through Mr. Nutter 30 colored people appeared but declined to reach any agreement other than withdrawal of the film.

The management held up the film long enough to apply to the Judge of the Common Please Court of Kanawaha county for an injunction restraining Mayor Wertz and Chief of Police John Britton from inteferring with the film. Judge Owen granted a temporary injunction and the picture was shown twice that day. Appeal to the Circuit Court the next day resulted in dissolution of the injunction and the picture was not shown that day.

The following day, Friday, April 3, the theatre people applied to the Supreme Court of Appeals for an appeal and supercedeas from the order dissolving the injunction. The Virginia Amusement Co., in its petition set forth that the Mayor's threat to arrest all the theatre employees and to seize film and projection apparatus would be confiscation of property without due process of law.

The Mayor replied that nothing would be done to interfere with the production until the scene was reached where "A white girl is chased by a Negro from a spring and she jumps from a precipice; the moment that part of the picture was reached warrants would be served and the film and machine would be taken as evidence." The Judge held warrants could be served and arrests made but film and machine could not be seized and issued a sweeping injunction prohibiting the Mayor and the Police

By FLOYD G. SNELSON, JR.

NEW YORK CITY, April 28 — Theater crowds viewed with great consternation and humiliation "Free and Equal," a Thomas Ince photoplay that was made some years ago following the advent of "Birth of a Nation," which was revived and brought to the Astor theatre in Times Square by Al. Woods last week. It made a ridiculously graceful flop and was looked upon with derision, contempt and dastardly disgust by all who saw it, mostly white people.

The prologue runs about 15 minutes and has 11 people, all colored, in it. It is a levee scene, with five dancers and six singers, plantation melodies and some fast stepping for applause. Jack Richardson, who plays the Negro who poses as a white in the picture, appeared in person and plays the role of an educated Negro who is trying to exhort his fellows to make the most of their opportunities to assert themselves as the equals of the white mentally, socially and physically. At the close of the picture he is again in the epilog awakening from a dream which the picture is supposed to represent and says that Booker T. Washington is right—the Negro must stay in his place.

The picture in brief has as its theme the question of the equality of the races. Judge Lowell believes that he can solve the question by taking a mixed blood who looks like he were a white man into his home as his secretary and has him pose as a white. In the end the mixed blood commits a murder after having married the daughter of his benefactor secretly, the girl believing him to be white, and messed up the works generally.

There is no chance for the picture to get a nickel anywhere. It is not only old-fashioned, but so crudely done that the Sunday night audience laughed it practically out of the theatre. Any exhibitor who takes it after it has played Broadway will gain nothing but the ill will of his audience.

"Free and Equal" is just so much junk.

N. A. A. C. P. HELPS STOP "BIRTH NATION"

New York, N. Y., February 17, 1925. United protest of colored people of Hartford, Connecticut, led by colored ministers and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has resulted in the Mayor of Hartford ordering two theatres where "The Birth of a Nation" film was to be shown, to show some other picture as that one could not be permitted in the city.

Mrs. Mary E. Seymour, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the local N. A. A. C. P. states that the coming together in 24 hours of all Negro organizations to stop the showing of this vicious film is the most encouraging sign of unity she has ever observed in Hartford.

SPOKANE BARS DIXON'S "BIRTH OF A NATION"

SPOKANE, Wash., March 4.—The protest of the N. A. A. C. P., headed by Rev. E. B. Reed, Pastor of Calvary Baptist church (colored) against the showing of the "Birth of a Nation" resulted in the outlawing of the film in this city last week.

The City Council under the direction of Dan Dunning, secretary to Commissioner of Public Safety, ordered the picture stopped. The engagement of the picture was at one of the city's leading theatres.

W. VA. SUPREME COURT BARS BIRTH OF NATION

Colored citizens of Charleston and of the State of West Virginia have won a great victory before the State Supreme Court which has decided that "The Birth of a Nation" shall not be exhibited in the Rialto Theatre in Charleston.

"The Birth of a Nation" was to be shown April 1 to 4, T. G. Nutter, W. W. Sanders of the N. A. A. C. P., Capt. G. E. Ferguson, hotel proprietor, called on Mayor W. W. Wertz and urged banning of the play.

'Mixed Blood' New Show At The Dunbar

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Apr. 16. —Next week the Lafayette Players will offer at Gibson's New Dunbar theater a new drama, which is said to be the greatest dramatic wallop of the season, "Mixed Blood."

It certainly is remarkable how this group of players have built up the business at the Dunbar theater. They have become more than an asset, they have actually become a necessity. The line of plays they have offered have filled a demand long felt by the people of Philadelphia, and it is hoped that they will remain here for many weeks to come. Each individual player has so endeared himself in the hearts of Philadelphians that it would result in nothing short of a catastrophe should any of them be omitted from the roster of the company.

When the play "Mixed Blood" was selected for presentation in Philadelphia the players felt that they had discovered a play that would prove a sensation. God created us all to live our lives and make those about us and ourselves happy while time flies and leaves the mark of ages on our souls. Have we a right to interfere with this way of things, and take into our own hands the destiny of eternity? What of those who become enmeshed in our misdeeds and pay the price in broken hearts—what of conscience—what of love for our fellow beings?

These problems are treated in a most usual fashion in "Mixed Blood" and Evelyn Ellis and Lionel Monagas have parts that stand out and offer them the greatest opportunity of their lives to demonstrate their powers in dramatic art.

Special matinees Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday will be for the ladies only.

PREJUDICE FILM IS CONSIDERED A 'FLOP'

Story Of Ince Picture More Devilish In Intent Than His "Birth of A Nation"

QUOTED BOOKER WASHINGTON

New York Reviewers Style Film "Junk"

"Free and Equal," the most devilishly conceived picture since the infamous "Birth of a Nation" was screened at the Astor Theatre, New York City, on Sunday, April 19th. Such a "fizzle" was it that it was freely predicted that the picture would expire before a week's showing had been attained.

A. H. Woods, it is said, purchased the picture from the late Thomas Ince for $65,000. Because of its boldness in baring racial conditions it was expected to be a sensational moneymaker. Censors, however, had eliminated much of the expected punch when the film had its premier. The picture has been in storage for the last eight or 10 years. Stories circulated at the first showing say that after a three days' showing in Los Angeles that exhibitors there told the producer that if the film was not withdrawn serious results would follow.

In Prologue

The New York debut was preceded by a prologue by 11 colored people. It was a levee scene with dancing and the singing of plantation songs.

The Story

The leading male character is played by Jack Richardson, white. The story deals with an educated Negro who attempts to exhort his people tto make the most of their opportunities, to assert themselves as the equals of the whites, mentally, socially and physically. At the close of the picture he is again in the epilog awaking from a dream, and says that Booker Washington was right, THE NEGRO MUST STAY IN HIS PLACE.

Socila Equality

In brief, the picture has as its theme, the equality of the races. Judge Lowell believes that he can solve the race problem by taking a mulatto who looks like whit, into his home, as a secretary and having him pose for white. In the end

the mixed blood commits a murder after having married the daughter of his benefactor secretly. The girl believes him to be white.

Called "Junk"

Consensus of New York reviewers is that the picture is one of the worst "flops" in years. It is said to be crudely made, and acted worse. One writer says that "Free and Equal" is just so much "junk" Thomas H. Ince, deceased, is recalled as the director who made the picture, "Birth of a Nation," from Thomas Dixon's Clansman. The latter film being opposed by Negroes wherever screened.

Elevator Man Quits

It is reported that the elevator conductor who had been employed at the theatre for 13 years was so incensed at the story, after he had viewed the picture that he left the car on the ground floor and threw up his job. He is said to have told A. H. Woods, that he would not work for a man who showed a picture of that character.

DIXON'S "HATE-PICTURE" IS BARRED FROM OHIO

Supreme Court Upholds Ban On The Grounds Of Picture's Falsity, Crime And Prejudice

COLUMBUS, O., June 10.—The motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," has been barred from the state of Ohio forever.

Last week, in the Ohio State Supreme court the order of Vernon M. Riegel, state director of education, barring the film on the ground that it is "not true to history, that it portrays scenes of crime and that it appeals to race prejudices" was affirmed.

Decision of the court ended a fight waged by the Epoch Producing Co. to have the picture approved for exhibition in Ohio.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., BARS "BIRTH OF A NATION"

The Supreme Court of West Virginia by dissolving an injunction secured by the Birth of Nation Film Corporation and a local theatre restraining the Mayor and City authorities of Charleston, West Virginia, from interfering with the showing that abominable film in that city, performed a public service that amounts almost to a patriotic service.

The Birth of A Nation film has done more to foment prejudice and intensify racial hatred in the entire United States than any other agency.

Since it was first thrown on the screen it has furnished every flannel-mouthed two by four southern politician with new campaign material to fire his followers against the Negro.

In northern cities and communities it aroused prejudices where there was little or none. In the South it intensified prejudice and aroused a hatred more bitter and intolerant than existed inn the years immediately following the Civil War.

Worst than all its damnable achievements it inspired the revival of the aggregation of organized cut throats, the Ku Klux Klan, who masquerade in sheets and hoods to terrorize, brutalize and murder Negroes at their will without fear of detection and fear of punishment.

While Interracial Committees throughout the South are bending every effort to harmonize differences and bring the races together in close sympathy and accord, the "Birth of A Nation" film and its revived progeny continue their work of stirring up and keeping alive prejudice and hatred.

There should be a determined movement to suppress the infamous film and banish it from the picture playhouses.

SHOW 'BIRTH OF A NATION' AS N.A.A.C.P. CONVENES

Infamous Griffith Film Draws to Large Crowds At White Playhouse While Delegates Discuss "Important" Foreign Affairs.

DENVER, Colo., July 9.—Denver, last week, was hostess to the national convention of the N. A. A. C. P. and the "Birth of a Nation," infamous Griffith film.

The film, which has been playing for years in various sections of the country and always at the protest of various civic bodies, usually headed by the local branches of the N. A. A. C. P., the appearance of the film this week, went on unmolested.

The picture was advertised as "An American Picture for Americans" and enjoyed a prosperous run while delegates from the convention, awarded the Spingarn Medal and discussed the situation in Haiti.

Race Problem - 1925
Moving Pictures Relating to.

THE SOUTH SETS AN EXAMPLE

As AN EXAMPLE of what can be done to heal the breach (?) between the two races, witness what happened in Charleston, West Virginia, when an attempt was made to show the famous as well as infamous, put passe "The Birth of a Nation" picture. Pittsburgh Courier

A committee of determined Negroes, led by a colored lawyer, and assisted by the Mayor of the city carried the fight to the highest court in the state and succeeded in stopping the exhibition of the film. 4-17-25

West Virginia is general conceded to be a Southern State and any Northern State which has permitted the show of this picture should blush with shame. If West Virginia had permitted the screening of this film it would have been only what we expected. But West Virginia has set an example. She elected to act humane. She has shown that it is possible for the two races to live together in peace and harmony, with all the rights and privileges guaranteed under the Constitution.

If Mayor Wertz is an example of the kind of men produced by the Mountain State, who can blame any of its colored citizens for casting his vote for the State's Democratic candidate for President last fall.

The Mayor certainly voices the sentiments of fair-minded, loyal Americans of both races who have seen the film, when he said:

"It is the worst thing I ever saw, and I cannot understand why any law abiding citizen should bring such a picture to Charleston. It will not be shown so long as I am Mayor of Charleston."

Infamous Film Checked When Leaders Dig Up Bill Passed For That Purpose

City Flooded With "Paper" Telling of Coming of D. W. Griffith's Hate-Producing Movie; Then Leaders Act and Show Is Stopped.

CHARLESTON, W. Va., April 9.—The colored citizens of Charleston and of the State of West Virginia won a great victory on Friday, April 3, when the Supreme Court decided that "The Birth of a Nation" should not be exhibited in the "Rialto Theater" of Charleston.

"The Birth of a Nation" was billed to show at the Rialto Theater April 10. April 4 the city had been flooded with advertisements and the local papers carried a quarter of a page of display ads. On Thursday afternoon, March 26, Attorney T. G. Nutter, president of the Charleston Branch N. A. A. C. P., W. W. Sanders, State Supervisor of Negro Schools, Vice President and Captain G. E. Ferguson, proprietor of the Hotel Ferguson and other Ferguson enterprises, and a former member of the executive committee of the branch, waited on Mayor W. W. Wertz and protested against the play being shown in the city in violation of a special law which the colored leaders put through the 1919 legislature, for the express purpose of prohibiting "The Birth of a Nation" being shown in West Virginia. Mayor Wertz asked if he had authority to prohibit the showing of the picture. Mr. Nutter suggested that he not only had the power to prohibit the showing of the picture under Chapter 37, passed by the 1919 legislature, but also under the police power of the city. The mayor stated that he would take the matter up with the city solicitor and give the committee an immediate answer. On Friday he informed the committee that he had notified the management that the picture could not be shown and if an attempt was made to show the picture he would confiscate the picture and arrest manager and all employes of the Rialto, and would also arrest owner or owners of picture if in the city. The management said they would show picture and fight it through to the bitter end. The mayor called in Attorney T. G. Nutter, and asked him to prepare necessary affidavits describing the picture and showing violations of law so that everything would be in readiness in the event resort was had to the courts. Numerous affidavits were prepared by Mr. Nutter and turned over to H. D. Runniwell, city solicitor.

The mayor called up Mr. Nutter about 5 o'clock Tuesday afternoon, stating that the management desired a committee of colored citizens to witness the play Tuesday evening at 11 o'clock to see if agreement could not be reached to cut out the objectionable features of the picture. About thirty colored citizens appeared at the designated hour, but absolutely refused to reach any agreement other than that the picture should not be shown.

The picture was to be shown at 2 P. M. Wednesday, but the management held up the picture in order to apply to Judge Morgan Owen, judge of the Common Pleas Court of Kanawha County, for injunction prohibiting Mayor Wertz and Chief of Police John Britton from interfering with the picture. Judge Owen granted a temporary injunction about 5:30 Wednesday and the picture was show twice that day. An appeal was taken by the city to Judge Arthur Hudson of the Circuit Court Thursday afternoon, and after very able arguments by attorneys representing the Virginian Amusement Company and the city, Judge Hudson dissolved the temporary injunction granted by Judge Owen and refused to suspend the same in order to give the picture people a chance to take the appeal to the Supreme Court; consequently the picture was not shown Thursday. Friday morning the theater people applied to the Supreme Court of Appeals for an appeal and supersedeas from the order of Judge Hudson dissolving the injunction granted by Judge Morgan Owen.

The Virginian Amusement Company in its petition for injunction set forth that the mayor had threatened to arrest all employees and to seize the film of the picture and the machine and other paraphernalia used in producing the picture, which would be a confiscation of their property without due process of law. The mayor replied that nothing would be done to interfere with the production of the picture until the scene in the picture was reached where "A white girl is chased by a Negro from a spring and she jumps from a precipice; the moment that part of the picture was reached warrants would be served and film and machine would be taken as evidence." Judge Owen held that warrants could be served and arrests made, but the film and machine could not be taken, as that would be "confiscation of property without due process of law, as parties were entitled to trial by jury," and issued a sweeping injunction prohibiting the mayor and chief of police from interfering with or hindering or preventing the plaintiffs or either of them from exhitibing the motion picture described in the bill entitled "The Birth of a Nation," at the theater in the City of Charleston, known as the Rialto, at any time during the period beginning on the 1st day of April, 1925, and the 4th day of April, 1925, inclusive, or at any other time." This sweeping injunction was dissolved by Judge Hudson of the Circuit Court on the ground that the "City authorities had a right to make the arrest under proper warrants charging that a crime had been committed and to seize the film, machine and other paraphernalia used in the production of the picture as evidence of the crime." The decision of Judge Hudson was unanimously sustained by the Supreme Court in refusing an appeal and supersedeas.

The fight made by Mayor W. W. Wertz and City Solicitor ex-Judge H. D. Rumminel stand unparalleled in the history of the State. They made it a persona laffair transcending mere official duty. Mayor Wertz was with the committee that witnessed the picture Tuesday evening and as soon as it was over rushed to the manager of the Rialto without consulting the committee and said "It is the worst thing I ever saw, and cannot understand why any law abiding citizen should bring such a picture to Charleston. It will not be shown as long as I am mayor of Charleston."

The city was assisted through the entire proceedings by Attorney T. G. Nutter, who had the support of the colored citizenship of the city.

Race Problem—1925
Pan-African Congress.

Chicago Defender
1-14-25

Chicago, Ill.

Has Part in Pan-African Congress

Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt, a daughter of the pioneer leader, Judge Gibbs, was educated in Oberlin college and became a teacher. She was married in 1900 to William H. Hunt, then United States consul to Madagascar, but later transferred to France, where they still reside. Although losing direct contact except at intervals, Mrs. Hunt has never ceased to raise her voice for her Race. Her residence in Madagascar and in Europe has increased her interest in the darker races and widened her outlook on world problems.

Upon before the Pan-African congress Dr. Gaines moved that the decrial of the conquest and exploitation of Africa, and in an American newspaper advocated a back to Africa movement. When a Pan-American congress was called in Paris in 1920, she was made second vice president and a member of the executive committee. At the second congress she read a paper on "Imperialism and the Darker Races" in English and French and at the third congress, held in London, she was a speaker and an active member.

Mrs. Hunt still retains her membership in many clubs and organizations in the States. She is on the committee of racial relations in the North, a member of the Book Lovers and the College Woman's club of Washington, D. C., a member of the N. A. A. C. P., a life member of the Association for the Study of Negro History. She is also a member of the French Red Cross, of a Feminist club, of Les Enfants a' la Montagne, and the club Franco Estranger (French and Foreigners club), of which her husband is president.

RACE PROBLEM-1925
UNITED STATES

Race Problem - 1925
United States.

See Also: Agriculture; Conditions, Improvement of.
Labor Conditions.
Amalgamation
Bibliography
Book Reviews
Church
Crime
Discrimination.
Education: Common Schools, Condition of
Common Schools, Improvement of.
Illiteracy.
Health
Immigration
Insurance, Fire and Life.
Jim Crow Car Laws.
Killings
Labor
Lawyers
Lynchings.
Money for Negro Education-Education.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Political
Race Relations: Improvement of
Examples of Co-operation.
Meetings, Conferences, etc.,
Racial Consciousness.
Race Problem — Moving Pictures.
Race Problem - West Indies.
Scholarship and Other Distinctions, - Education.
Secret Societies.
Segregation.
Self-Help
Slavery
Social conditions, etc.,
Soldiers
Sports.
Temperance
Theaters,
Theatrical Troupes, etc.,
Towns.
Woman's Work.

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

President Coolidge Denounced Race Hatred

(C. B. P.)
(Enterprise-Blade)

Washington, D. C., — Expressing a firm conviction that liberty and equality are common inheritances, that the philosophy of history does not seek to exalt one race at the expense of the other, denouncing race hatred and maintaining that education is breaking the force of this blighting influence, the address of President Coolidge at the laying of the cornerstone of the Jewish Community Center in this city not only made a deep impression upon the persons present, but also illuminated with a ray of hope the road to progress upon which twelve million American Negroes and citizens are courageously traveling.

"We have found," said the President, "that when men and women are left free to find the places for which they are best fitted, some few of them will indeed attain less exalted stations than under a regime of privileges, but that the vast multitude will rise to a higher level, to wider horizons, to worthier attainments. To go forward on the same broadening lines that have marked the national development thus far must be our aim."

Warning his hearers and the Nation that this is no easy thing to do, the President continued: "There is no straight and smooth and posted highway into the vast dim realms of the tomorrow. There are bogs and morasses, blind roads and bad detours. The race is always pioneering, it always has been and always must be. It dare not tire of unending effort and repeated disappointments. It must not in any moment of weariness or inertia cease from pressing on. The community or the civilization that ceases to progress begins that hour to recede. The work of spiritual unification is not completed. Factional, sectional, social and political lines of conflict yet persist. Despite all experience, society continues to engender the hatreds and jealousies whereof are born domestic strife and international conflicts. But education and enlightment are breaking their force. Reason is emeging." Thus spoke our President.

STOCKTON CAL. EVE. RECORD
APRIL 25, 25

NEGRO QUESTION CENTRAL CHURCH THEME SUNDAY

RACE PROBLEMS TO BE DISCUSSED

Life as a Pilgrimage to Be Topic of Morning Sermon

Race relationship and race prejudice have always been one of the greatest of human problems. Some one has said that the United States has too many people who have the Negro question on the brain, but not much brain on the Negro question. The illustrated address, "The Tenth American," which Dr. Milnes will give at Central Church on Sunday evening while presenting some of the factors which enter into this pressing national problem, also emphasizes a fact not always so quickly recognized, which is, that the great colored race has been making remarkable progress and is a decided economic and social asset to our country. If given fair opportunity he, himself, would largely solve the "Negro Problem."

In keeping with the thought of the evening, the choir will sing "Somebody's Knocking at Your Door," one of the Negro spirituals. As a tribute to what the Negro has added to the world of music, the choir is arranging for a whole evening of Negro spirituals and compositions, to be presented May the 17th. For the service on Sunday night, Mr. Brueck at the organ will play, "Organ Processional" (Marden), "Melodie Mignon" (Morse), and "Postlude in D, No. 3" (Maitland).

At the morning service, Dr. Milnes will continue the theme of the sermon last Sunday, which considered life as a pilgrimage, and speak on the subject, "Forgetting and Remembering." The choir will sing, "Let the People Praise Thee" (Spence) and the male quartet, "I'm But a Stranger Here" (Wilson).

Dr. F. K. Baker, superintendent of the Sacramento district, will be the speaker at the meeting of the Men's Club on Tuesday evening. The subject announced is "The Boy in the Making." Men of the church and their friends are urged to make reservations early.

Mr. and Mrs. George O. Washburn will entertain the members of their group at their home, 673 Lexington, on Saturday evening. They are two leaders who, with other leaders of church units, will come together at the close of the Church Night program on Wednesday evening to talk over the problems and opportunities which confront church members.

Regular church attendants are looking forward to next Sunday evening, May the 3d, when the A Capella choir of the College of the Pacific, as guests of the church, will give an evening of worship in song.

ALBANY GA. HERALD
MAY 13 1925

THE BLACK MAN NORTH AND SOUTH.

Among the popular fallacies of the North is "mistreatment of the negro" by the white people of the South. Nobody has ever contended that the Southern negro is always given a square deal, but neither are there any so brazen as to maintain that there is not such a thing as rank social and industrial injustice in the North.

It is only when a Northerner comes South to live, or to sojourn for a sufficient length of time to make it possible to learn the truth, that the atmosphere is cleared. A Northern newspaper man who recently returned to New York after working for some time on one of the Atlanta papers is thus quoted:

> With amazement I looked at the racial problem. Where were those lynchings, that terrible oppression of the colored man? It was not to be seen. The white man has treated his black fellow with a paternal kindness and helpfulness in most instances. The schools, colleges, theaters, organizations of the negro are a constant marvel when it is considered that two and three generations ago these people were jungle dwellers, savages, idol worshipers, uncivilized and untutored. It is as much to the unbounded credit of the negro that he sought and reached the higher goal as it is a tribute to the sagacity and kindness of the white people. These things I saw and others.

The Southern white man may not always be exactly fair to the black, but neither is he always exactly fair to the other white man. He is a human being, and as such he is bound to err. However, he is far more just to the black man than are the white people among whom the black man finds himself when he moves to a Northern community. That is the deliberate judgment of those who have put aside prejudice and endeavored to arrive at a dispassionate judgment. The so-called "race problem" is no more of the South today that it is of the North. Above the Mason and Dixon line the colored man often finds himself the victim of a more unreasonable prejudice than ever existed in the South, and there is lacking that sympathetic understanding which is only possible as the result of such contacts between the two races as have existed in the South since the passing of slavery.

COLLECTOR ARRESTED ON CHARGE OF THREATENING NEGRO

(Preston News Service)

Helena, Ark., April 8.—D. F. Rowan, collector for a local loan company, was fined $50 in municipal court today on a charge of carrying a pistol. The charge by a Negro truck driver who said he had been threatened was brought.

According to the story told by police, Rowan went to the truck driver's home to collect on a loan and flourished his pistol when te Negro declined to pay, whereupon the truck driver took the weapon away from the collector and turned the man and his pistol over to the police.

SAVANNAH, GA. NEWS
MAY 22 1925

LEMON SPEAKS AT SCHOOL EXERCISES

Advises Colored Youth of Dorchester Academy

The annual commencement exercises of the Dorchester Academy were concluded yesterday with one of the best programs of the school's history. The school year has been exceedingly satisfactory in attendance and work accomplished, and Principal E. S. Richardson and his corps of teachers are gratified at the results of their labors.

The annual commencement address was delivered by Attorney J. G. Lemon of Savannah, who chose for his subject, "The Adjustment of the New Negro to His Surroundings." He said in part:

"The problem of our times, often called the race problem, is essentially and fundamentally a problem of adjustment of community forces. There is change on every hand rapid and ponderous, in everything which makes up our present advancing civilization. This is not only the most interesting period of the world's history up to this date, it is also the most revolutionary in its character, the most dramatic in its manifestations, the most portentious in its eternal effects and results.

"There is an entirely new cast of characters in the present drama of life, as compared to that of former years. The motif of the drama is different, the climaxes so unlike any which have preceded the present. The scenes, the settings, the trappings, the audience, even, are all quite unlike those of the past.

"There is a new Negro, just the

same as there is a new white man, in the Southland. These represent the community forces, the actors in the drama, of our times. The past is dead, forever; the present is typical of more abundant life, widening opportunity, growth, everywhere and in everything.

"These forces, very real and powerful in their spheres, must be properly co-ordinated, must be brought into proper relation and co-operation, if all would be well, if all should advance, if the community and generation shall get the greatest net results from these valuable forces, if civilization shall advance and the happiness and prosperity of the whole body politic shall increase.

"All of you, graduate and undergraduate in school or out of it, young and old, man and woman, must be a part of the great procession of events which make up the history of an advancing civilization; you must observe and serve the struggle of our own people, along with the vast throng of others, to attain the higher places of earth, the status of culture, high morality and economic independence."

Continuing, the speaker advised the coming generation of colored youth that the three great qualities of the successful young Negro of today are knowledge, wisdom and enthusiasm. "Knowledge," he said, "is a clear perception of truth or fact; skill, information. The school is the great storehouse from which knowledge is gained. Here, mind and body are fashioned and furnished with skill for life's duties. But there can be no success with knowledge, alone. There must be wisdom, too. And, contrary to the common view there is a marked distinction between knowledge and wisdom. If one is more essential and indispensable than the other, it is wisdom. Wisdom, the rarer of these qualities, 'is knowledge practically applied to best ends; skill in affairs; natural sagacity.' And herein lie the thing of transcendent importance to the young of the South; herein lies the fine distinction I wish to impress.

"Many, possessed of the learning and lore of the ages, reflecting the culture of their times in many ways, yet fail for lack of wisdom, the ability to apply, sensibly and practically, their knowledge to best ends. Many young people, white and black, leave school, go back to their communities, and because of the knowledge they possess, and the wisdom which they lack, make trouble for themselves and for others; they block the wheels of progress; make trouble for everybody; retard and defeat the aims of civilization. Frequent clashes, between whites and blacks, are more often traceable to a lack of wisdom on the part of one or the other or both of the contending parties, than to any other cause. Wisdom is patient, liberal, just, tolerant. I adjure you, then, in the words of the scriptures: 'In all thy getting, get wisdom'."

Feeling Sorry for the South

The favorite indoor and outdoor sport in the North and East when economics is under discussion, seems to be a brand of commiseration peculiar to those sections, professing a great interest and towering pity for the South. Just why this should be so is not altogether apparent.

When one is disposed to permit the tear ducts to overflow and pent-up advice flood the poor devils of the South, it might be well to remember that it is not yet half a century since we were entertaining, with such grace as we could muster, hordes of carpetbaggers, left over as a result of the civil war, to destroy what was left by the titanic conflict of a people engaged in a struggle to the finish.

With precious little left other than land upon which to build, the South set about accommodating itself to the new conditions which had been forced upon it by the debris of war. Worse than the material damage done, and that was quite sufficient to discourage a less determined people, was the prejudice which throve and grew amazingly. Happily, except in those benighted quarters which yet bathe themselves in tears for the darkness of this section, there is a new and better viewpoint.

The idea of a manufacturing people seems to be that all effort not expressing manufacture is just so much lost motion. It is quite true in many parts of the South manufacturing promises greater profit than agriculture. But one must take into acount the fact that changing from rural pursuits to those of the mill and factory is a process slow to mature. Yet what would the less favored sections, viewed from the standpoint of food and raiment products, do were we of the South to abandon our farms as they have so largely done in New England? The abandoned farms of that section are famed in song, story and fact.

The one incident of our habits of life here which is always fruitful in producing expressions of pity lies in the large number of tenant farmers and the relatively small number engaged in millwork and manufacturing. We are told, by no less an authority than the New York World, which is remarkably free of what we know as sectional prejudice, that one of our fundamental economic troubles lies in negro tenancy, and we are assured we shall never attain full economic acomplishment until negroes become owners of the land. The negro is welcome to own all the land he may acquire. But for that matter, so is the white tenant farmer.

In Texas we have too large a proportion of tenant farmers. But this fact does not provide means of converting tenant farmers into farm owners, and the chances are if we could, through any legerdemain, do just that, the great bulk of them would rush off to towns as soon as they could "step on the gas," so to speak.

When we look about us and the census tells us of our growing wealth, we are not disposed to quarrel with the fate which has been ours. We have not yet attained perfection in performance or profits, but we have little of that grinding poverty they have in the arid manufacturing centers of the East, even if we have less plutocrats and multi-millionaires than they have. But even in the matter of millionaires, we are quite as well off as we should wish to be. Our cities are growing marvelously and our farms are becoming more and more attractive as we are reaching them with conveniences and comforts of life which render them far better places in which to work out one's destiny.

The solution does not lie in the negro becoming the owner of the land any more than it lies in the white tenant becoming a landowner. We are working out our destiny, and we are making progress which is the marvel of those who knew the South 50 years ago and know it now. Today there is no section of this country where energy and industry and thrift are so bountifully rewarded as in the South. There is no section which offers more in comfort and in happiness. We have suffered the handicap of having to pay tribute to the Eastern manufacturer. But the time is coming on the wings of industry and experience when the difference between the sections is approaching the vanishing point.

The East is foolish to cry out against the South producing its long-time standby, its great money crop. Incidentally, so long as cotton sells at a profitable figure it will be useless to inveigh against its production, and the East, furthermore, is silly to urge us to leave their mills idle because we do not raise the raw commodities to keep them running.

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

The Second Emancipation of the American Negro

LIKE a continental water-shed determining the course of the drainage of separate general systems of water into absolutely distinct rivers and reservoirs, so the World War stands out in the life of the American Negro, dividing his cultural progress into two distinct periods: that preceding it and reaching back to the close of the War of the Rebellion; and that period beginning with the armistice in 1918, and in the midst of which we now find ourselves.

This new period is the beginning of a second emancipation of the American Negro. Its manifestations are seen and felt in the educational field as keenly as in any aspect of our racial life. This truth is put with prophetic insight in the Christian Century of May 28. In an editorial of that progressive journal, under the title, "Unrest in Negro Universities," the editor interprets the Fisk and Howard University episodes in such terms as should compel the attention of educators everywhere to a phenomenon in the unfolding cycle of Negro life to which many have hitherto been blind. The editorial says: "Such white organizations and persons as have an interest in the providing of education for Negroes will do well to begin to ask themselves whether or not a turning point has come in that enterprise?"

A turning point has indeed come in our educational development. It registers no lack of interest by us in education. In fact, we are moving forward in a more passionate pursuit than ever before for educational values. Nor is there lacking on part of friends of the race and of general social progress a genuine interest in Negro education. It is just as true also that all who promote Negro education cannot be said to do so unselfishly. There are many who are committed to the education of the Negro merely that he may fit into a certain provincial or sectional scheme in the body politic. These would educate him and discipline him to articulate his thought and life with the foxy Southern theory of the Negro and his "place."

On the contrary, very much of the effort and contribution made during the last fifty years toward Negro education has been of the purely humanitarian type, divorced completely from any trace of selfishness. Such has been the character of the golden work done by the private denominational and parochial schools operating among us. This latter educational enterprise especially has led the Negro to the point where he has definitely, consciously set up a critique of every educational method and program which concerns him. That is but the normal reaction, the inevitable fruitage of an adequate educational process. To develop such an attitude of reflection is the function of education. Because he is aware of the studied and sinister effort sustained by certain "friends" of his to industrialize his education with a view to creating a Southern laboring class; and because education of the right kind develops an expanding ambition to rise to any position and relation which one's talents and culture fit him for in the social order, the young Negro has at last arrived at the point where he simply will not accept education on the same basis on which it has been offered him by the "interests" ever since the Civil War. He will not be educated as a black man to serve white men, but as a man to serve humanity; for he knows that true education does not make black men or white men; it makes only men. Says the Christian Century wisely, "Any enterprise, educational or otherwise, which seeks to work among Negroes at the present moment, must take into account all these elements."

Say what we will, act as we may, the World War created a new race consciousness, or awakened a slumbering one in the Negroes of this country. We are a different group from our fathers. We will simply not endure what they endured. Not all the subterfuges nor all the theories of the most artful and prolific imagination and legislation can keep the young Negro in such a "place" as the Southern civilization has striven so desperately for the last fifty years to confine him to. In political, civic, and religious as well as educational matters, we will accept no restraints on ourselves that a democratic society does not impose upon others. The youth movement with all its spirit of expressiveness is abroad in the world, possessing our youth along with others. Emotions cannot be classified on the basis of color or race. The Negro knows he is living in a new day, when, like all other folks, he is an heir of the best of the ages, and he will have what is due him, despite obstructions by his enemies. Says the Christian Century: "He is standing with his eyes alight with a great race pride and race hope, and he refuses to be any longer considered in any category other than his fellow white man. If whites do not prove themselves big enough to meet him in that mood and work with him on that plane, then their further attempts to lift him are doomed." This is that emancipation of spirit to which the first emancipation was as the dawn's gray streaks to the resplendent glories of the meridian sun.

—The kingdom of happiness is within you.
—An army held in camp soon needs a hospital.
—Scandal and religion can never have fellowship.
—An overdone sermon is always short on vitamines.
—There is a cult of great men; we spend our lives in mastering its principles.
—A clerical acrobat may give a brilliant performance, but sooner or later he will bruise his head in a somersault.

SOCIAL MISFORTUNE NOT RACIAL DISGRACE

Some of the things which occur in the every day existence of society, among which crime is the leader, are not racial deficiencies as much as they are social misfortunes. They occur, not as the result of racial or organic tendencies so much as because of the fact that certain conditions maintain in society and that the individuals who make up that society are not equally fortunate in the ability to take advantage of all the opportunities which life in that society should guarantee.

It has been told in America for many years that the Negro race was primarily criminal; and it has come to be so considered by even the majority of the members of the race themselves. But nothing could be farther from the actual fact. Crime is individual and not racial. It is a reflection on society as a whole and not on the race as such. And, realizing as we do that, because of this unfairness in featuring the news of crime as it goes on in our country today, the lot of the race is made harder, but at the same time that we seek to make the more constructive achievements of the race stand out to counteract this influence, make definite efforts to convert, first ourselves, and then others to the realization of the fact that the race cannot in fairness be made to bear the blame for the commission of crime by the individual.

It may be true that, in proportion to the population, Negroes commit more crime than others. But this is a thing which must not be readily admitted without recourse to accurate figures. But this can be said in regard to it; that taking into consideration their lack of proper educational facilities ,the poor living conditions under which they are forced to live in all of the cities of the country, their repression in the matter of cultural contacts and the discriminations as to their rights in court and otherwise, there is evidence. A society which not only allows, but seems to force a group to live in such environment as does the Negro in the majority of cases, cannot by any means hold itself blameless when individuals of that depressed group, break its laws and committ deplorable outrages. That group is at it because the rest of the society of which it is a part, helps and forces it to a state of arrested development along

the lines of social perfection. The following facts prove that this is so; in Texas, in spite of compulsory school laws 42.2 per cent of Negro children are out of school; according to the present length of Texas school term for Negro children, it would take the average Negro child 18.9 years to finish an elementary course; the investment in Negro education per child in 1923 was $13.72 while that for every white child was $48.61. A survey of Negro homes and living conditions in a Dallas recently disclosed the fact that over 50 per cent of the Negro homes were not equipped with drainage facilities and that more than 64.5 of them had neither sidewalks or paving and only half of them were fit for human habitation. All of this is true and in addition to this, segregation laws make it impossible for the removal of Negroes to districts which are suitable for their decent living. All of these poor conditions actually prevent cultural development. They are an effective bar to social progress. And when all of this is taken into consideration, it is easy to see that crime, as it concerns the Negro is more truly a social misfortune than it is a racial disgrace. It must be so considered before definite progress along the line of permanent improvement can be made. This consideration must be first had by us and we must constantly seek to impress it upon others whose help must be had in the improvement of the conditions which hinder.

STAND BY YOUR GUNS

Since the Interracial Committee has been named by the Community Welfare Federation and is composed of a group of well-meaning but poorly-advised whites who then selected a few Black men and women to sit and listen to their counseling and advising on exaggerated conditions existing among Black people in Los Angeles—which we claim must be met, overcome and worked out by ourselves through organizations of our own, operating according to programs of our own making—there has come to our knowledge information that this committee has begun functioning. One of its first acts is a call to various civic organizations to sit in council under their direction.

We have been gathering information and ideas from others about interracial committees, and from the Chicago Whip we quote the following:

"'Create an understanding between the intelligent and influential groups of both races, present the existing problems before them, and then sit down without bias and in all fairness and iron out your problems.' This is the appealing propaganda that has been disseminated by certain Black people who state that they are seeking to better the relations between the races. These interracial groups have been polluted and contaminated by poltroons who have never been seriously interested in adjusting racial difficulties, but, to the contrary, have been interested in securing personal power, aggrandizement and wealth. Race relations and interracial groups have been methods whereby philanthropic whites have been exploited and converted by selfish, avaricious Black men."

The reader will readily recognize the danger of interracial committees of the present-day type. Therefore, we feel that our attitude, which we have assumed against the establishing of such a committee in this community as being unwarranted, will in the future, if not in the present, find an expression of appreciation from the highly intelligent and best thinking Black Americans who are honestly and earnestly endeavoring to organize and develop race consciousness in our people.

We therefore call upon organizations, civic and religious, also individuals, to join with us in our fight against this dastardly attempt to establish in the State of California a precedent for the growth of JIMCROWISM and SEGREGATION. We want our readers to fully understand our position on this matter. First, we declare that neither by law, custom or practice does there exist in the State of California a condition of inequality. Second, there is not now and cannot ever be any organized and effectual effort to bring about such a condition unless we become participants in such a program.

This being the case, and especially so as set forth in the last line of our second reason, we must not accept the interracial committee, but stand firm in the determination to work out our future, overcome all obstacles, and rise to the full height of opportunity as is guaranteed to all citizens of California under its present constitution.

We further state for the benefit of our readers that if the present leadership which we have so long indulged and accepted is not big enough to meet these conditions and fight entirely in our interests, we must dethrone them and put others in their places.

This is the people's fight, and every man, woman and child should be interested in solving this vexatious question and adjusting this new and difficult situation. So we call upon you to rise and defend your interests and stand to the last by your guns.

ATLANTA, GA., Constitution

Pacific Defender

JUN 22 1925

7-2-25

Los Angeles Calif.

B. R. HOLMES SPEAKS ON 'RACE SOLIDARITY'

Rev. B. R. Holmes, president of B. R. Holmes' Institute delivered two addresses Sunday to colored citizens of Atlanta, in Pleasant Valley and Trinity A. M. E. churches on the subject, "Race Solidarity."

Holmes said that the colored race must co-operate in all interprises for advancement of the race and extension of God's Kingdom upon earth. No race which criticizes its leaders and best friends can reach its highest point of usefulness in the community and state where it resides, he said.

"Greater success awaits the colored race in America than any other section if its members will invest more of their earnings in education of their children, buying homes, and other investments which will bring them worthwhile returns."

Rev. J. A. Hadley, presiding elder of the South Atlanta district, said the efficient work of the Holmes Institute deserves support of the people of the city and south who are interested in the general welfare.

Addresses were made by Revs. H. R. Tomlin and Horace Williams on the progress of the colored people in the south.

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

WASH D C FELLOWSHIP FORU
MAY 4, 1925

"Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." --Stephen Decatur.

"WILL the North American Negro Survive?" is the title of an article, excellently written and deeply learned, in the April issue of the Country Editor. But the question raised by the article is not, after all, whether the negro race will survive in this country, but whether it will pollute the blood stream of the white race here? And that is a question which closely concerns all of us, a question to which the final answer may not be given for a thousand years, but which, for each successive generation, must be stoutly answered in the negative. In order to make the thundering NO of our generation effective, attention must be given to some of the things mentioned by the writer of the Country Editor article, Arthur F. Paddock.

A Clergyman, Negro Worship And the Future.

Mr. Paddock discussed what he calls "negro worship." He finds this worship to exist not alone in white men who debase themselves by cohabitation with negro women, but in the mental, or, as he calls it, emotional, attitude of an entirely different class of men who manifest "negro worship" in what the author calls "feats of obeisance." He refers specifically to a prominent New York Episcopal clergyman who recently said of the negro W. E. B. DuBois, "I know of no man belonging to any of the white races who is his superior either intellectually or spiritually."

Now, it happens that this mulatto, DuBois, is a militant advocate of a number of things that no man who is intellectually and spiritually strong would advocate in the United States. He is a preacher of complete social equality between white and black. He is a preacher of communion in the United States. It is almost inconceivable that a reputable Episcopal clergyman would attribute unsurpassed intellectual and spiritual strength to any man who holds these views, regardless of the race to which he happens to belong. But it is quite inconceivable that any well informed man should attribute to a mongrel of white and black intellectual powers equal to those of the most intellectual white man. That man is simply foolish who will contend that, at this time, a negroid strain can produce intellectual giants equal to those of the white races. Scientific investigation has clearly demonstrated that such a thing is impossible.

Many mulattos of the DuBois type are remarkably agile mentally. A part of this is heredity, from the white side of their ancestry. Part of it is sublimation of the inherent cunning of the black side of their ancestry. But since the black races are, as the science of ethnology clearly shows, intellectually inferior to the white races, a blend of inferior and superior could not produce a product surpassing the superior element in it.

It is these very intellectual mongrels who constitute the greatest menace to the maintenance of a pure white race in America. By the flashiness of their superficial intellect they inspire the "obeisance" of white men such as the New York clergyman. And every time that a white man makes such obeisance to a jungle idol, the negro whose mentality is scarcely above that of the ape feels that he is a little nearer to his ambition of taking a white woman to his couch.

The forces which work for the maintenance of a pure white race in America find their most difficult problem in such men as the New York clergyman. These men who debase their minds by "negro worship" are much more difficult to deal with, and much more dangerous to white civilization than are those who debase their bodies by cohabitation with negro wenches. The white man who lives in concubinage with a negro woman can sometimes be sent to jail. In any event, he may be ostracized and by force of public opinion driven from the community. Not so the man who abandons himself to, as Mr. Paddock says, "emotional" intercourse with the inferior race. How we are to deal with him is a problem yet unsolved. That he will be dealt with, and that effectively, in the end, goes without saying. What survives of the white race must emerge from the struggle with the black as pure as before the struggle began—and it can no more tolerate a worshiper of the negro "intelligentzia" than it can tolerate the debased white man with a negro paramour.

NEGRO HATING COUNTIES

Several of the counties in the northern section of Georgia have been known for a long time as Negro hating counties. It is understood that in several of these counties a colored man is not permitted to remain only until night fall and in others his presence is protested by violence to his person, without the least semblance of protection from the law officials. And all of this in a state representing the highest type of citizenship and enjoying the reputation of being believers in Him who came upon earth to save all manhood. These counties are a component part of a state that go to make up these United States, boasting the title of being the "home of the free and the land of the brave." All of this in civilized America.

The Atlanta Constitution, to its credit, has vigorously protested these un-American acts. Some of the citizens of Forsyth, the most offensive county, are smarting under the serious charge, and protested against it. The charge is substantiated by two white ladies in the following communications published in The Constitution:

"Editor Constitution: I notice a communication from J. E. Pruett, of Forsyth county, who states that his county has been misrepresented as to the attitude of the people regarding the Negro.

"About six weeks ago I left Marietta accompanied by a lady friend, her young son and her Negro chauffeur. He said he was afraid to drive through Forsyth, but we assured him he would not be molested.

"Soon after reaching the Forsyth county line, we passed some men in a wagon. One of them pointed at our car and yelled, "Look at that Nigger." The next crowd we met said "Get out of here." Their jeering and yelling continued till the Negro was almost frantic and my friends and myself were not exactly comfortable.

"We were not sure of the road and were afraid to slow up to ask the way to Buford.

"I am stating facts. Others can make comments.

"Mary Jarrett White.

"Tugalo, Ga., Aug. 4, 1925."

"Editor Constitution: In yesterday's issue of your paper, Mr. Pruett states that "Forsyth county may have a few roughnecks, without regard to law or order." Having been a sufferer together with a party of invited guests to view the scenery along the route leading through Cumming, I wish to say that the jeering and threats hurled at our Negro chauffeur were not from "little kids," as Mr. Pruett prefers to call roughnecks, but from grown men, a large company having been around the filling station as we passed through and on to the county line of Forsyth.

"We were on our way to Dahlonega for dinner, but after the fright we experienced one of the party was so unnerved that we made our stop at Gainesville, returning home by that route.

"If our chauffeur had not held on firmly to his wheel and pressed we might have been somewhere but in Atlanta today. We asked two deputies before starting if it would be safe to go with the Negro chauffeur and the replies were, "Go on, but don't stop." I wish it were possible for editorials as kindly as yours of yesterday to smooth over the troubled waters in Forsyth county, but the same events of the past will happen again.

"Mrs. E. H. Barnell.

"Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 4. 1925."

Greensboro, N. C., Patriot
SEP 3 - 1925

NOT SAFE OCCUPATION

The murder of a wealthy negro Republican leaders in the lower part of South Carolina is a crime and should be punished. People should not be shot down by anybody.

But that negro showed bad judgment. Any part of South Carolina and especially the lower part is no place for a negro to mess in politics. It is no place for one to try to be a Republican leader or any sort of leader. It simply isn't safe,

any more than going over Niagara in a barrel is safe or lighting a match to look at the gas tank is safe or fooling around a mule's hoofs.

[illegible] Constitution

AUG 3 - 1925

Editor Constitution: We have a few roughnecks in Forsyth county who have no regard for law and order; but we do not believe their sins warrant the many hard things that have been published from time to time about Forsyth county. Our people believe that many of these charges are largely propaganda of the whisky interests in Atlanta, and that newspapers should thoroughly investigate such charges before giving them such wide publicity.

We have also been outrageously misrepresented with reference to our treatment of the negroes. Notwithstanding reports to the contrary, no negroes have been molested here in a number of years. Almost every day negroes are in Cumming, and they are not mistreated. Some little kid might jeer at them in passing, but absolutely no harm will be done them, and our people are strongly of the opinion that The Constitution should, editorially or otherwise, make clear this fact. It is due us. J. E. PUETT.

MISSISSIPPI MAKES ERROR IN ILLINOIS

North Rejects Dixie Lynch Envoys

A disturbance marred the pleasure of white southerners who invaded this city this week on the "Know Mississippi Better" train, upsetting the effect of their carefully spread propaganda. As a result many of the bystanders from the white southerners had hoped to win over to their way of thinking have decided now that they don't want to know Mississippi any better. Many of them were quick to declare when the incident occurred that "after that sort of thing the less of Mississippi the better!"

Directed by a raucous-voiced song leader the Mississippians were singing popular airs advertising the glories of their southern homes when a group of members of the Race were asked to join the singing. Said the leader: "We'll now hear from our niggers! Listen to them sing!"

Like a rifle shot from somewhere in the crowd came the pointed query: "Where's the lyncher's rope? Let's make it a realistic picture of Mississippi!"

"Yeah," drawled another voice, "the niggers will feel more at home if we have a rope around."

A chorus of protests from scores of outraged northerners who stood by drowned what else the southerners would have said. The Mississippians were speedily reminded that this state had outgrown barbarism and ignorance. Abashed, the southerners tried hard to smooth over their blunder, but it was too late. More than one northerner had formed a lasting impression of what Mississippi really is. "I can see now," said one of them, "where these mobs get their material. No Mississippi for mine!"

Jackson, Miss., News

SEP 2 - 1925

NEGROES IN CHICAGO

An amusing story comes from Chicago concerning the experience of several Jackson families who have been spending the summer at one of the famous lake shore hotels of that city.

The Jackson families in question were accompanied by their colored maids, born and reared in the South. A few days ago two of these maids sauntered down to the beach and seated themselves on benches about fifty feet from the water to watch the bathers. The beach was almost deserted, save for the persons who were enjoying a dip in the lake, and there was no unusual demand for seats, but the caretaker of the beach, a hotel employe, promptly came up and ordered the negresses to vacate the seats, saying they were reserved for the resident guests of the hotel.

And this happened in Chicago, a city alleged to be a veritable paradise for the colored folks, a city where equality, both social and political, prevails.

The caretaker informed the negresses that a "seperate place was reserved for maids with children," and he wasn't the least bit polite about it, either. Of course, the maids were "resident guests" of the hotel. At least, their expenses were being paid by the families they work for.

As a matter of fact, aside from being enrolled in the same schools, colored people have no more rights or privileges in Chicago than they have here in Jackson. They are allowed to ride on the same trains, and in the same coaches, with white people, but they are not wanted, and it often happens that they are told so in very plain and emphatic language.

The writer, who recently spent a few days in Chicago, was astounded to find that among the white people there is a feeling of deep bitterness against the thousands of negroes who have moved into that city from the South—a feeling so bitter that one of these days it is going to be fanned into flame, and the streets of Chicago will be flowing rivers of blood.

TAMPA TIMES CHRONICLE

AUGUST 15, 1925

THE NEGRO IN FLORIDA. I have a letter from a northern lady who makes inquiry as to the treatment negroes receive in Florida. She has been led to believe that they are abused and states that she understands we give them no opportunity for higher education.

If I were to try to convince this good lady that the average Florida negro is really happier and better off today than the average so-called educated nigger of her own northern city she would become very indignant, but that is my honest belief.

I am not a Southerner by birth, but I am in hearty sympathy with the southern manner of caring for and treating negroes. Northern born and bred folks simply cannot understand it, but from my view point the north is doing far more to harm and cause unhappiness to the negro today than is the south. Now I hope this statement won't start another civil war, but what I'm trying to say is that the north simply does not understand the negro and consequently cannot do as much for him as the people of the south are doing.

I have known but few negroes who were bettered by higher education. On the other hand I know of several who are extremely unhappy because of it. The negro will always be a negro whether he lives in the north or south and there will always be a barrier beyond which he cannot go.

I have in mind one negro lad who received a college education, he returned to Florida from the north an entirely different negro from those he knew and loved in Florida. With tears rolling down his cheeks he told me he would give anything in the world if he could again find the contentment and happiness he had known in the earlier days, he is not able to live happily in the same circumstances he did before, yet he cannot enjoy the privileges of whites either in the north or south, the better hotels are closed to him, as are the better resorts, restaurants and theatres. He is a sort of a man without a country, on a plane above his fellows and on a plane different from the whites. It is one of the most pathetic cases I know of.

Florida offers the negro free schools, some of the colored schools in Tampa are splendid structures with able teachers but we often find it harder to keep the colored children in school than to teach them after they get there.

The northern born man never has had and never will have the affection in his heart for the negro that is found among the true southerners. The southern man understands the negro, treats him well and by the same token the negro has learned to love the southerner and is loyal to him.

A southern man might have a deep affection for a colored man in his employ and would not hesitate to trust the negro to protect his wife and daughter during his absence, but he would never eat at the same table with him, nor would he sit with him in a local street car, and that kind of a negro would not expect him to, in fact the white man would lose caste with him if he did. My inquirer can rest assured that every law abiding negro is given kind consiederate treatment at the hands of the southerner and you will find negroes as a whole as happy and care free a race as can be found.

August 15, 1925.

Race Problem — 1925.
United States.

IS IT THE SOUTH OR THE NEGRO?

There is an awakening South to-day; and the young man or woman who has a vision of the business possibilities which lie within his or her grasp, will see no reason for going to any other section of this country to obtain better business opportunities, for whether along industrial, educational, or specific business lines, there are fields ripe for the harvest right here in the South. National Negro

Then, too ,those of us who are sincere in their desire to assist in the progress of the race, know that the real work of racial advancement must be done here—for here it is that the overwhilming bulk of the American Negro is destined to live. 4-1-25

With a cessation of pulling against each other with freedom from envy and jealousy within the race, the Negro will find that his greatest enemy has been conquered. Then will he see straight thru the eyes of common sense and good will in his dealings with his brother, then he will be conscious of a race-pride prompted by a desire to work unselfishly for the good of all.

True, it is but the same old advice, the same old story, but a fact notwithstanding; and it may be said that only they have a clear vision of the business and educational possibilities of life who have found it possible to free their hearts and minds from hate and envy and co-operate with others for the welfare of all.

By seeing thru eyes of envy and selfishness in dealing with one another, many young men and women have failed to catch the vision of business opportunities, etc., surrounding them on every hand, and after living and earning fair salaries for years, they have looked back and have seen many lost opportunities which might have been grasped, if their hearts of hate, envy and jealousy had not bemuddled their vision as they passed along life's journey.

Are you earning? Get what you need and not always that which you simply want,—economize and turn your attention to real business, always knowing that "wherever there is a will there is a way," and that business on a large scale has ever given every race that ready, available, active wealth necessary to carry on its affairs. The American Negro, surrounded by exemplary environment and living examples of business and commercial intercourse, is certainly no exception. His fundamental progress must come largely thru industry, business and commerce, therefore, love your own race and bring yourself to rejoice at your brother's prosperity and not at his misfortune. N. Orleans La.

It should also be taken into account, that wherever one may go—North, South, East or West—there will always be found difficulties to surmount. It follows then, that it is not the location nor so much the color of one's skin, but the heart and will to work and push ahead.

Let all Negroes seek practical education, let them be clean in their morals, let them be sanitary, thrifty and economizing; and therein, to a very great degree, will they possess the means to successful racial development.

A COMMON NUISANCE

We believe thoroughly in the southern idea of every race staying in its place socially. We have no patience with any white man who wants to mix with Negroes socially or any Negroes who want to mix with white folk socially. We believe that their places in the social order are distinctly separate. We do not believe that a white man should entertain Negro men and women socially for profit any more than we believe that Negro men should entertain white men and women socially, for profit. We believe that any white man is out of his place who runs dance halls skating rinks or dives for Negroes; and we believe with equal force that any Negro who will run a gambling room or dive for white men and women is out of place.

On Houston Street, almost next door to the Presbyterian Church, a white man conducts a dance hall for Negroes, where Negroes of the underworld infest and inhabit. The white man who condescends to open up a dive, dance hall or den for Negroes, who occupy the underworld, is a dangerous man in the community, and is exerting bad influence over the Negro, because in any place where white men and Negroes meet on equal terms, and the white man calls the Negro George or John, and the Negro calls him Dick or Jack; the Negro gets false ideas in his head, and the place becomes a reservoir for crime and immorality among Negroes of the lower element. There is no more reason why the city council should license a white man to conduct a dive for Negro men and women to dance, skate and plot against the moral altitude of the community in a Negro settlement than a Negro man should be licensed to run skating rinks, dance halls or dives in Druid Hills, Ansley or Inman Park for white men and women of the underworld.

The Independent calls on the Negro pulpit, and all of those who believe in clean public morals, and the best interest of the community to protest against the dive on Houston Street run by a white man for a livlihood for the entertainment of Negro girls and boys. The place is a nuisance, and an eye-sore in a Christian community, and the reputation of the good people. The reputation of our city demands protection from that class of white men who seek to make their living off the crime and immorality of the ignorant Negro masses.

This dance hall and dive is within three blocks of the First Congregational Church, Bethel A. M. E. Church, Radcliffe Presbyterian Church, Fort Street C. M. E. Church and Wheat Street Baptist Church. We have heard no protest from any of these pulpits; yet, boys and girls sixteen years of age infest this place half of the nights out of every week. Their host is a white man, who is after a dollar and cares nothing for Negro character or for the morality of the community. We call on the Negro pulpit to join The Independent in driving all dens of immorality and crime out of the Negro communities, and to demand that the city council revoke the license of any white man who purposes to entertain Negroes socially for the dollar he makes out of their ignorance and immorality.

Atlanta Independent 4-12-25

Atlanta Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. AGE HER
MAY 9 1925

The Survey Graphic

The Manchester Guardian discussing the sketches of cultural life among the negroes in Harlem which have of late appeared in the N York World and the Survey Graphic, asks: What will this amazing colored race do next?" The answer is that "the amazing race" is slowly learning to stand on its own feet and do without the white man's tutelage. What it has achieved during the past 50 years or so is indeed remarkable. If one considers that they were nothing but wild-eyed savages in an African jungle a few generations ago and now already possess a distinct culture of their own, which is having a decided effect on the national life of the whole of America, despite the condemnation of certain literati, the thing is amazing. Harlem is not the only center, however. Here, it is true the negro is left a good deal to his own devices and is developing a strong race consciousness, but the much-maligned south has also contributed to his emancipation. All we hear in the north and east about race relations in the south are the reports of an occasional lynching. Of the whole-hearted attempt to reach an understanding of each other's viewpoint by committees on race relations, there is no mention. When the southerners begin to feel as they do, that the negro problem is a challenge to their Christianity, another day is dawning also for the negro in the south.

Far more significant than the articles in the Harlem Number of the *Survey Graphic* is the spirit which gave it birth. It marks an interesting turn in the attitude of intellectual white America toward the Negroes. It was planned by black and white intellectuals. This is as it should be. Such contact is creative and constructive even though the product may not always meet with the whole hearted approval of either white or black peoples. At least a larger section of serious minded white America is brought up to view the Negro problem from the point of view of black and white thinkers. That they should vary in conclusion and presentation is to be expected. It is also to be expected that Negroes will condemn that which they deem as adverse criticism though the adverse criticism be sound. This is true of all races and peoples. Criticism is what everybody needs but nobody wants. Contrary to a number of Negroes we don't consider the Harlem issue of *Survey Graphic* as hostile criticism. Much of it is very flattering; some of it is quite indifferent. As we surveyed it the art work of Mr. Weinold Reiss was the least impressive part of the number since to us it was an extreme idealization of a pre-conceived notion of what the Negro looks like. Still it is quite proper to consider his splendid

1

April 1925
New York City

THEY W[illegible]ILL ALWAYS BE WITH US.

There is one thing that admits of no argument. The colored people are going to be here always and do ninety per cent of the cooking and nursing for the white people of the town. That is true as gospel. That condition has and will continue to prevail in the south. This being true it looks like the white folks would recognize one common sense business idea and see that it is carried out. Establish a jam-up domestic science course in the local colored school, give them the needed grades and give them some education and training along these lines. Hundreds of them right now don't know any thing at all about sanitation and health and things of that kind. The white women employ them withoutfinding out first what they do know and expose their families and their children to their ignorance, of these things and often times shorten the lives of their own families. The Woman's clubs of the town could very easily copoerate and refuse to employ a cook or nurse that has no certificate from this school or if she be a cook that has had long years of experience and been in one family for many years and likely to stay till she dies this move would not in anyway interfere. We make our selves ridiculous trying to have health and sanitation in this country when the very people in whose hands this all important matter lays are allowed to grow up and take service without any knowledge or any schooling to fit them for their house or nurse work. It is just a common sense business idea. To not see it, is penny wise and pound foolish on our parts. Cooking, nursing, house work, nursing the sick are the four lines of service that are almost wholly taken up by the colored people in this country. Yet nothing is done to see that they are prepared for that service. It is a surprising fact that the white women and the school trustees don't put this work in the colored school on the best basis and see to it that all the colored girls and women are required to take advantage ofthis and better equip themselves. They will do so in time when their eyes are opened we are sure. One fellow remarked to us that they might want more wages in such an event. They would be worth more wages and a laborer is worthy of his hire. But wages and the negro are always at peace. They don't carry off any money. They stay right here and spend it. Any perchants will tell you that so far as trade is concerned he wants to see the negroes with money to spend for they will spend it freely and lavishly if they have it. When it comes to paying the average negro girl more wages that is a safe investment for the merchants for she will immediately go to the store and get a dress as near alike that of some white lady that she admires as will her money permit her. Let a negro get hands on a dollar and it stays right here but let a Chinaman or an Italian or most foreigners and it goes out of circulation. Hence that argument does not hold. It is the best business idea and a community economy both in health and money to give the negroes the best we can in these sciences because we get both the science and the money paid for that service. This is a more serious matter than most people think.

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION
APRIL 30, 1915

School Happenings

Problem of Discipline Solved Efficiently During Last Four Years at P. S. 5--Its 2,300 Pupils, With Large Percentage of Negroes, Rank High in City Schools for Punctuality and Deportment—Shakespearean Plays Well Given by Dramatic Club.

Twenty-three hundred pupils of all nationalities, of whom a large percentage are negroes, present a problem in discipline which is said to have ben solved most efficiently during the past four years by Jesse B. Fox, principal of P. S. 5, Bridge and Tillary streets.

While at the outset of his administration the attendance record was 89 per cent., it now stands at 98 per cent. ranking second in the entire city.

The development of character by inculcating essential traits such as co-operation, politeness, cheerfulness, etc., is featured as an analytical study by the principal and his staff. The virtue of punctuality, for instance, is demonstrated by furnishing evidence of the possibility of acquiring the habit through regular constant practice. An appeal is made to the class spirit which is fostered in all the pupils, each class forming a society of itself. It is stressed that the tardiness of one student interferes with the good standing and report of the whole class in the competition between classes.

A first offense is passed over with a simple personal reprimand; a second is brought up in the classroom and the effect of "esprit de corps" is invoked; a third calls for parental intervention and disciplinary correction. So successful has been this plan that for a week to ten days at a time, no case of lateness has been reported and in a month, only twenty out of fifty-one classes have failed to have a perfect attendance record.

In this crowded neighborhood, school dismissals are a daily recurring proposition. Patrols of school guards chosen from the honor students are stationeed at strategic points under the supervision of B. J. Patterson, school advisor. Lines are maintained unbroken at crossings until they are turned over to the care of the regular traffic policemen stationed at the most dangerous points such as the crossing at Flatbush Extension.

The perfection of the fire drill generally attracts an audience of several hundred who watch the exits when boys from the machine shop rush out with printed stop signs and hold traffic until the drill is completed.

P. S. 5 is a pre-vocational school and, in addition to the regular classes from kindergarten to 8-B, has fifteen shops for boys and girls. The boys have a machine shop, a sheet metal shop, electric wiring, plumbing, printing, woodworking, mechanical and trade drawing. The girls are taught dressmaking, millinery, novelty work, bookbinding and the use of power machines. There is a home making department, with a cooking school.

The auditorium seats eleven hundred, assemblies for the various grades being held separately. It has a motion picture booth. The dramatic club staged a Shakespearean show at the last senior assembly. A scene from "Julius Caesar" was given, after an address on the life and works of the author. The glee club sang some of Shakespeare's sonnets, set to music, notably, "Who Is Sylvia?" making a well-balanced programme. Both the senior and junior glee clubs have about sixty members, under direction of Miss Looney and Miss Tobin.

Miss Irene M. Connolly directs the school orchestra which meets for practice three days a week and plays at assemblies. There are ten violins, Dominic De Bare, Alphonso Porta, Louis Critelli, Daniel Iandoli, Antonio Castellani, Wilmer Berry, Nicola Sonek, Louis Serra and Michael de Febis. Louis Mahoney plays the cornet and Adam Androwski the trombone. Miss Mahoney has the direction of the auditorium programmes.

A school paper is printed in the shop and published monthly under direction of Miss Couldon.

The Brooklyn Senior Technical Trade School holds sessions in the school four evenings a week, under direction of Dr. Frank Rexford.

The staff of P. S. 5 includes the Misses Quinn, Couldon, Powers, Connolly, Hogan, Prewer, Booth, Mahoney, Beech, Fogarty, Tobin, G. Mahoney, McLaughlin, Looney, Verin, Flattery, de Forrest O'Brien, MacLachen, Van Hallen, Smyth, Reilly, Campbell, Bloch, Bride, Purcell, Sullivan, Buick, O'Conner, Rodnite, Nagelberg, Feigelberg, Feigelsohn, Hogan, Breslin, Gaw, O'Neill, Wolff, Burns, White, Brewer, Covert and Messrs. Chapple, Murphy, McCabe, Kuenstler, Patterson, Petersen, Littlefield, Varin, Tattessall and Charles Varin.

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

Writer Says Southerner Is Duped by 'Uncle Tom' Type

[N. A. A. C. P. Service]

The white Southerner "knows less about the black man, understands him less, than anyone else on this planet," according to L. M. Hussey, writing in the January American Mercury Magazine, edited by H. L. Mencken. What the white Southerner calls a "good nigger," according to Mr. Hussey is simply an accomplished actor, playing a part, and deluding the dominant race in order that he may be permitted to live in the South, the while he laughs up his sleeve at his dupe. Mr. Hussey's article, written in a jocose vein, while employing expressions that will offend many of our people.

Plays His Part

The price of life for a man of our Race in the South, says Mr. Hussey, is ability to play a part. Our people, he observed, "adopted in their intercourse with me [with] every white man, the voice and gesture familiar in all times. They were enacting, subtly, ineffably, very persuasively, a self-imposed role. They were playing a part in a comedy!" The object of the comedy is to delude the white man into thinking them submissive. In this he is completely successful, and the Southern white man thinks of him either as a good "Uncle Tom" or else as a criminal.

Mr. Hussey goes on to point out that there is another fallacy besides the one that the white man "understands the nigger." This fallacy is to the effect that he is better treated in the South than elsewhere.

"The superior favors and condescension allotted the 'good nigger' of the confederacy do not derive from the supereminent kindness of the Southern gentleman's heart nor from his better understanding of the blackamoor. They derive, instead, from the fact that the Southern gentleman is the dupe of the good nigger's histrionic wiles. He is the victim of hundreds of thousands of black Salvinis, playing their parts naturally, almost instinctively, under the brutal urge of a mere biological prompting, yet withal superlatively."

Doubt Superiority

The clowning plays upon the vanities of the dominant race, but at times the Southern whites come to doubt their own "superiority," especially when a man of Color distinguishes himself as a business man or in the arts and profession. Then the white man begins to fear that "white superiority" is not inherent but "results from the accidents of numbers and conventions—not from higher talents." It is this fear of jeopardy to "white supremacy" that prompts the mob, says Mr. Hussey. "Shorn of his sense of mastery, the hysterical overman feels his own skull in danger," when a white woman has been stared at, or some crime committed, "he sees, abruptly, a horde of 'good niggers' ripping off their masks, no longer paying tribute to his accidental eminence. And forthwith he and his brothers in hysteria bear down in overwhelming numbers upon the first isolated cabin at hand—and proceed to lynch a nigger."

Meanwhile, the Colored man is cynical, says Mr. Hussey, and laughs bitterly to himself. He is coming to repudiate the role of "good nigger."

The Chicago Way.

For many years wise men of the west residing in Chicago have been reading the south lessons on the negro problem. Some of those who know no more about the needs and characteristics of negroes than they do about the idiosyncrasies of King Tut-Ankh-Amen when he was in the flesh have taken it upon themselves to tell the real friends of the black man how to promote harmony between the races.

Southerners who have the interests of the negroes at heart have received these instructions sometimes in a spirit of toleration, but more often with amusement. Have gone right along with their programme, and more and more as the years pass has their judgment been vindicated.

Race clashes in Chicago are more frequent than they are anywhere in the south. Only a few weeks ago an angry Chicago mob went on a rampage because of an alleged insult offered a white woman by a black man, and when quiet was restored it was ascertained that the mob had lynched the wrong negro.

Friday night there was a melee between rival Chicago school factions, one composed of whites and the other of blacks. Seventeen detective bureau squads and police from a dozen South Side stations were rushed to the scene.

The trouble was caused by a basketball game, in which the whites were victorious. Doubtless race prejudice had far more to do with the free-for-all fight that followed the game than did school pride.

Bringing the two races in contact in athletic and other events that encourage unnecessary rivalries is not wise. It is an open invitation to trouble, but it is the Chicago way.

In Memphis negro children enjoy the same public school privileges provided for white children, but separate buildings are built for them. In both grammar and high schools the negroes have their play grounds and gymnasiums and play their games, but they are never lined up in competition against the whites. That is the Memphis way.

In Chicago they call out the police to quell race riots in the schools. In Memphis such a clash is unheard of.

Of course, if the citizens of Chicago want to make such outbreaks possible, it is their business, not ours. But we don't mind admitting that we are not a bit enthused over the Chicago way.

The South and The Negro

"The South has made better progress toward right race relations than the North in the last ten years. Things in the North seem standing still by comparison," declared Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, to an audience of wealthy and influential New Yorkers at the Town Hall last week.

"It is not hazardous any more for a white man or woman to stand up and say, 'I am a friend of the negro'," said the doctor. "A man who got up in any influential gathering and said that he did not believe in negro education would be hooted down.

"Deep down in the heart of the average Southern negro there is a genuine appreciation of the white man, and deep down in the heart of the white man there is a genuine appreciation of the negro. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters in Atlanta, is loosening up in a most wholesome way this pent up friendship which often hitherto was not expressed in any concrete form. Men and women of both races are sitting down now talking out their difficulties with a frankness and sympathy which would have seemed impossible ten years ago, with the result that the situation is growing better every day. While there is room for improvement, a few years ago I did not think I would live to see sentiment on the part of Southern white people so friendly in desire for justice and fair play along all lines of human endeavor as it is today."

Dr. Moton attached world wide significance to America's efforts for right racial adjustment. "I somehow think," he said, "that the way the race problem is handled in America will determine the method by which different races in other parts of the world will adjust their relations, one to the other. We in America therefore have a large responsibility and a concrete obligation."

Dr. Moton is a man of imagination, and he drew on it to some extent in talking to his white friends of the North. However, there is truth in the statement that the South is getting over negro hatred. The negro is being given a place and an opportunity. He is respected and protected. He does not get all that the white man gets, but he gets more than the negro gets in any other country of the world. The good negro is appreciated by the good white man and there is a growing feeling that under our present economic system in the South one is essential to the other.

RACE WORTH IS TWO BILLION SAYS WORK

Compiler Of Negro Year Book Tells Of Race Advancement In Two Years

MORTALITY DECLINES

National Death Rate Of Group Decreased 31.5 per cent In Last Ten Years

The Afro-American

That the Negroes of this country have made tremendous strides in the accumulation of wealth, educational advancement, health and political power is shown by a survey just made public by Dr. Monroe N. Work, compiler of the Negro Year Book. Says this writer:

There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. The two census reports show Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000,000, which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is over $40,000,000. The past 13 years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. That is, in the past 13 years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

Health

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past 13 years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1912 the death rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; A decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of five years in the life expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy-holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was; for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years; for females, 46.10 years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics.

Politics

The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity were:

1. The tendency to develop independence in politics.

2. There is an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket.

3. Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro votes. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Democratic and Third Party National campaign committees.

4. There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were eight Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915, two Negro members of State Legislatures; in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance to note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.

Votes

5. A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.

6. A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.

7. A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic ticket, the maintenance of the so-called white primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of these secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past 13 years. During this period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place movement from the country to the in this country. In addition to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there are now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were 13 years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

Lynching

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A Federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past 13 years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924 there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number of 1,177 for the previous 13 years. and 67 per cent less than the number 2,137 for the 13 years before that time.

Segregation

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1. The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border and southern states passed segregation laws.

2. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.

3. Since 1917, two new devices have been evolved for legalizing segregation:

(a) By zoning ordinances.

(b) By property owners contract.

4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.

5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF THE RACE PROBLEM

Editor's Note—The American Sociological Society which includes most of the leading sociologists in the country as well as the professors of sociology in the chief universities in the country, wrote its members some months ago asking what projects they wished to suggest for presentation at their annual meeting. Two hundred replied and out of the two hundred subjects offered ten were selected. One "Th Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem was offered by Prof. Monroe N. Work of the Research Department of Tuskegee Institute and editor of the Negro Year Book. It was among the ten selected and is produced below.

(By Monroe N. Work)

In the limited space at my disposal can give only some of the more important results of the study of "Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem," in the past thirteen years. I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem. . . . . There is first, the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. In 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000, which is one and one half times more than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is over $40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improve- increased in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. In the period, 1912-1924 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; a decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,000,000, Negro policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of five years in the life expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy-holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was; for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.10 years; for females, 46.10 years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity were:

1—The tendency to develop independence in politics.

2—There is an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket.

3—Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro votes. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Democratic and Third Party National campaign committees.

4—There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were 8 Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915, two Negro members of State Legislatures; in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance of note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.

5—A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.

6—A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.

7—A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary' in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic tiket, the maintenance of the so-called white-primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of these secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past thirteen years. During the period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country. In addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924 there were 705 lynchings. This was forty per cent less than the number of 1177 for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number 2137 for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1—The efforts to restrict by law and areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border and southern states passed segregation laws.

2—In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.

(a)—By zoning ordinances.

(b)—By property owners contract.

4—The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.

5—In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF THE RACE PROBLEM

(By Monroe N. Work)

In the limited space at my disposal I can give only some of the more important results of the study of "Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem," in the past thirteen years. I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem. . . . . There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. In 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000, which is one and one half times more than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is over $40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improve- increased in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. In the period, 1912-1924 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; a decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,000,000, Negro policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of 5 years in the life expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy-holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was; for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years; for females, 46.10 years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration wit-

(To be continued)

4. There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were eight Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915, two Negro members of State Legislatures; in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance to note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.

Votes

5. A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.

6. A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.

7. A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic ticket, the majority of the so-called white primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of these secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past thirteen years. During the period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country. In addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924 there were 705 lynchings. This was forty per cent less than the number of 1177 for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number 2137 for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1—The efforts to restrict by law and areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border and southern states passed segregation laws.

2—In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.

(a)—By zoning ordinances.

(b)—By property owners contract.

4—The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.

5—In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF THE RACE PROBLEM

(By Monroe N. Work)

In the limited space at my disposal I can give only some of the more important results of the study of "Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem in the past thirteen years. I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem.

There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. In 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000,000, which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is over $40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. In the period 1912-1924 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1912 the death rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; a decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent. A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of 5 years in the life expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy-holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was: for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years for females, 46.10 years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration wit-

(To be continued)

Race Problem - 1925
United States.

AMERICA REVISITED

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—I have been reading with great interest and an equal pleasure Mr. Julian Huxley's articles on "America Revisited." Engrossing as they are and bearing internal evidence of the author's culture, wide experience, and tolerance of mind, I never supposed, as I am sure he would not claim, that they represented a conclusive judgment on the matters treated therein. I am prompted to offer these remarks by the somewhat pedantic criticism by Mr. Edwin Heath of Mr. Huxley's views on the negro problem. I will not attempt to comment on a subject so profoundly interesting and so potentially important as the subject matter. Even the most experienced and trained minds must feel their limitations when discussing the great racial development of the world's population in a distant future.

But, and here is my point, if intelligent and honest observers of Mr. Huxley's authority are to be denied a hearing on the score that they cannot be sufficiently acquainted with their subject—well, then, no one will ever be justified in writing on any subject save the demonstrable facts of pure science, and even these may often be but tentative. If a foreigner is not to be permitted to express his opinions about, say, the State of Texas, on the grounds that he cannot possibly be familiar with all the conditions of a country so vast, we should logically be restricted to an approved literature such as authoritative Encyclopædias guaranteed perhaps by recognized Universities. To attempt a forecast of the possible mental development of the negro is a very big question. His future progress may indeed prove one of the world's great surprises.

But when Mr. Heath quotes in his support the large sums spent on negro education and names a few outstanding examples of negro achievement and intellectual worth, his argument leaves me unmoved. Drops of water in the ocean would be an entirely fair estimate of their relative importance. Finally, I would express the hope that Mr. Huxley may long continue to extend his travels, and afterward convey to us others his impressions of all that he has seen and pondered upon during their prosecution.—I am, Sir, &c.,

M. T. P.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE AMERICAN NEGROES

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—May I reply very briefly to Mr. Heath's long letter in your issue of January 17th, much of which is taken up by rather sweeping statements by his friend Dr. Phenix? In regard to these latter: (1) I only quoted Professor Gregory's suggestion for what it was worth—as a suggestion; and said myself, that although it did not sound likely, yet it remained a possibility. My views on it seem to agree on the whole with Dr. Phenix's, who, however, accuses me of "folly" in quoting it at all! (2) As to the negro mentality, I can only record what I have seen and what I have gathered in conversation with many Southerners. Neither Dr. Phenix nor Mr. Heath has paid any attention to what I mentioned as one of the great difficulties of the problem—namely, that in U.S.A. the word "negro" is used to denote anybody with negro blood in his veins, whereas "white" means all white. The proportion of absolutely pure negroes, although hard to ascertain, cannot be large. The general impression (and that is all that is now available until proper tests are made) among those who have lived long among negroes undoubtedly is that the purer negro stocks are, on the whole, more child-like (it is only Dr. Phenix who uses the word "feeble-minded"—I did not) than the white stocks. The next few years should decide the problem if suitable intelligence tests can be devised.

As to Mr. Heath's points: (1) The question of pure negroes rising to eminence. One of your contributors in a previous issue showed what a difficult question this was. He mentioned someone as a pure negro who had achieved eminence, but was immediately corrected next week by another correspondent, who pointed out that his example did have white blood in his veins! Perhaps Mr. Heath and the scientific conscience will be satisfied if I say that the phenomenon of a pure negro achieving eminence in U.S.A. is extremely rare. (2) Mexican immigration. Naturally, this will be first felt in the States adjacent to the Mexican border. Housten is several hundred miles from the border, and yet the immigration of Mexicans is so marked as to have struck my eye at once as something new. They are in this city taking the places of the negroes in various occupations. If the northward migration of negroes continues, it is perfectly possible that the Mexican immigration will spread eastwards.

I wish, for the sake of the world at large and America in particular, that we could, as Mr. Heath urges us to, take a hopeful view of the negro problem; but he would be a rash man who would be too optimistic over the facts as they are to-day.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JULIAN S. HUXLEY.

New College, Oxford.

The Rhythm of Harlem

By KONRAD BERCOVICI

WHEN, in the course of my study of New York City, I visited Harlem, a white and a colored man put the very same question to me, in exactly the same words. They have branded themselves in my memory:

"Why do you go to Harlem? For material?"

And what they meant was: "Would you have developed such an enthusiasm if you did not have to write—or want to write—about Negroes?"

That Harlem was a revelation to me; that I enjoyed its colorfulness and vividness of life as much as I have enjoyed anything in this country would not have been enough of an answer for either of my interrogators. The colored people did not believe my friendship. The white ones suspected it. The question put to me was the quintessence of the colored man's attitude toward the white man and the white man's attitude toward another white man who shows an interest in the life of the colored people.

I am now, perhaps, better fitted to understand a good many things that happened to me in Harlem. I have been through Louisiana and Tennessee. . . . I understand better the gaze in the eyes of my Negro friends, and the drooping corners of the mouths of the white ones, one sniffing and the other sneering at my interest. It is this suspicion which lives in Harlem, fostered by the years of slavery. It has raised a second wall to surmount; thicker even than the wall the white man has raised between himself and the colored population. Culture, friendship may after all be unable to tear either of these walls down.

The white man does not believe that the Christian Negro, praying in a Christian church, to the Christian God, is entitled to do so. Does he believe that his God is listening to the Negroes' prayers? The colored man thinks that praying in a Christian church to a Christian God in a Christian language entitles him to the white God's mercy and to equality. I wondered and still wonder why the colored people have not evolved a religion of their own, a church of their own and a God of their own.

AN awakened consciousness of race stirs Harlem. Backs are straightened out and heads are raised. Eyes look to their own level when they seek those of other people. The feeling is still one of being better than thou, but underneath that, it seemed to me, there was a striving for another culture that was not an imitative one. Surely greater difficulties beset this undercurrent than one would casually think. The greatest of them all is the one of language. For in the same word-figures one limits himself to the same thought as the others using similar word-figures. At bottom, the white man's feeling of superiority is based on the fact that the Negroes have no language of their own. Had they preserved their African tongue it would have been different.

"We are as good and as bad as the white man, neither better nor worse" is the feeling of Harlem. It is not the

er them. To pile up industrial organizations, universities, charities and armies will not do it. culture, a different music, a different art, of egroes are capable and which should be like aces they live with, will do it.
ot inferiors. They do not have to strive for

Different from will not further the winning attitude for a people so different! the whites would be the right starting point for a new cul institutions, univers ture. For the few hundred thousand Negroes in Harlem A different cultu will ultimately be to the colored race living in the United which the Negroes States the intellectual center from which its culture will a gift to the races t emanate. To pile up wealth as the white man has done They are not in

Race Problem — 1925.

United States.

There is no lasting success in the absence of economic opportunity. That is to say, the man or people denied a fair chance in the work of the world or country to earn honestly, meat and bread, can make no progress. The Negro is a part and parcel of the American working men. He is a part of the country's life, conscience, thought and character, and there is no getting away from this fundamental truth; that he is entitled to an opportunity in common with every other class of people entering into our cosmopolitan population to earn a dollar for an honest day's work, is undeniable. Both the laws of humanity and the laws of God demand that every man who is willing to work, be given the opportunity to live by the sweat of his own brow, and the power of his muscle. Any other policy, whether enforced by law, society, labor unions, or otherwise, is suicidal and destructive of all ends of just government. Every human being must eat and wear clothes. These necessities must be accrued from his labor. But mankind cannot provide himself with the necessaries of life if he is not afforded the opportunity to earn a dollar to buy sustenance.

For fifty years, it has been the policy of the South, by legislation, to lessen the opportunity of the Negro to earn a living, and to make himself a useful and helpful citizen. The same policy has been pursued in the North by labor unions, and race intolerance, to shut the Negro out from every avenue of profitable labor. He has been shut out from the trades, from the industries, from the arts, and from every avenue in which other people work, except hotels. And of late, the labor unions have extended their policies to include all manner of work. They have sought to organize both the skilled and unskilled labor in every vocation, with a view of controlling all labor to the point where the union chiefs might dictate the class and character of working men. This policy has spirited to the South, and the labor unions have become a national discriminating organization, with a view of providing work for all white people, and depriving all black people of the opportunity to make a dollar. What the southern legislature lacked in outlawing the Negro, and reducing him to a serf by disfranchisement, segregation and jim crow cars, the labor unions have completed the job by shutting him out of every profitable employment by which he could earn a dollar to buy his meat and bread, to clothe himself with, buy a home, or educate his children. This condition has been growing and increasing in its savagery and wickedness, right under church steeples and domes, humane societies and whatnots, and neither the pulpit of the race, or the pulpit of the white man has raised its voice against this sin. The Negro pulpit is silent, the white pulpit is silent. The Negroes throughout this country are starving for bread, colthes, and the opportunity to better his condition; yet this sin against humanity goes on without receiving a protest from those who claim to follow the lowly Nazarene.

This sin is national. It is neither a southern or northern question. It is a nation's question, and the combination between union labor and the southern legislature is so complete in their policy, that the Negro is almost excluded from work at all. There are laws upon the statute books that logically authorize and maintain peonage. There are Negroes in this country today in actual physical slavery by reason of labor laws and unwritten laws, in many rural districts, and on public works. The Negro is discriminated against in the appertionment of public school funds. He is discriminated against in the building of school houses, and in general education equipment. The South, like the North, through union labor, has displaced the Negro who used to sweep the streets, and drive the trash wagon with white men. The barber and the shoe shops, the hotel and restaurant service, the driving of the trucks, and 90 per cent of the menial labor or work with the hands, that used to be controlled by Negroes, are now unionized, and a Negro can get a job only where the white man is of that independent humane spirit that places service above color. Something must be done to bring the country to itself. The heart of the nation must be reached and checked in its sin against humanity, or the Negroes must become a race of criminals in self-defense. They will grow up in ignorance, starve to death, or steal if the doors of honest work are shut tight in their faces.

The pulpit must denounce the sin. The white man must open his heart to the appeal of humanity. The legislature must enact just and humane laws. Union labor must put down its selfish policy, and live for humanity, rather than for a dollar. All the people must be educated, evangelized, and furnished an opportunity to work, or that part of the people denied these blessings of humanity will become a set of criminals and outlaws, threatening the overthrow of decent and orderly government. If the government does not protect its citizens in the time of peace, the citizens are not going to protect the government in the time of war. A hungry man is a dangerous element in organized society. If he can't get meat and bread by fair means, he will have it by foul means. The economic policy of the government is gnawing at the vitals of the life of the public. Negroes are human beings, able and willing to work; yes, to give an honest day's work for an honest dollar, and humanity demands that they be given the opportunity. No nation can live that neglects part of its people. Governments by man have failed because of the wickedness of the ruling and controlling powers. Union labor in the North, and the legislatures in the South must answer the appeals of humanity. They must open their hearts, and come to an understanding, whereby all men, regardless to race or color, who are willing to work, shall have an opportunity to work. Southern legislatures must stop using public or trust funds to promote race interests. These funds must be used for the education of the masses, or the weak will destroy the strength of the strong. No man or people is strong who takes the advantage of a weaker man or people. Strength of character is measured most largely by fairness and justice. There is no sense or justice in the appropriation of a million dollars for the education of the white people of Georgia, and the appropriation of $60,000 for the higher education of the black people.

The people of Georgia, of the South, and of the nation, can rise no higher in the scale of world usefulness and character, than all of the people are elevated. When the world sets up a standard of efficiency or excellence, and calls the nation of the earth to register their advancement in civilization by that standard, the world is not going to grade America by the white man's standard, but by the nation's standard, and if the white man is a hundred per cent rich and educated, and the Negro is fifty per cent poor and uneducated, America's grade will not be one hundred per cent, but seventy-five per cent. You see, the ignorance and poverty of the black man, cuts down the intelligence and wealth of the white man, and in like manner, our real worth in the world's estimate of nations will be fixed. So it behooves America to be fair.

It is the duty of the government, as well as the union labor, not to deprive any citizen of an opportunity to earn a living, but to provide all citizens with the opportunity to make a living. The conscience of the country must be aroused to the economic plight of the Negro. Economic discrimination against fourteen million can have no other effect but to destructively affect the body politic, and instead of enriching a part of the people as the plan contemplates, it will make poor all the people. Ignorance is a poor investment, and the fellow who believes that the keeping of somebody else down enhances his wealth, and increases his opportunity, will find in the final analysis, that he was mistaken, and that the broadest policy is the best policy, the humane policy, and that the government, like the individual, who deprives his neighbor or fellowman of what is justly his, reaps what he sows.

Economic advancement, economic opportunity, is the bed-rock upon which the safety and permanency of the country must rest. True success in religion, politics and education, are all very largely dependent upon the economic advancement of the people. Without wealth, education nor religion cannot advance, government cannot exist, and the government is no wealthier and has no greater opportunity to afford free institutions for all the people, than the resources of all the people will warrant, and when the government or any other agency lessens the economic opportunity of any part of its citizens to make a dollar, to live independent, and become a taxpayer, it threatens its own perpetuity, and lays the foundation for its overthrow, sooner or later.

Race Problem — 1925.

United States.

There is no lasting success in the absence of economic opportunity. That is to say, the man or people denied a fair chance in the work of the world or country to earn honestly, meat and bread, can make no progress. The Negro is a part and parcel of the American working men. He is a part of the country's life, conscience, thought and character, and there is no getting away from this fundamental truth; that he is entitled to an opportunity in common with every other class of people entering into our cosmopolitan population to earn a dollar for an honest day's work, is undeniable. Both the laws of humanity and the laws of God demand that every man who is willing to work, be given the opportunity to live by the sweat of his own brow, and the power of his muscle. Any other policy, whether enforced by law, society, labor unions, or otherwise, is suicidal and destructive of all ends of just government. Every human being must eat and wear clothes. These necessities must be accrued from his labor. But mankind cannot provide himself with the necessaries of life if he is not afforded the opportunity to earn a dollar to buy sustenance.

For fifty years, it has been the policy of the South, by legislation, to lessen the opportunity of the Negro to earn a living, and to make himself a useful and helpful citizen. The same policy has been pursued in the North by labor unions, and race intolerance, to shut the Negro out from every avenue of profitable labor. He has been shut out from the trades, from the industries, from the arts, and from every avenue in which other people work, except hotels. And of late, the labor unions have extended their policies to include all manner of work. They have sought to organize both the skilled and unskilled labor in every vocation, with a view of controlling all labor to the point where the union chiefs might dictate the class and character of working men. This policy has spirited to the South, and the labor unions have become a national discriminating organization, with a view of providing work for all white people, and depriving all black people of the opportunity to make a dollar. What the southern legislature lacked in outlawing the Negro, and reducing him to a serf by disfranchisement, segregation and jim crow cars, the labor unions have completed the job by shutting him out of every profitable employment by which he could earn a dollar to buy his meat and bread, to clothe himself with, buy a home, or educate his children. This condition has been growing and increasing in its savagery and wickedness, right under church steeples and domes, humane societies and whatnots, and neither the pulpit of the race, or the pulpit of the white man has raised its voice against this sin. The Negro pulpit is silent, the white pulpit is silent. The Negroes throughout this country are starving for bread, colthes, and the opportunity to better his condition; yet this sin against humanity goes on without receiving a protest from those who claim to follow the lowly Nazarene.

This sin is national. It is neither a southern or northern question. It is a nation's question, and the combination between union labor and the southern legislature is so complete in their policy, that the Negro is almost excluded from work at all. There are laws upon the statute books that logically authorize and maintain peonage. There are Negroes in this country today in actual physical slavery by reason of labor laws and unwritten laws, in many rural districts, and on public works. The Negro is discriminated against in the apportionment of public school funds. He is discriminated against in the building of school houses, and in general education equipment. The South, like the North, through union labor, has displaced the Negro who used to sweep the streets, and drive the trash wagon with white men. The barber and the shoe shops, the hotel and restaurant service, the driving of the trucks, and 90 per cent of the menial labor or work with the hands, that used to be controlled by Negroes, are now unionized, and a Negro can get a job only where the white man is of that independent humane spirit that places service above color. Something must be done to bring the country to itself. The heart of the nation must be reached and checked in its sin against humanity, or the Negroes must become a race of criminals in self-defense. They will grow up in ignorance, starve to death, or steal if the doors of honest work are shut tight in their faces.

The pulpit must denounce the sin. The white man must open his heart to the appeal of humanity. The legislature must enact just and humane laws. Union labor must put down its selfish policy, and live for humanity, rather than for a dollar. All the people must be educated, evangelized, and furnished an opportunity to work, or that part of the people denied these blessings of humanity will become a set of criminals and outlaws, threatening the overthrow of decent and orderly government. If the government does not protect its citizens in the time of peace, the citizens are not going to protect the government in the time of war. A hungry man is a dangerous element in organized society. If he can't get meat and bread by fair means, he will have it by foul means. The economic policy of the government is gnawing at the vitals of the life of the public. Negroes are human beings, able and willing to work; yes, to give an honest day's work for an honest dollar, and humanity demands that they be given the opportunity. No nation can live that neglects part of its people. Governments by man have failed because of the wickedness of the ruling and controlling powers. Union labor in the North, and the legislatures in the South must answer the appeals of humanity. They must open their hearts, and come to an understanding, whereby all men, regardless to race or color, who are willing to work, shall have an opportunity to work. Southern legislatures must stop using public or trust funds to promote race interests. These funds must be used for the education of the masses, or the weak will destroy the strength of the strong. No man or people is strong who takes the advantage of a weaker man or people. Strength of character is measured most largely by fairness and justice. There is no sense or justice in the appropriation of a million dollars for the education of the white people of Georgia, and the appropriation of $60,000 for the higher education of the black people.

The people of Georgia, of the South, and of the nation, can rise no higher in the scale of world usefulness and character, than all of the people are elevated. When the world sets up a standard of efficiency or excellence, and calls the nation of the earth to register their advancement in civilization by that standard, the world is not going to grade America by the white man's standard, but by the nation's standard, and if the white man is a hundred per cent rich and educated, and the Negro is fifty per cent poor and uneducated, America's grade will not be one hundred per cent, but seventy-five per cent. You see, the ignorance and poverty of the black man, cuts down the intelligence and wealth of the white man, and in like manner, our real worth in the world's estimate of nations will be fixed. So it behooves America to be fair.

It is the duty of the government, as well as the union labor, not to deprive any citizen of an opportunity to earn a living, but to provide all citizens with the opportunity to make a living. The conscience of the country must be aroused to the economic plight of the Negro. Economic discrimination against fourteen million can have no other effect but to destructively affect the body politic, and instead of enriching a part of the people as the plan contemplates, it will make poor all the people. Ignorance is a poor investment, and the fellow who believes that the keeping of somebody else down enhances his wealth, and increases his opportunity, will find in the final analysis, that he was mistaken, and that the broadest policy is the best policy, the humane policy, and that the government, like the individual, who deprives his neighbor or fellowman of what is justly his, reaps what he sows.

Economic advancement, economic opportunity, is the bed-rock upon which the safety and permanency of the country must rest. True success in religion, politics and education, are all very largely dependent upon the economic advancement of the people. Without wealth, education nor religion cannot advance, government cannot exist, and the government is no wealthier and has no greater opportunity to afford free institutions for all the people, than the resources of all the people will warrant, and when the government or any other agency lessens the economic opportunity of any part of its citizens to make a dollar, to live independent, and become a taxpayer, it threatens its own perpetuity, and lays the foundation for its overthrow, sooner or later.

SOLVING THE PROBLEM IN FLORIDA

"The man that owns the land will rule the country" was a powerful plea of Booker T. Washington to his people to possess themselves of wealth. It is hard to dispute the logic of such an argument. It is inevitable that money in the possession of any individual or group will command the respect of all other individuals or groups. This respect means tolerance, equal recognition and power eventually. And this is the theory of it. This has seemed to have been the case with the Jews in America, with the Italians, the Irish and all of the foreign elements who have come to America poor and have profited by her boundless opportunities. Yet humanity does not function by the rules of theory always. As these foreign elements and the colored American have progressed in wealth and education during the last generation the hostility of the Anglo-Saxon American has increased in direct proportion to their own progress and equality. The answer to this rebuttal to the argument of Booker T. Washington lays in the fact that these races in acquiring wealth and education have acquired thereby the power to combat the prejudice of the Nordics in America. That these two powerful contending factions must sooner or later clash is the view of the pessimist. That their hostility will rapidly melt away in the coming era of good feeling and fraternity is the view of the optimist. All American patriots—the Ku Klux Klan to the contrary notwithstanding—devoutly hope this to be true. Disfranchisement in the South should decrease in direct proportion to the rise in wealth and education of the colored folk in the Solid South. Jim-Crowism should perish in direct ratio to the decrease in illiteracy and the increase in culture among the blacks and crackers of Dixie. Lynchings should disappear as the nightmare of the South and the disgrace of the Nation in similar fashion. The reverse of these conclusions has seemed too true too often during the last generation. We have before us a case in point. The statement of Metropolitan Bank of Ocala, Florida, tells us among many other things that it is a city depository. President Gadsen of this colored bank now in New York confirms this with recent documentary proof of large drafts upon the bank by his thriving city. We have similar proof of the progress in wealth the colored people are making in Miami, Jacksonville and elsewhere throughout the State. Yet if there is any progress in civic liberty and freedom from persecution for colored Floridians it does not appear to the naked eye at this distance. We will go further to say that enduring civic progress, that protection for the very wealth of these hard headed, hard working colored citizens can not be secured until they possess and use the ballot like all other citizens. We say to the colored men of the South: go ahead and make money, own banks, buy land and keep on piling up wealth and keep on giving your children education and more education and better education but never lose sight of this fact. Never cease to demand the ballot from your election officials, never cease to demand from your city, state and federal governments full protection of your constitutional franchise rights. Never become indifferent to the ballot, never resign yourself to disfranchisement and serfdom. Upon this rock you must build your house and the gates of hell can not prevail against it. Since the days of Joseph E. Lee and his fearless colleagues colored Florida has been going back politically. Colored men of brains and wealth are becoming ever more disgusted with politics and the failure of the national Republican party to promote and protect their citizenship. We say to colored Florida: What will it profit you if you gain untold wealth and lose your citizenship and equal manhood?

New York Herald
Aug 23
New York N. Y.

Southern Negroes by The Thousands in New York

WINSTON SALEM, N. C. Journal SEP 7 - 1925

Many of Them Have Been Successful Financially; Section Known as "Harlem Black Belt"; Negroes Own $60,000,000 Property

The story of the southern negro in New York city is outlined in an interesting manner by Chester T. Crowell in an article entitled "The World's Largest Negro City," which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of August 8. Possibilities of the negro and opportunities for the general expansion of the race are depicted in a new and unusual light, and the article holds a peculiar interest for citizens of Winston-Salem, not only for the colored population of the city, but for all who are familiar with the negro in his native element.

The article is reproduced in part:

"Although there are several great urban centers of negro population in this country, none other has the cosmopolitanism of New York. That, more than mere numbers, constitutes its distinctive feature.

"The Harlem black belt, as it is generally called, draws immigrants from every country in the world that has a negro population, either large or small, consequently Harlem is now the world's negro capital. Ambitious and talented colored youth on every continent look forward to reaching Harlem. It is the Mecca for all who seek opportunity with a capital 'O,' one of the few places in the world where a negro may achieve wealth and distinction among his own people.

"In a community of that size it is not necessary for him to solicit the attention of the surrounding white population. But if he happens to possess unusual ability —such, for instance, as that of Roland Hayes, the singer, or Paul Robeson, the actor, New York will probably discover him eventually and accord him applause. He could not be sure of very much more, but still, wealth and applause are alone sufficiently attractive to draw candidates from all parts of the world.

" . . . .The effect produced upon former cotton pickers from the southern states by this international community can scarcely be estimated. To most of them it is sensational news that a race problem of world wide dimensions exists; that France, because of her African colonies has it as well as our country. They discover that negroes have achieved at one time or another remarkable success in nearly every line of human endeavor. And the knowledge is stimulating. Imagine the astonishment of a Mississippi negro, recently employed in a livery stable, when he arrives at Lenox avenue carrying his rattan suitcase and discovers a newspaper published in English, French and Spanish, and carrying news gathered from all parts of Latin-America, the West Indies and especially Africa. His eyes will open wider when he is told that Harlem as a community has a special mission as a beacon light to the submerger peoples of the Dark Continent.

" . . . Gradually the people of Harlem are finding their way into new lines of employment; but the obstacles are numerous and crumble very, very slowly. Some do not crumble at all, nor is there at present reason to believe they will do so in the future. Nevertheless, the colored people live; they like Harlem, they laugh, they sing, they dance, they have paradise almost every day, lodges and churches flourish in almost astounding numbers; no one is alarmed because 200,000 of them live there and by degrees they are creating a community life of real promise. Among them are doctors, writers, surgeons, artists, scientists, actors, entertainers, singers, musicians and educators. They also have a number of sound and flourishing businesses.

"Real estate men who know that district well estimate that the negroes now own more than $60,000,000 worth of land and buildings in it. They are steadily acquiring more. At the fringe of the district there is always opposition to its spread; and this is expressed, strangely enough, in a way that aids rather than holds back the negroes. Both tenants and proprietors become panicky when property near by is either rented or purchased by negroes, and quite frequently values decline, while some of the white tenants vacate. What follows is a strange reversal of economic laws, because if the white tenants and proprietors stood together they would have the colored man at a terrible disadvantage. But they can reside anywhere and he isn't sure whether he can or not.

"A southern white man would find little that is unusual, either good or bad, in the vicinity of Lenox avenue and One Hundred and Thirty-fifth street; but Harlem is utterly baffling to foreign radical propagandists in New York, as they themselves willingly admit. From their point of view, an American negro ought to be a radical convert from the first encounter. Hasn't he been segregated, barred from many fields of employment, and subjected to Jim Crow laws both by statute and by common consent? Why, then, shouldn't he fall in with efforts to overthrow the present order? But he doesn't. He remains intensely patriotic. The radicals are entirely mistaken—and so are many other people—in assuming that all these negroes fled from the south because they felt that they were treated unjustly. Thousands of them were recruited by labor agents who went through the south for that purpose.

"The same economic lure that brought other thousands from the British West Indies, Central and South America, and in lesser numbers from other lands. They were pleased with the conditions they found and wrote letters back to their former homes describing in glowing terms their great adventures. With characteristic negro optimism and their racial will to happiness, the letter writers omitted practically all the unfavorable features of their transplanting, such, for instance, as the fact that five dollars isn't worth nearly so much in New York as in a Georgia village.

"Thousands of these letters were read in church, lodges and at other gathering. Presently a great migration was under way. It reached flood tide during 1923. The negro leaders themselves refer to it as the great leaderless movement. White men advance all sorts of theories to explain this movement. Some said the world war had profoundly affected the negroes' point of view and that he would never again endure southern rural conditions. But when one talks to the negro himself he finds very little evidence of resentment or bitterness. They will tell you how greatly they appreciate northern school terms of nine months, but they do not complain about southern rural schools, possibly because the white schools also had short terms."

Race Problem - 1925

United States.

West Point Ga
News

1-1-25

GOOD ADVICE

Rev. Dr. D. D. Crawford, corresponding secretary of the General Missionary Baptist convention of Georgia, and a well-known negro educator and divine, in a communication published on this page speaks some monumental truths with regard to tenant farm conditions that confront his people, and the reasons why so many of them have flocked from the rural sections to the cities, both North and South.

The writer of the communication cites a half dozen separate conditions, the remedying of which he declares will help the state's farming interests, help the racial relations and serve to stabilize the present unsatisfactory farm labor conditions and better the tenant situation as it applies to his own race.

First is the guarantee of safety to life and property. This is fundamental, of course, and every citizen of Georgia, white or black, should enjoy the constitutional guarantees in this respect. Law enforcement alone will do it. There will never be dependable safety to either life or property so long as constituted authority is ignored and so long as a community winks at ruffian, night riding "regulators" who impose and execute the sentences of their own courtmartial in defiance of law.

Changing the credit system, by which exorbitant interest rates shall not be charged is essential. The law is not rigid enough in this respect. The protection of the debtor against usury is the purpose of the law, but it permits of loop-holes and evasions and is violated. Tenants, white and black, by reason of their dependency, have been taken advantage of and every community in Georgia should see to it that this practice is stopped.

Better housing is fundamental. Good schools, which mean safe, sanitary, healthful schoolhouses and competent teachers are essential; and cooperation in promoting the church work of the race is just as essential. As Dr. Crawford says, the country church is the shrine of the country negro and general and effective help in making him magnify and love his shrine not only makes a better citizen out of him, and a more dependable worker, but anchors him to the community, thus stabilizing farm help and tenant conditions.

Better highways are essential to every community in the interest of all the people. In this we feel that Georgia generally is doing the best she can under restricted resources and will gradually improve.

The whole discussion narrows itself down to the one word, cooperation. The white people, the landlords and the employers should expect and receive only satisfactory service from their negro helpers and tenants and in getting that service they must expect to cooperate with them that they may be comfortably housed, properly schooled and treated fairly at all times and under all circumstances.—Atlanta Constitution.

The above is the broad-minded, far-sighted way of looking at a matter that is of much importance to every Southerner. This is the day of cooperation—willingness to meet the other man halfway and deal with him on a basis of mutual interest. Since the days before the Civil War, the South has made great strides toward real democracy, and with each stride has bettered herself wondrously. But there are before us many more strides.

There was a time when the cotton mills of the South—and of the entire country, for that matter—maintained a system of handling labor, of housing it, and of paying it, that placed it on a plane hardly better than slavery. At that time it was thought to be the only method of successfully managing such industries. That system has been replaced by a liberal and enlightened system, and the mills have grown and multiplied as never would have been possible under the old methods.

The same thing will happen to farming—that is, if farming is ever to be handled successfully. And it is being done in some sections How long the country's greatest and most essential industry will remain behind in its housecleaning is a question for which we have no answer.

The owners of the landed estates will one day answer it, as have the operators of the mills. Development in the South is inevitable—and it will crush those who do not march under its

WHAT'S WRONG WITH ATLANTA?

We have not just now discovered that something is radically wrong with Atlanta, and we do not believe that the city fathers have just now discovered this fact, but, they have just now aroused themselves to a serious consideration of the city's ills and now seek to remedy them. At a meeting of the Presidents Club on Monday night, seventy-five of Atlanta's leading business men entered into a free and frank discussion of the city's ills and presented the following as some of the ills that are seriously affecting the city's growth and development:

Atlanta Georgia

1-1-25

1.—Lawlessness is driving hundreds of prospective citizens and industries from Atlanta and keeping as many from coming here to make a home.

2.—It is a question of who belongs to the "secretest" order as to who stands the best chance to get elected to public office in Atlanta and the state of Georgia.

3.—A big secret organization is running politics and ruining Georgia. Our mayor, our governor and our secretary of agriculture openly admit being members of the order.

Claim Exorbitant Taxes.

4.—One of the largest corporations in Atlanta is planning to move to another city because of exorbitant taxation and the manipulation of this taxation and the tax laws.

5.—There are 5,443 vacant private homes in the city of Atlanta. There are 443 empty apartments. There are 1,212 vacant stores in the city. From the Aragon hotel to Ponce de Leon avenue alone—this right in the heart and showplace of the city of Atlanta—there are 49 vacant stores. This is the largest number in the civic annals of Atlanta.

Public officials—police, city, county and state—are subsidized. It is not so much the extremely heavy taxation, but the manner in which the tax laws are manipulated. There have not been six men who have served in the city council of Atlanta who ever saw $2,000 in cash all at one time.

Farm legislation at once and far-reaching is vital to save Georgia.

The fact that such upstanding men have actually interested themselves in the city's welfare in such a free and frank manner forebodes much good. The Independent is much of the opinion that most of the present-day ills exist because the best element of citizens have been derelict in the performance of those civic duties which citizenship imposes. The upstanding citizen has been too busy with his personal affairs to serve his city government; he has left his duties to the cheap political demagogue who plays the game for pay and graft. Professional politicians have run the city's affairs to their own liking and advantage without regard to the welfare of the people and the best growth of the city. Colonel Peel's indictment of the men who have served council, as to financial worth, if true, is because many Peels have been too busy to make the sacrifice of council service. The same is true in other governmental offices. The police department has been a veritable political football, and the low salaries paid has been the cause of it consisting of a personnel that does not measure up to that of many cities of Atlanta's class and calibre. Honest, sober men on the police force serve at a great sacrifice. Despite high taxes, lawlessness is rampant because of inadequate police protection and laxity in the enforcement of the law. Too many criminals are jailed and released on fines, when they should be put away for the good of society.

The school system of Atlanta is far short of what it ought to be, and it stays in a financial hole. In truth, the entire city government system needs a tonic, and we believe it is coming to it.

But, a temporary remedy will not answer for the permanent health of our great city. Spasmodic efforts are only good as long as the efforts last. What the city needs for her best permanent development is a consecration of the upstanding men and women to the duties of citizenship. No one thing is more responsible for the present ills than the failure of upstanding citizens to go to the polls and vote for the men and measures that best reflect their views of good government. The elimination of Negroes by the democratic white primary and the failure of the good citizens to exercise their suffrage on election days are contributions in no little measure to a government of the few, by the few and for the few. It is highly conducive to political quackery and demagoguey, and a stigma that must be removed before wholesome, clean government will be realized whereby the best economic, industrial, educational and financial interest of a people may be preserved.

The only surprising thing about the number of vacant homes, apartments nd stores is that there are not more. Thrifty and economic people are unwilling to remain or come into a city where there is lawlessness, lack of industry, poor educational facilities, but high taxes. Capital is unwilling to exert itself or come in where the people are unstable. and both are unwilling to cast their lot where visible government has been supplanted by invisible determines who shall fill office. The citizens rection of their fully performing the duties that citizenship imposes

THE NEGRO

In the South.

Sixty years ago the people of the South took up the task of building a new civilization. The Civil War had destroyed the economic foundations upon which the former civilization had rested. The soil, the climate and the people were about all that remained. The human elements in the situation had been greatly changed. Former masters were no longer masters and those who had been slaves were now free men. Together they must build anew what had been swept away by war, writes Will W. Alexander, director of the commission on inter-racial co-operation, in the New York Times.

Sixty years is a short time in the life of a people. No social change can yield its full and complete results in so short a period. Yet this experience has thrown light upon the nation's most serious race problem. There are roads that undoubtedly lead forward, and a growing number of southern people are convinced that the way of real progress in adjustment of race problems has been found.

It must be remembered always that there is in reality no such thing as "the South." Instead there are many Souths. Geographical sections in the South differ from one another almost as much as each of these differ from other parts of the nation. In every southern community differences of opinion, culture and outlook are to be found. However, among the most thoughtful men and women of the South the following convictions regarding race relations are widely held and steadily gaining ground:

1. Education has been and must continue the chief influence in the solution of this, as other social problems. The communities that surround negro schools have the lowest crime records of any negro communities. Scores of the best and oldest negro schools point proudly to the fact that none of their graduates have been convicted of crime. On the white side, those states that have led in education have also been the leaders in the overthrow of mob violence. Good schools and mobs never operate in the same community. So the southern states are building schools for white and negro. Even in the most backward sections this is going on. It is admitted everywhere that the greatest southern statesmen since 1865 have been educators. Working at the task from different angles they have been the real pioneers of the South that is slowly but surely working out the task left by slavery, the Civil War and reconstruction.

2. Force and education can never long work hand in hand at a human problem. A study of the crime record of the South for the past twenty-five years shows that resorts to force go along with other types of crime and that force, instead of improving conditions, makes them worse. Force always calls for more force and begets more crime. This conviction, more than anything else, is the cause of the notable decrease in mob violence against negroes that has marked the last few years. This conviction is held and voiced by preachers, editors and leaders of thought everywhere throughout the South. All these agree in saying that the experience of sixty years has made thoughtful leaders of both races for the consideration of common interests. Dr. Booker T. Washington and the wisest white leaders of his generation recognized that whites and negroes were parts of one situation and that together they must find a way out.

Two recent developments indicate that this viewpoint is coming to wider and wider acceptance. The most successful agricultural and marketing projects now operating in the South include negro farmers. These movements are recognizing that, in spite of race, white and negro farmers are "economic brothers." This is notably true of the tobacco growers' co-operatives.

For five years the commission on interracial co-operation, composed of influential white and negro citizens, has worked systematically to discover in each community white and colored leaders who would accept conference and co-operation as the method of dealing with common interests. The response to this has been encouraging. Public officials in most instances have been sympathetic. The most influential papers have given whole-hearted support. Church bodies have given unqualified approval. Especially encouraging is the growth of co-operation between white and colored women. Hundreds of interracial committees are now in existence. Slowly the idea is spreading. It works. Never before were there so many white and negro men and women sincerely seeking to understand their common life and through common effort to enrich the life of all. The community chests of Richmond, Norfolk, Atlanta and Louisville include sums for the support of this work. Some of the great Southern church boards are also giving it financial support. The most important result of this method is the better interracial attitude engendered as a by-product. Fellowship in work has been found the surest way to that appreciation and sympathy which alone can displace indifference and suspicion.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The Wisconsin
Evening Press
5-7-25

"The Negro problem has ever been a problem of the United States. But now as a problem of reconstruction it assumes large proportions.

The Negroes as a class are restless. They are beginning to feel keenly their lack of social, industrial and educational advantages. The war is not the direct cause for this but it is the immediate cause of its manifestations.

"The majority of Negroes going into the army were illiterate and unused to any social or moral restraint. Living the daily military life of exercise of both mind and body, they have changed from indolent idlers to energetic workers and thinkers. Those who have come back from camps over-seas and at home have not gone back to their pre-war existence. It is clearly shown in the case of the Negro soldier that the right kind of life leaves its imprint just as strongly as the wrong kind.

"The United States must take some attitude on the Negro question. The general attitude of the country has been changed by the display of patriotism and loyalty of the Negro in this war but the country must take some concrete action.

"Two courses may be pursued. The Negro may be either made entirely subservant or the Negro may be made the object of a nation-wide campaign for betterment of the Negro race. The latter is the only plausable course. Even those people who feel a strong race prejudice against the Negro will see the saneness of the latter course. It is only after the Negro has been given a fair chance along industrial, political, social, educational and religious lines that he will return that fair chance to us. We are being faced by the facts—we can no longer regard the Negroes as negative factors in our Government, our industries, our schools and our churches.

"The first two steps in the betterment of the Negro race are the efforts to see the better side of the Negro character and life and to see that the Negro gets the proper education. Before the Negro can adjust himself to modern life and thought he must know what modern life and thought is.

"Steps have been taken to help the black man but they will not succeed without the co-operation and work of the white man."
—The Evening Wisconsin.

LOUISVILLE KY COURIER JRN

JANUARY 28, 1925

The publication of communications under this head does not imply editorial approval. The best insurance of consideration is briefness. The Courier-Journal reserves the right to condense submitted articles.

FAIR TREATMENT FOR THE NEGRO.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

The recent editorial appearing in The Courier-Journal on the contribution of the Negro to American history was very enlightening to those who are unaware of the achievements of the race.

It is very gratifying that a powerful Southern journal should publish in the editorial columns the deeds of valor of Negro soldiers in the early wars of the country, beginning with the Revolutionary War and through the subsequent wars down to the recent world conflict.

That he has been loyal and trustworthy in times of stress is the glory of the race. That he loves the flag (Old Glory), loves the institutions of his country, loves its great common people, the best in the world whatever be their faults, no one who really knows the race will gainsay. Whatever contentions he may have with the ruling class over differences of opinion is only on the surface, for, after all, at the bottom the Negro loves rather than hates. The elements of nature are so kindly mixed in him that he is impelled to smile, sing and forget.

The editorial in question bears striking comparison to the excellent paper on the research studies of Mrs. George Madden Martin, delivered at the recent interracial conference last month. Mrs. Martin reviews the accomplishments of the Negro race both in arts of war and peace. She reveals the large number of patents issued by the patent office; books written; chemical and biological discoveries, etc.

Such studies by a white woman of Mrs. Martin's type are stimulating the race to feel that by effort and close application to higher ideals it is possible to become useful members of the general social structure of American life.

Last year, Mrs. Martin, reviewing various conferences throughout the South, published an effective article in one of the great periodicals revealing the movement of powerful Southern white women to bring about a better understanding between the races by learning the point of view of each. As a result, the white women of the South placed a ban on lynching and injustice in the courts; encouraged education and economic opportunity.

Then followed Legislative enactments in nearly every Southern State, Mississippi among the leaders, appropriating large sums of money for common school education where practically none existed before. High schools have been recently established in many large centers of population and peace and contentment now remain on the native heath best suited to Negro life.

There is a large and growing class of white men and women of the South who desire to deal fairly and justly with their colored neighbors, who have been and will always be true to them.

Kentucky is well peopled with that class. The atmosphere of Kentucky has been charged by the early citizens with racial good will, and this has been promoted from time to time by their descendents and those who follow their principles, with the result that the colored people of this commonwealth are now catching the spirit and progress of their white neighbors.

For these reasons racial conflicts are, and let us hope may forever be, unknown. Some day someone will prepare a list of those thoroughbred stalwart whites, who, like Abou Ben Adhem, loved their fellow men.

A. E. MEYZEEK.

Louisville.

"NIGGER"

[To the Editor of the SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—I wish to add my endorsement to Mr. Scoresby Routledge's letter in your issue of November 29th, condemning the use of the word "*nigger*." If "Caucasian" and "Mongolian" are written with capital letters, why not "Negro"?—I am Mr. Julian Huxley's use in your columns of the term "*nigger*," written with a small letter, but educated members of the This white man's epithet of contempt for the coloured man is employed by the Americans of fine sensibilities and is generally banned in the United States from polite discourse like the parallel terms, "*dago*" and "*kike*," for Italian and Jew, and "*chink*" for the Chinese. There may be a place for "*nigger*" in certain branches of literature which take for their theme the *milieus* in which it is used. But the callousness with which the ordinary educated Englishman uses this offensive term is one of the most shocking things that a well-bred American encounters when he visits your country.

R. GORDON WASSON.

"Current Opinion," 50 West 47th Street, New York.

December 18th.

Race Problem — 1925.
United States.

Major Cox and His Race Problem Complex

In the JOURNAL AND GUIDE of September 5, we carried an editorial headed, "Is Liberia a Land of Promise?" We think we proved that it is not, at least as the Afro-American is concerned. At the conclusion of the editorial we had the following to say:

> "We could do better, but we are doing very well in this country, better than any of the race are doing in any other country, in Africa or out of Africa. We commend this view of the question to Messrs. John Powell and Earnest Sevier Cox, who are wasting much time on our business and neglecting their own business while so doing."

Major Earnest Sevier Cox, of the White America Society, takes exception to our conclusion, in a discursive article which we publish in another column of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE today. He wants to know if we really mean what we say, that he and Mr. Powell are neglecting their business in attending to ours. That is what we mean. He also wants to know if we "really mean that the white man has no right to discuss the issues involved in the dwelling together of the two races." Again: "Do you mean that the Negro is to settle the Negro problem and that the white man is to have no voice in the matter. And Major Cox invites us to a discussion of the ethnological and biological phases of the problem which he makes and which we declare to be a personal matter with him and his sort, who go about attending to other people's business and neglecting their own. We hold that there is no lawful race and color problem in this country, and those who seek to make one are simply strife breeding busy bodies.

The Constitution of the United States obliterates the race and color problem from consideration as such in defining the citizenship of the United States,—which includes the Negro, the Jew, the Catholic and the Foreign born on the very same terms that it does the 100 percenters, of whom Mr. Cox is one, who would prescribe requirements of citizenship for us not found in the philosophy of Jesus, as elaborated into a Constitution of the United States nor in the system by Paul, and to which Mr. Cox subscribes as a citizen and Christian. Now, we say there is no Negro problem, simply because the Constitution, in the 13th amendment, abolished slavery, in the 14th defined citizenship, and in the 15th clinches the question, as follows: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

That being the fundamental law of the Nation why should we admit that a private citizen has the right in law or equity to make a problem which denies my co-equality with him in all matters of citizenship, and would go so far as to create a public opinion that would sanction such legislation as the Racial Integrity Law of Virginia, which, we are told, as we are in the matter of all other race legislation, "works no hardship on us." We have no argument with a person who stands for that sort of thing. He invites our undying antagonism, and, logically, the issues of all antagonism, in the last analysis, have been strife and bloodshed. Who invites strife and bloodshed? He who would question and deny and abridge our Constitutional "privileges and immunities," which are identical with those he enjoys without any question at all on our part.

Mr. Cox has reduced his race problem to two alternatives. (1.) Forcible separation of the races. (2.) Amalgamation. They can't be separated by force, except by a Constitutional amendment, and a Constitutional amendment cannot be had without going through the intricate processes prescribed in such cases, and if Congress should submit such an amendment to the people they would not vote to ratify it. That is our belief. As to amalgamation, that will take care of itself, as it has been doing, the white races in America having gone so far in crossing their blood with that of the Black and Red races of America as to make complete separation of them, with color as the test, a physical impossibility.

Left to intermarry among themselves,—but the whites refuse to leave them to themselves in the sexual relation,—the Black and Red races in the Americas, and especially in the United States, have received so much white blood that, in the induration of the American type of color they will approximate to it naturally. There are some fifty-seven race groups in the United States, say, and most of them have some of the Black and Red blood crossing, which they fetched here with them from Europe in the Angle, Teuton, Gaelic and Celtic, Latin and Slav races, all of which will blend finally in the American race type and color. What that color will be we do not know, but it will not be white, any more than it is pure unmixed white now or ever was, since the flood of waters.

The JOURNAL AND GUIDE declines to discuss with Major Cox, "the biological issues of a race problem," and it has no preferred form of "solution." We do not favor race separation by forcible expatriation and we prefer to leave the mixing of the races to take care of itself, being a matter which we were not consulted about in the beginning and shall not be consulted about in the ending, or finality, of. The Almighty God of the Republic who purposed to make "a new people and a new nation," on this Continent will take care of the matter as He has been and is doing.

When we go outside of the Constitution and the Christian philosophy to make strife-breeding problems we are in bad if not traitorious business.

A Study in News Values

The late Dr. Booker T. Washington used to relate how upon one occasion, when he made one of the most important addresses of his career to one of the largest audiences he ever appeared before in a Southern city he looked in vain through the pages of the local morning paper for some mention of his meeting, only to find it written up in six lines at the bottom of the last column of the last page under a six point caption. On the front page of the same morning paper, there was a half column story, under bold, double-column headlines, describing how a Negro sneak-thief had snatched a lady's pocket-book.

The biggest piece of news relating to colored Americans that "broke" last week was the death of Henry Lincoln Johnson at Washington. The Associated Press sent it out. One of our Norfolk dailies carried it in a few lines under the exact caption printed below:

LINK JOHNSON DIES

On the day previous this same splendid daily paper of ours carried another bit of Negro news in a conspicuous place under the exact caption reproduced below:

Colored Alleged Burglar Arrested At Snyder Store

Notice the contrast. It all reminds one of the *Macon* (Ga.) *Telegraph*, which carries a column of news relating the worthwhile achievements and activities of Macon colored people, but carries a notice to the effect that none of these papers which contain these reports are sent to white homes. The same paper, on the other hand, prints on all of its pages every day crime news made by the Negro and sends it into white homes. That is another phase of Southern psychology which Negroes do not comprehend.

RACIAL CLASH PREDICTED IN PHILADELPHIA

Writer Says Quaker City Is Becoming Hot Bed Of Race Antipathy, That May Come To Climax Any Time

By Walter Archester Ellis

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., August 31.—This is not submitted as a calamity howl. It is not an effort to cool the ardor of prospective visitors to the Quaker City next year. But it is intended as a warning in time.

There is something hatching in Philadelphia. The old mid-summer Riot-hen has been turning her eggs for some time. But owing to certain definite causes and along certain lines of definite reasonings, gained by actual experience about setting Riot-hens, the writer senses that a young riot is likely to pip the shell at almost anytime during the next month. But cold weather usually cools off the eggs. The hatching may resume, unless something to kill the eggs is done during the next few months.

Now is the time to begin smashing them.

The present writer has studied inter-racial prejudice and its causes; the leading causes of several nation-note riots; and was personally present at the Atlanta riot, the Chicago riot and told through the columns of the Detroit Independent about the coming of the 1st Detroit riot a year ahead of its hatching and brooding. (The second one of that city is about due to turn up in the vicinity of Gratiot and St. Antoine or Hastings next summer).

Now he presumes to state the reasons why a riot—a big, dangerous one is almost due in Philadelphia.

As a first cause, racial antagonism is at the bottom of these racial clashes. That is self-evident. But in itself there is seldom a cause for massed attacks. There are usually found political (Atlanta) or social (Omaha and Chicago as well as Detroit) instances as brands to start the blazes or hatch the eggs.

In Philadelphia it is the growing bitter feeling between the races. Especially is this true upon South and Lombard streets in the shopping and marketing districts.

Both the better element in each race have begun to notice and to demur this situation. Large numbers of colored men are pouring in from the South. Numbers of women from the South also of both races are entering the city daily. The police do not seem to sense the situation pending. Yet it is growing stronger each week.

Mixed marriages are rare and public social relations between the mixed sexes and races are not openly tolerated here. Yet, assiduously, it is growing in magnitude.

Were this city much farther North or much farther South there would be no cause for alarm. The activities in the underworld would be more particularly watched by the authorities, without regard to racial preference. But this is Philadelphia—half South and half North.

Next year there will be thousands of high roller colored men from the North down here. There will be thousands of low roller white men from the South here, too—and all the in-betweens.

And unless the ministers, newspapers and public citizens get busy about this situation before warm weather comes again the old Riot setting hen will hatch out such a brood as the country has never witnessed before.

One guess will answer which side the Philly police are likely to take. And the Philly Negroes have not a reputation for fighting anyone except Negroes.

This is an excellent time to think and act.

CAMDEN N. J. TELEGRAM
AUGUST 19, 1925

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1925.

The Negro in Our Midst

"You cannot place negroes in houses near dumps and cess pools and expect them to rear, or be, respectable citizens."

That is the key-note of an editorial in the New Jersey Spokesman, "a publication devoted to the uplift of the negro race."

It is a message to which Camden should give special heed in the face of the ever-quickening emigration of the negroes from the South and their new concentration in such cities near the border as Philadelphia, Camden, St. Louis, Chicago and even New York.

What intelligent planning is Camden doing to make a home for the colored thousands who will come to our city during the next few years as surely as the tide will sweep up the Delaware tonight?

* * * * * *

Other cities have refused to face this question squarely. Through sheer force of inertia they have tolerated such conditions as the crowding of 135 negro men into one five-room flat in Harlem to sleep in relays in hopeless filth. They have allowed the negro influx to be herded into a few mean squares, where they are forced to pay exorbitant rents for inadequate housing.

But these cities which have dodged the issue are already beginning to pay the price. Sheer mass pressure is squeezing the negroes out of the narrow limits the white man has sought to place upon them. In Chicago the colored district has engulfed the finest old residential section of the city. From Chicago, from St. Louis, from half-a-dozen other cities come tales of race riots and race hatreds fanned to fever heat—because the cities failed to plan a home for their new negro population.

If Camden wishes to escape these horrors, Camden would do well to face squarely the problem of the negro in our midst.

* * * * * *

The Post-Telegram cannot agree with the New Jersey Spokesman that all property restrictions should be removed and negroes should be encouraged to live where they will. We believe that too close association of different races is harmful to Caucasian and negro alike.

But we know of no better aim for the city's planners than to work out a scheme whereby the colored sections can be given room for expansion and the better classes of negroes can be saved from herding in slums with the less ambitious and progressive members of their race.

"The average Caucasian fails to realize that all colored people are not alike," the Spokesman complains. "We have our classes as well as masses, just as other races have."

If Camden wants its negro population to be upstanding, educated, law abiding Americans, Camden must recognize the rights of its colored voters and give them decent living quarters. Camden must give each negro family a chance to earn a home of which it can be proud.

Colored People Have Right To Land Says, Ex-Senator

SIOUX FALLS, S. D., Aug. 21—Former Senator R. F. Pettigrew, addressing a meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the freedom of the American Negroes, said that the Negroes should have been given the land on which they worked when freed. The Negroes were justified in leaving the South, Pettigrew said:

America is a backward and barbarous nation, Pettigrew continued, 56 per cent of the land in the Middle West is owned by "parasitical landlords," and that most of the wealth of the United States is in the hands of a few persons. Pettigrew denouced the domination of Wall Street.

NEGROES HAVE RIGHT TO LAND PETTIGREW SAYS

Praises Soviet Union, Condemns Wall Street

SIOUS FALLS, South Dakota, Aug. 11.—Former Senator R. F. Pettigrew, addressing a meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the freedom of the American Negroes, said that the Negroes should have ben given the land on which they worked when freed. The Negroes were justified in leaving the south, Pettigrew said.

America is a backward and barbarous nation, Pettigrew continued, 56 per cent of the land in the middle west is owned by "parasitical landlords", and that most of the wealth of the United States is in the hands of a few persons. Pettigrew denounced the domination of Wall Street.

He praised Lenin, and declared that the workers and farmers of America should support the Soviet Union. He urged confiscation of land, railroads and banks by the workers.

CHRISTIAN CONFAB FACES BIG PROBLEM

Race Question Including American Negro Gets Attention of Conference

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN. Aug. 25.—Race problems, including that of the American négro and the cult of Nordic blood superiority were discussed by various speakers at the session of the Universal Christian conference today.

An American negro minister of Methodist affiliation, the Reverend William Y. Bell, said he was sure that the hundreds of millions of dark skinned inhabitants of this earth do not acquiesce in the status quo.

"We are determined and set under God by every fair means available and yet to come," he declared, "to puncture the bubble of Nordic superiority. And we have every confidence that the Nordics themselves shall profit by the explosion. We are sure that the Christian forces of America and Europe are with us in this purpose."

He expressed the opinion that the existing race contempts are attributable partly to determination to maintain the economic, industrial, political and international status quo.

Race Problem—1925
United States.

IS PRESIDENT COOLIDGE SINCERE

After a careful reading of the Omaha speech of President Coolidge, we find we are unable to be so enthusiastic, as many of our contemporaries, over this speech. We have searched high and low, diligently and minutely to discover the sincere chord but are unable to find it. St. Louis Argus

There was little said that could be construed to refer to the Negroes of this country. However, much stress and favorable comment have been made on the following paragraph:

"The result of the war will be lost, and we shall only be entering a period of preparation for another conflict, unless we can demobilize the racial antagonisms, fears hatreds and suspicions, and create an attitude of toleration, and I believe that the place where it should begin is at home."

10-23-25

We heartily agree with The President that "The place where it should begin is at home." These racial antagonisms, hatreds and suspicions were begun here at home and the "demobilizing of them certainly should begin where they originated.

St. Louis, Mo.

The question of sincerity arises when we think of the President as the Chief Executive of this great country and having the power within his grasp to initiate the "demobilizing" by starting within his own Governmental departments. In another sentence he said: "Among some of the varying racial, religious and social groups of our people there have been manifestations of an intolerance of opinion, a narrowness of outlook, a fixity of judgment, against which we may well be warned." In the Governmental departments he will find a "fixity of judgment" that existed even before the world war and it has not been demobilized since the war. However, if the President is sincere in his quoted statement that he believes that it should begin at home, then he can begin it, by issuing an executive order eliminating some of the "fixity of judgment" which segregates, discriminates against and fosters "disregard for the opinion and feelings of the minorities" of the colored employees under the civil service, in the various departments there in Washington.

Unless words are uttered in sincerity there is no weight to them and little hope could be held out for the carrying out of a program thereby described. Action following an expression adds much to the power of the expression. The attitude which the President has manifested toward the Negro certainly does not warrant such ecstasy manifested by many of our papers over this speech in Omaha.

We realize that there is a general ground swell of desire, yea craving for action on the part of the President to relieve many of the ills suffered by the Negroes of this great country of ours. Therefore, when this Republican President let a precious few words drop in Omaha, slightly referring to the race and its ills, craving hearts grabbed at the bait and ran off with it without giving it due consideration which it warrants.

When we take into consideration that President Coolidge has been in the chair for more than two years and he has not made a single appointment of a colored man to an office of any importance. That he continues Col. C. C. Sherrill, a Democrat of North Carolina, in office in charge of building and grounds in the District. That this same Sherrill is responsible for the insulting and humiliating segregation of colored people at the dedication of the Lincoln Memoral. That he is responsible for the segregation of Negroes on the golf links, at the bathing beach, on the baseball diamonds, the tennis grounds and at the restaurants in the Capitol building. The segregation of Negroes in the various departments there in Washington has been brought to his personal attention a number of times. He is well aware of the disfranchisement of American citizens in a number of states. His department of Justice is cognizant of the wide spread peonage system of the south. And he is aware of the marauding lawlessness of the Klan. Therefore, with this array of evidence before us we cannot help but ask the question, "Is the President Sincere?" If he is, then when will he begin to demobilize?

DETROIT MFG. AND EXCL. P.
SEPTEMBER 19, 1925

The Race Question in Michigan

SOME RECENT disturbances of the peace in Detroit growing out of the presence of a negro population in the city. The particular causes of the recent troubles were the purchases of homes in districts generally inhabited by white citizens, and the resentment of the white at this intrusion. The importance of the issues involved has led the mayor of the city to appoint an inter-racial commission to attempt to harmonize the situation and prevent further irritation.

As the Detroit incidents may, in degree, at least, be repeated in other places in Michigan, it may not be amiss to get a bit of information across concerning the really important extent to which the colored race has gotten a foothold in Detroit. There have always been a few negroes in our northern cities, originally refugees from slavery, later on their descendants and accessions, but these had no substantial effect upon industrial economics until the war-time demand was created. During the war the common labor problem became more or less acute and was solved to some extent by the introduction of negro labor from the south. A fair amount of this labor was composed of pretty well trained workers, while a part was simply crude labor. A rather surprising proportion of these accessions to the labor supply of Detroit and southeastern Michigan turned out to be well skilled mechanics, especially useful in the building trade. One cannot go through the districts in which new construction is going on nowadays without being impressed both with the number and the skill of negro masons and carpenters, who are at work, while in the cement working trades they are both numerous and useful.

The employers of labor were to a large degree responsible for this influx of colored labor, rather as a temporary palliative in the first instance, it would seem, and as a permanent condition later on. Indeed, the demand for colored labor in the northern cities, Detroit among them, is a sequel to the exclusion of European immigration.

These people being in the north and at work, must live. The negro housing problem has been one of importance in Detroit for the past six or seven years. They are good earners, and seek the creature comforts of life which their earnings provide. Many of them are well educated people. All of them have been exploited and be-devilled by parasitical

real estate agents when they sought to buy homes. So far as rentals are concerned, they have been lacerated by landlords to the limit the traffic would stand. As an economic and industrial factor in a manufacturing city they have been pretty badly treated. Where the better educated, more cultured and better off have found it desirable to buy homes they have always been able to purchase, even in white neighborhoods were they willing to pay a premium for property on account of their color. As a matter of fact, whole residence districts, formerly peopled by whites, are now occupied by people of color. So far as we can see, their presence has appreciated property values, and they themselves have kept their property in good order, with that trimness and neatness that comes from appreciation of home owning. Yet the two races will not mix and the invasion of exclusively white residence districts has led to disorder.

There are more than 80,000 negroes in the city of Detroit. The large percentage of them are industrial workers. They must have homes to be such. Their labor values are very great to the whole city and the surroundings. Some accommodation must be made between the races to permit them to live decently. Otherwise they will disappear, making a gap in the labor supply that will be difficult to fill up. The inter-racial commission which is to discuss the problem may discover a solution. To our own mind the building of decent homes, rentable at decent rents, in such sections as are mutually agreeable, would go far toward settling the matter. But so long as the negro is exploited by the landlord he will have just cause for complaint.

Welch. Wire - News

OCT 7 - 1925

THE NEGRO IN THE NEWS

(Roanoke Times)

"Why is it," asks the Norfolk Journal and Guide, a negro newspaper which in the estimation of The Virginian-Pilot "is edited with intelligence, discrimination and fine restraint"—"why is it," asks The Journal and Guide, "that the same white newspaper that dismissed with a few lines and a small caption the death of Henry Lincoln Johnson one of the most eminent political leaders of the colored race, gave liberal space and a bold black head to the news of the arrest of a 'colored alleged burglar?" The Journal and Guide confesses that it can see in this only "another phase of Southern psychology which negros do not comprehend.

The Virginian-Pilot treats the protest with the seriousness that it deserves. Conceding readily that the problem thus brought up "is an old one" and one to which it does not pretend to know a satisfactory explantation, The Virginian-Pilot suggests a future in which there will be "less exploitation of negro crime and greater publicity for negro achievement." In fairness to the negro race the coming of that day is to be desired and all reputable journals will do what they can to hasten its advent.

Attempting to answer more specifically the question raised in the instance cited by its colored contemporary. The Virginian-Pilot makes the point, "Since the general rule holds a story is worth for the newspaper what it is worth for its readers, it is to be expected that the obituaries of negro politicians, eminent and worthy though they may have been, will not be gone into at length for a body of readers for whom he holds only casual interest. Crime." it goes on to point out, "of course, has a direct human appeal, regardless of color, nativity or origin." This much by way of reply to the Journal and Guide's query; then to the constructive side of the question: "Let the negroes of a community begin to figure in force as a readers, and economic law will see to it tha tthe newspapers will not unduly slight the legitimate law in which they are interested."

It is no new problem, so far as Southern newspaperdom is concerned. On the contrary, it is one to which conscientious editors, mindful alike of their responsibility to their reading public and the obligation resting upon them to deal fairly and justly with all, have devoted a great deal of thought and study, without—let it be frankly admitted—conspicuous success thus far in their efforts to reach an equitable and just solution.

ADDRESS WAS A THRUST AT INTOLERANCE

Afro-Americans Consider President's Speech Was Timely Denunciation Of 100 Per Centers.

NATION'S HEAD STRIKES SUPERIORITY COMPLEX

Norfolk Journal and Guide 10-25-25

President Coolidge's speech before the convention of the American Legion at Omaha, Wednesday, aside from its strong appeal for a peaceable adjustment of international relations with which Negroes as American citizens are as much concerned as other race groups that go to make up the country's population, holds a special interest to the race which has provoked among Afro-Americans wide-spread comment.

Speech Timely

Coming from the head of the nation a powerful verbal onslaught on internal racial and religious intolerance at this particular time when there are well recognized and defined attempts being made by certain groups to foment race suspicion and hatred in the United States, the President's address appeals to the race as a most timely and able denunciation of the efforts of those who would further limit the American Negro's opportunity of citizenship. Mr. Coolidge's speech was addressed to the whole world, but the race has not failed to grasp much in it in defense of their citizenship, hopes and aspirations in this country.

President's Statement

In the paragraphs in which the President launched a direct thrust at the 100 per centers he said:

"If we are to have that harmony and tranquility, that union of spirit which is the foundation of real national genius and national progress, we must all realize that there are true Americans who did not happen to be born in our section of the country, who do not attend our place of religious worship, who are not of our racial stock, or who are not proficient in our language. If we are to create on this continent a free republic and an enlightened civilization that will be capable of reflecting the true greatness and glory of mankind, it will be necessary to regard these differences as accidental and non-essential. We shall have to look beyond the outward manifestations of race and creed. Divine Providence has not bestowed upon any race a monopoly of patriotism and character.

"Here again we must apply the rule of toleration. Because there are other peoples whose ways are not our ways, and whose thoughts are not our thoughts, we are not warranted in drawing the conclusion that they are adding nothing to the sum of civilization. We can make little contribution to the welfare of humanity on the theory that we are a superior people and all others are an inferior people. We do not need to be too loud in the assertion of our own righteousness."

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

Kelly Miller Says

Like a two-edged sword, race prejudice cut both ways. It weakens the energies and paralyzes the moral muscle of the white race; it stultifies the conscience and frustrates the normal workings of democracy and Christianity. It fosters a duplex standard of ethics, and leads to lawlessness, lynching, and all manner of National disgrace.

The elements of the white race that are most thoroughly obsessed by this passion show the lowest average of intellectual, moral and spiritual achievement.

What Is Prejudice?

Prejudice is a state of mind. Some affect to believe that it is an innate passion parallel with instinct, and is therefore unalterable. Others maintain that it is a stimulated animosity modifiable by time, environment and condition, and is on the same footing with other shallow obliterative feelings.

But whatever the basis of race prejudice, whether natural or acquired, we do know certainly that it is a pressing, persistent fact, easily stimulated and appeased with difficulty. It forms a barrier between the races which is as real as the seas and as apparent as the mountains.

Like a two-edged sword, race prejudice cuts both ways. It weakens the energies and paralyzes the moral muscle of the white race; it stultifies the conscience and frustrates the normal workings of democracy and Christianity. It fosters a double standard of ethics, and leads to lawlessness, lynching, and all manner of national disgrace.

The elements of the white race that are most thoroughly obsessed by this passion show the lowest average of intellectual, moral and spiritual achievement. The Ku Klux Klan spreads its virus through our democracy; Nordicism carries it to the ends of the earth.

Its effects are nationally and internationally threatening, and the American people and the Nordic civilization of which they are a part must stop to consider whether in this evil fruit they are not nurturing the fatal seeds of world dissension and catastrophe.

Segregation

But our present concern is mainly to describe prejudice as it affects the Negro. Here the harvest of prejudice is ripe for the sociologist's gleaning.

The outstanding and all-inclusive effect of race prejudice on the Negro can be summed up in one word, *segregation*. This is but the outer embodiment of the inner feeling of the white race. Whatever the nature and origin of this attitude, it is well nigh universal in the scope of its operation.

The watch word is "miscegenation," the rallying cry is "social equality."

The cunning propagandist knows how to play upon these alarms and to adjust their appeal to the varying moods of popular passion and prejudice as a skilled musician plays upon his favorite instrument. Until recently the Negro has been the victim, with little capacity to resist.

This attitude of the white race has decreed residential segregation. Several municipalities have sought to embody this feeling in restrictive ordinances.

In their too hasty zeal they overrode the reaches of the constitution and the law; Negroes, through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, contested the constitutionality of these ordinances and won a unanimous decision from the Supreme Court.

Yet the legal victory merely modified the details of procedure; it had little effect upon the actual fact of segregation, which operates as effectively without the law as within it, except as to the finality of its boundaries.

Segregation In Harlem

The most gigantic instance of racial segregation in the United States is seen in Harlem. There is no local law prescribing it. There does not have to be. And yet, under the normal operation of race prejudice, we find 200,000 Negroes shut in segregated areas as sharply marked as the aisled of a church.

This is but an example of what is taking place in every city and center where the Negro resides in great numbers. The recent tide of Northern migration has greatly emphasized this tendency.

In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Chicago, the Negro contingent lives in wards and sections of wards which the politician and the real estate dealer know as well as the mariners know the depths and shallows of the seas.

We may then take Harlem as a fair specimen of the harvest of race prejudice throughout the United States. Here we have the largest Negro community in the world. It is a city within a city, a part of, and yet apart from the general life of greater New York.

We need not stop here to dilate upon the inhumanity, the cruelty or the hardships of race prejudice. The outstanding fact and the consequences immediately flowing from it suffice for the present purpose.

These Negro communities are everywhere extending their boundaries without ending to any ascertainable limits we can now set. In Chicago the rapidly expanding boundaries of the black belt precipitated the lamentable race riot. The issue is still the cause of race agitation in milder form in all parts of the country.

The whites are trying to keep back the rising tide of black invasion into residential areas previously regarded as exclusively theirs. The Negroes are pushing over the boundaries of racial restriction in quest of more room and better facilities. We may expect this minor border warfare to continue until the matter settles itself by custom, understanding and acceptance. Thus it is that the sharp accentuation of race consciousness on the part of the white race is developing a counter-tendency on the part of the Negro. This is the first fruit of segregation.

Race Consciousness

If Negroes were indiscriminately interspersed among the white population of New York, race consciousness would weaken to the point of disappearance. Three hundred thousand Negroes intermingled among six million whites would be unnoticeable. But when segregated in two or three centers the African contingent becomes not only apparent, but impressive.

Whenever people are thrown together they begin to think of their common interests. A common consciousness emerges which shortly expresses itself in organized endeavor.

The Negro race as a whole has hitherto had a somewhat vague and indefinate collective consciousness stimulated in large part by stress of outside compulsion. But the race is too numerous, too wide-spread in territory and too diverse in interests to give this conscious edge. Harlem furnishes the needed pressure.

The Garvey movement furnishes the most extreme focusing of this feeling. Marcus Garvey found in Harlem not only a mass of Negroes surrounded and overshadowed by whites, but also a considerable group of West Indians, who, in many ways, felt themselves isolated and circumscribed by the native Afro-Americans.

Shrewdly enough he seized upon this group as the basis of his focal operation. He preached the impossibility of racial entente on the same soil and under the same political and social regime, and urged a racial hegira. His philosophy does not in this connection interest us. But he has shown to the world the possibility of focusing the racial mind, and of mobilizing racial resources about a formulated ideal.

Negro Agencies

Another fruit of prejudice is the direction which race effort and organization have been impelled to take; until recently the Negro has been thrown quite too much on the defensive.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People arose to cope with this situation on the basis of fight and protest. Their fundamental philosophy is based upon the belief that race prejudice is medicable by legal and judicial process. Their method is militant; their mood is optimistic. Equality is their goal; the elimination of prejudice their objective.

The Urban League, on the other hand, represents the ameliorative method which hopes that in the long run smooth working relations will be effected on the basis of mutual forbearance and good will. Its main track is local, urban and industrial.

The Negro Sanhedrin, the most recent attempt at race organization, seeks to understand the nature and extent of race prejudice, and to work on the basis of this understanding. If it should turn out that race prejudice cannot be overcome by direct attack and opposition, it may possibly be circumvented by building independently where independence is necessary, and by co-operation where co-operation is possible. It would at least garner the harvest of prejudice to the best advantage of the race.

The Negro Sanhedrin seeks to find the common denominator of racial ills, and would federate into one effective effort the scattered energies which are so largely wasted by friction and cross purpose. As a matter of fact, the race as a whole had never hitherto seriously essayed collective handling of the racial situation as a whole. There have been innumerable attempts at dealing with special features along local, religious, political and economic lines. But the integration of the race mind and the focalization of endeavor still await the fuller unfoldment of the workings of some such comprehensive movement as the Negro Sanhedrin.

The twelve millions scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land are treated by a single formula so far as the white race is concerned. And yet the Negro has had to rely upon local and scattered effort to offset the solid line of racial exclusiveness with which he is confronted. He must seek concerted action to confront difficulties that are nation-wide and race-deep.

Seeks Self Expression

Every minority and suppressed group seeks self-expression. Woodrow Wilson let off the lid of a new Pandora's box when he so eloquently preached this doctrine as the shiboleth of the war. The Negro seeks self-determination also. In Harlem he seeks political self-expression. He wants men of his own race to represent him in the city council, in the State legislature and in the national Congress.

Wherever a political area is numerically dominated by members of the race, they will naturally seek a voice in political councils. Here again segregation is basic. If the Negro were thinly scattered throughout greater New York, he would be politically negligible.

In Chicago, in the recent election, Negro candidates were successful for State Senate, Assembly and the municipal bench, and the whole race rejoices. What is it that unites twelve million Negroes in jubilation over such successes but the uniting force of race prejudice?

Business And Race Prejudice

Business is the last place in which prejudice shows itself, and it is in this field that its harvest is least manifest. Scattered throughout Harlem on practically every street corner are Jewish stores catering to the vast Negro constituency. The Jew makes the most acceptable merchant among Negroes because he knows how to reduce race prejudice to a minimum.

In Harlem, as in every other large city, the Negro proprietor conducts mainly sumptuary establishments such as eating-houses, barber-shops, beauty parlors, pool-rooms, and such places as cater immediately to the appetite or to the taste. The more substantial stores which require a larger exercise of the imagination, such as those dealing in dry goods, shoes, furniture, hardware and groceries, are usually in the hands of whites.

Race prejudice will sooner or later lead to race patronage in business as it has already done in the professions; but it awaits the time when the Negro shall have developed the business aptitude to compete with the white dealer, who is shrewd enough to hold prejudice in restraint for the sake of trade.

The final outcome of race prejudice operating to establish and maintain Negro sections in New York and elsewhere must evidently be a self-sufficient Negro community, competent to cater to its own needs and necessities as well as to contribute its quota to the general industrial and economic life of the city as a whole.

What then will be the form of race adjustment? Will the relationship of the two be characterized by amity or by enmity? We approach the issue with a mixed feeling of hopes and fears, but with our hopes triumphant over our fears. However bitter the fruit of the tree of prejudice may be, the Negro will eat thereof and thrive by the eating.

NEW YORK BULLETIN
MARCH 31, 1925

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 5th ave., yesterday announced receipt of a letter from James J. Davis, secretary of labor, stating that in response to complaints made by the Advancement Association of the activities of Dr. W. A. Plecker, special agent for the Children's Bureau, the bureau had taken steps to cancel Dr. Plecker's appointment.

Dr. Plecker, who is registrar of vital statistics in Virginia, was charged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with circulating, in U. S. government envelopes and under government postal frank, copies of a pamphlet containing a "most insulting and virulent attack upon the colored people of the United States."

The Fifteenth Amendment

A CORRESPONDENT out West criticises The GRAPHIC for awarding one of its daily $100 palmistry prizes to a Harlem negro.

"It appears queer to me," writes F. S. Campbell of Prescott, Ariz., "how you people of New York can respect the negro as you do. You treat him with as much respect as a white person."

The queer thing about this matter is that any one should think it queer.

A President of the United States, named Abraham Lincoln, determined sixty years and more ago whether colored men should be continued in slavery or whether they should be entitled to human rights.

An amendment was attached to the Constitution of the United States stating that "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Perhaps Abraham Lincoln and the Constitution of the United States do not mean the same thing in Arizona as they do in New York.

JUL 25 1925

KIND WORDS FROM THE NORTH.

Too long have the unpleasant features of racial relations in the South been "played up" in Northern newspapers. It is therefore pleasantly surprising to read in a story written by Frank Bohn in the New York Times, about the progress and condition of the negroes in the rural South, this statement: "Yet the progress could not have been made were it not for the kindly and constant help of their more affluent white neighbors. Again and again have individual negro farm owners in their homes, told the writer about this feature in their success. No other such emancipated people has ever been so generously treated." Such a statement, appearing in a New York newspaper, surely is worthy of wide reproduction. It is merely a statement of what everybody in the South knows and has known for a long time.

It is likely that in future there will be less printed in the North about things which are regretted as much in the South as anywhere else, because these things are happening with greater and greater frequency in the North. The growth of the negro population there has made them expected, and has made them happen. So Northern newspapers will not be able to refer to them as typically Southern. There will be a greater tendency to understand and realize what Southern people have done to help the negro race—a hard job for several reasons, one of which was that for several decades after the War Between the States the white people of the South were themselves not as affluent as they would have liked to be. It is pretty difficult to extend aid to a newly emancipated race when the race for former masters is itself impoverished. But this was not taken into account in the North.

The whole race question is entering a new phase in the United States—indeed has gone far into it. This is the result of the sudden and large increase in negro population in the North. It is worth noting that at the very moment when the South seems pointed for a very great increase of material prosperity there should come a sudden decrease in the attacks upon her from the uninformed. The two things are coincidental and doubtless have no connection. But both are very welcome.

KELLY MILLER

There is no name now actively employed in the field of education which awakens a more responsive chord of admiration in the heart of the Negro youth than that of Kelly Miller, in our youth numbered among the youngest intellectuals of the Negro, but today one of the fathers.

Mr. Miller has been more than a teacher. He has been an educator in the highest sense. He has not only imparted information; but he has imparted inspiration, he has endeavored to "draw out" the best possibilities of thousands of Negro youth. He has not confined his teaching to those who have attended Howard University; but has been a teacher of the Negro everywhere, and the teacher of the white man. Through his books his lectures, his magazine and newspaper articles he has extended his influence as no other man now in active college work.

While we have disagreed with him on many points he has discussed, and believed some of his methods impracticable, wholesomeness of his teaching and atmosphere of sincerity in what Mr. Miller advocated, always evoke our admiration.

May he live long to continue to inspire our youth and lead his people.

THE NEGRO AGAIN

On the fifth of this month, "The World," (New York) erst while fair and accurate in its published news, carried on its front page in "scare-head" type, "Negro Kidnaps Girl of 6"; and on the seventh, two days later, in an article treating the same case, it came forth in similar type, "Dale Girl Slain by Youth, 20." The point is that in the article on the Seventh, it was found that the Negro who kidnapped the Dale girl turned out to be a white youth of twenty years of age, but no mention was made concerning the mistaken identity, Saturday, of the girl's kidnapper.

This is another instance of the white press's habit of attributing all crimes and misdemeanors, where the identities of the ones committing them are unknown, to the Negro. In the "Washington Herald" of September Ninth, "a colored man" was accused of attacking Helen Ridenour, white, "as she was about to enter her apartment." Perhaps, when the truth is known, her assailant will be white.

It is not difficult to find instances of the Negro being made the "goat" in cases of mistaken identity. Yet we wonder why there is so much friction between the two races. How can it be expected that race relations may become more harmonious when the white press—even the fairest—continues its policy of branding the Race as criminal upon the mere lack of identity? It appears that some unseen force is fostering a movement to keep the two races fighting each other, despite the—shall we call it?—clamour for better race relations.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am a Negro, born August 9, 1858—an ex-slave. Your late grandfather, William Lloyd Garrison, advocated absolute freedom of the Negro slaves in the United States. Freedom came to the Negro slaves in the United States, and you in company with others have advocated absolute justice for the emancipated slave and his descendants.

I am taking this medium to thank you for the good things you have said through your columns of *The Nation* during the past sixty years. I beg you to continue to advocate justice for the Negro, and all other races of men.

Raleigh, North Carolina, July 12 T. L. McCOY

Race Problem - 1925

United States

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AND CONGRESS

The Sixty-ninth Congress of the United States was called to order Tuesday, December 8. It goes without saying that this is the most important legal body that assembles in America, and one of the most powerful in the world. It is interesting to note the proceedings of an American Congress and to examine the viewpoints of the various interests, and forecast the party lines evident in all sessions.

The President of the United States had read before that body a message, covering the activities of American life, calling attention to needed legislation and the strengthening of the weak places in American society, with special respect to law and commerce of the country. In many ways the expression of the President makes some wonderful interpretations and gives rise to much discussion that may bring happiness and comfort to the American people.

Indications are that the Congress now in session is not agreeing with the President's idea on some vital points. The present Congress is controlled by the Republican party. It may be in the final that the President's wishes will be carried out, and yet it is altogether possible that some of his important ideas will be defeated. The Republicans are not together, and as long as this spirit exists no one is quite certain as to what party will control when the issues are decided. There is never any doubt as to where the Democrats stand if it is known where the Republicans are; they support their party. They believe in and trust the leadership of the Democratic party. There is no wavering here; they stand together.

The President's message gives hope and encouragement in the fact that he has discovered that the future indicates progress. His utterance with respect to labor and capital is tenable and should be considered in the most serious manner. In these fields is where peace and congeniality must be had if prosperity for the American people is to be secure. Both interests—labor and capital—have rights that must be protected and considerations that cannot be overlooked. Capital is absolutely necessary; we cannot progress without it. It must be considered in the light of helpfulness, sacrifice and provision. Labor is imperative. It is quite as important as capital and forms the larger group of anxious and needy people. The laboring man must be cared for, protected and sympathized with, regardless of what the radical leadership of that group may say or do. As a general proposition, labor has not been trained in America as a mass or group to think constructively and move in that groove of perpetual protection. The leadership in a general way has been unsatisfactory and destructive, both to labor and to capital. There is a basis looking to the common good of both upon which a settlement must be made. This may or may not be accomplished through conferences of labor and capital, but it is possible to be handled through a commission or committee such as may be suggested by capital, labor and the Congress of the United States. Our hope in American life lies in these two avenues. An unfair dealing with either means the suffering of us all.

The President's views on the Negro in America may be considered a warning and a charitable attitude to ten per cent of the American people. In the course of his remarks, the following reference is made to the Negro:

"Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the Negro race. The progress which they have made in all the arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens. But they do still need sympathy, kindness and helpfulness. They need reassurance that the requirements of the government and society to deal out to them even-handed justice will be met. They should be protected from all violence and supported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

"Our country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does no include any license to injure others materially, physically, morally, to incite revolution, or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society.

"But it does mean the full right to liberty and equality before the law without distinction of race or creed. This condition cannot be granted to others, or enjoyed by ourselves, except by the application of the principle of broadest tolerance. Bigotry is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it. An enlarged freedom can only be secured by the application of the golden rule. No other utterance ever presented such a practical rule of life."

"Our country has no more loyal citizens," said President Calvin Coolidge in his message to the Congress of the United States in referring to the Negro people. Let us thank God and President Coolidge for this frank and honest expression of truth. Our country is made greater because of the loyalty and sacrifice, forbearance and obedience of the American Negro. Our government is cowardly in its attitude and disposition to this sacrificing, loyal and patriotic group. Nothing in American life is more unsightly and unfair in the sight of the law and justice than the practices on the American black folk at the seat of our government at Washington, D. C. The corrective method should begin at the seat of government. We need not expect any kind of control of our subject or State governments as long as our national government winks its eye at corrupt practices right under the dome of the Capitol.

The President, in his appeal for sympathy and justice to the Negro, made a diplomatic and very effective statement. But we pray for the time to come when the races of America, who are designated as citizens of America, will be recognized under the law of the government, and the President can speak as President of all the people, and can plead for the law as their protection and consideration, regardless of race, creed or section.

The Negro as such seeks no rights or privileges but what are guaranteed under the law. He wants no other man's opportunity or chance. He wants his own and that protected under the laws of our country. The President of the United States is handicapped and embarrassed to speak for fifteen millions of American people whom he calls loyal, safe and trustworthy. An ugly plight in our American life. If the Negro is loyal and a citizen, he should enjoy the rights and privileges of a citizen under the law and without the embarrassment of any man or section, regardless of station in life.

Our papeal is to the Negro to gather in faith, exercise patience and forbearance. Every day brings us nearer and nearer to a fairer and better consideration. If we despair now, become impatient and over-worried, we lose what we have gained through blood and tears. We need to go forward, continue to sacrifice, trusting ourselves, our friends and the God of the Universe that we, working together, will overcome some day.

The President's message is a wonderful document. The Congress of the United States has much to consider in this utterance.

THE NEGRO

(Editorial in "Dearborn Independent")

The Negro is a human being. Under the Constitution his rights are precisely those of any other citizen. And so are his obligations. These are not all the facts. Of importance too is the fact of Race, which is not understood as yet; indeed, attempts to understand it are scorned and denounced, and efforts are made to suppress it. The fact of Race cannot be suppressed. The fact of Race does not concern the Negro alone. All the Race questions that can possibly exist rise from supressing the fact, not from facing it. it is one of the strangest aspects of our ignorance in these matters that we conceive the realization of Race to be the origin of the Race Problem, when really its origin is the attempted suppression of that realization. Races are here. They differ. Each has its function. Superiority is not a matter of argument but of achievement. Inferiority is not decided by achievement but by opportunity. Race lines are fixed. Nature punishes transgression with destruction. These are facts. And Race Rights are also facts.

The turn which the Negro's problem has taken in this country is interesting. Formerly the plea was made that he was deserving of assistance. He was regarded as a protege who needed and expected help. The collection plate and the uplifters program always hovered near him.

It is now emphasized, however, that the Negro might help himself. Given racial opportunity he becomes a good worker. He is a good family man, though all too frequently he suffers in general esteem from the prevalence of rowdyism among his own race in some of the larger cities. At present he is restricted to those residence districts from which white people are moving away. Notwithstanding the fact that a highly respectable and valuable type of family life exists among negroes; it is too commonly the practice of municipal authorities to segregate alongside the Negro settlement any special form of outlawry which police-politics may condone. When, to escape from this condition, Negroes seek respectable surroundings in districts inhabited by whites, difficulties ensue.

These conditions point clearly the way for the next step of self-help, namely, the establishment for themselves of communities where their families may be reared under the best and most congenial influences and where their rights as citizens [illegible] is practicable. Hopeless to attack as "prejudice" the real opposition which exists to mixing the races. The Negro does not want to crowd in among the whites; what he does want is the air, sunlight, space and sanitation which are to be had in white residential sections. He should have all these things in his own quarter. He can have them if he will intelligently construct such communities and render them illustrative of the virtues of his race at their best.

Race Problem - 1925
United States

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AND CONGRESS

The Sixty-ninth Congress of the United States was called to order Tuesday, December 8. It goes without saying that this is the most important legal body that assembles in America, and one of the most powerful in the world. It is interesting to note the proceedings of an American Congress and to examine the viewpoints of the various interests, and especially the party lines evident in all sessions.

The President of the United States had read before that body a message, covering the activities of American life, calling attention to needed legislation and the strengthening of the weak places in American society, with special respect to law and commerce of the country. In many ways the expression of the President makes some wonderful interpretations and gives rise to much discussion that may bring happiness and comfort to the American people.

Indications are that the Congress now in session is not agreeing with the President's idea on some vital points. The present Congress is controlled by the Republican party. It may be in the final that the President's wishes will be carried out, and yet it is altogether possible that some of his important ideas will be defeated. The Republicans are not together, and as long as this spirit exists no one is quite certain as to what party will control when the issues are decided. There is never any doubt as to where the Democrats stand if it is known where the Republicans are; they support their party. They believe in and trust the leadership of the Democratic party. There is no wavering here; they stand together.

The President's message gives hope and encouragement in the fact that he has discovered that the future indicates progress. His utterance with respect to labor and capital is tenable and should be considered in the most serious manner. In these fields is where peace and congeniality must be had if prosperity for the American people is to be secure. Both interests—labor and capital—have rights that must be protected and considerations that cannot be overlooked. Capital is absolutely necessary; we cannot progress without it. It must be considered in the light of helpfulness, sacrifice and provision. Labor is imperative. It is quite as important as capital and forms the larger group of anxious and needy people. The laboring man must be cared for, protected and sympathized with, regardless of what the radical leadership of that group may say or do. As a general proposition, labor has not been trained in America as a mass or group to think constructively and move in that groove of perpetual protection. The leadership in a general way has been unsatisfactory and destructive, both to labor and to capital. There is a basis looking to the common good of both upon which a settlement must be made. This may or may not be accomplished through conferences of labor and capital, but it is possible to be handled through a commission or committee such as may be suggested by capital, labor and the Congress of the United States. Our hope in American life lies in these two avenues. An unfair dealing with either means the suffering of us all.

The President's views on the Negro in America may be considered a warning and a charitable attitude to ten per cent of the American people. In the course of his remarks, the following reference is made to the Negro:

"Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the Negro race. The progress which they have made in all the arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens. But they do still need sympathy, kindness and helpfulness. They need reassurance that the requirements of the government and society to deal out to them even-handed justice will be met. They should be protected from all violence and supported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

"Our country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does no include any license to injure others materially, physically, morally, to incite revolution, or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society.

"But it does mean the full right to liberty and equality before the law without distinction of race or creed. This condition cannot be granted to others, or enjoyed by ourselves, except by the application of the principle of broadest tolerance. Bigotry is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it. An enlarged freedom can only be secured by the application of the golden rule. No other utterance ever presented such a practical rule of life."

"Our country has no more loyal citizens," said President Calvin Coolidge in his message to the Congress of the United States in referring to the Negro people. Let us thank God and President Coolidge for this frank and honest expression of truth. Our country is made greater because of the loyalty and sacrifice, forbearance and obedience of the American Negro. Our government is cowardly in its attitude and disposition to this sacrificing, loyal and patriotic group. Nothing in American life is more unsightly and unfair in the sight of the law and justice than the practices on the American black folk at the seat of our government at Washington, D. C. The corrective method should begin at the seat of government. We need not expect any kind of control of our subject or State governments as long as our national government winks its eye at corrupt practices right under the dome of the Capitol.

The President, in his appeal for sympathy and justice to the Negro, made a diplomatic and very effective statement. But we pray for the time to come when the races of America, who are designated as citizens of America, will be recognized under the law of the government, and the President can speak as President of all the people, and can plead for the law as their protection and consideration, regardless of race, creed or section.

The Negro as such seeks no rights or privileges but what are guaranteed under the law. He wants no other man's opportunity or chance. He wants his own and that protected under the laws of our country. The President of the United States is handicapped and embarrassed to speak for fifteen millions of American people whom he calls loyal, safe and trustworthy. An ugly plight in our American life. If the Negro is loyal and a citizen, he should enjoy the rights and privileges of a citizen under the law and without the embarrassment of any man or section, regardless of station in life.

Our papeal is to the Negro to gather in faith, exercise patience and forbearance. Every day brings us nearer and nearer to a fairer and better consideration. If we despair now, become impatient and over-worried, we lose what we have gained through blood and tears. We need to go forward, continue to sacrifice, trusting ourselves, our friends and the God of the Universe that we, working together, will overcome some day.

The President's message is a wonderful document. The Congress of the United States has much to consider in this utterance.

THE NEGRO

(Editorial in "Dearborn Independent")

The Negro is a human being. Under the Constitution his rights are precisely those of any other citizen. And so are his obligations. These are not all the facts. Of importance too is the fact of Race, which is not understood as yet; indeed, attempts to understand it are scorned and denounced, and efforts are made to suppress it. The fact of Race cannot be suppressed. The fact of Race does not concern the Negro alone. All the Race questions that can possibly exist rise from supressing the fact, not from facing it. it is one of the strangest aspects of our ignorance in these matters that we

COOLIDGE TALKS MUCH BUT SAYS LITTLE ABOUT NEGRO IN MESSAGE

The general condition of the United States is one of progress and prosperity, President Coolidge reported last Tuesday in his message to Congress upon the state of the Union.

The principal topics of his message were government economy, the budget, taxation, foreign relations, court of international justice, foreign debts, alien property, immigration, national defense, veterans, agriculture, Muscle Shoals, reclamation, shipping, prohibition, waterway development, water power, the railroads, outlying possessions, retirement of judges, mothers' aid, civil service, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Negro.

That part of his message dealing with the Negro is as follows:

Negro Problem

"Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the Negro race. The progress which they have made in all arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens. But they do still need sympathy, kindness, and helpfulness. They need reassurance that the requirements of the Government and society to deal out to them even-handed justice will be met. They should be protected from all violence and supported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

"Out country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does not include any license to injure others materially, physically, morally, to incite revolution, or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society.

"But it does mean the full right to liberty and equality before the law without distinction of race or creed. This condition can not be granted to others, or enjoyed by ourselves, except by the application of the principle of broadest tolerance. Bigotry is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it. An enlarged freedom can only be secured by the application of the golden rule. No other utterance ever presented such a practical rule of life."

Self Government

The President stressed local self government as "one of our most precious possessions." He told the Congress that the functions which they are to discharge "are not those of local government but of National government." He said that "The greatet solicitude should be exercised to prevent any encroachment upon the rights of the States or their various political subdivisions."

NEGRO PROGREESS

There is no longer a real race problem in the South. It exists only in the minds of those, white and colored who are seeking selfish advancement; who are trying to intimidate others, and have no better weaon than the cowardly appeal to racial prejudice and racial antipathy. When some marplot attempts to discuss the matter it is better to ignore it entirely. The only real "race problem" of the Negro race is the same problem as that of the white race or any ohter race—the earnest effort of its foremost men to lead their people into the realm of better citizenship. That is the problem the solution of which is the aim of every forward-looking citizen, be he white or colored. In its more serious aspects, therefore, the problem is not social, but economic.

No other race in the world's history, starting under such a great handicap, has ever made social, industrial and intellectual rogress that even approaches that of the Negro race. How we are best to contribute to the continued advancement of the Negro is, I think, already in process of development. Here in North Carolina and in other parts of the South we white folk are quickly coming to a proper approisal of the Negro's part in our growth We are acknowledging his wort as a citizen, his spirit of co-operation, and his vital contribution to our industrial progress. We can have no real progress in this State or in any other Southern State unless we reckon the Negro as a vital element in our economic life His destiny and ours are inseperably linked

CHISUM STATES COLORED GROUP HAS NO FRIENDS

(By The Associated Negro Press)

St. Louis, Mo.—"The dire and humiliating position which the Negro occupies in American politics today and the lack of influence which the race possesses with the administration is due primarily to the fact that we have no voice at court in the cabinet or among the close advisors of President Calvin Coolidge," said Melvin Chisum, field secretary of the National Negro Press Association and well-informed student of political affairs, in a recent interview.

According to Mr. Chisum the Negro can count upon one or two fingers those in authority who are actively in his behalf. Postmaster General New is one of these. Ever since his early days in Indiana in which state he advanced until he represented its populance in the United States senate, General New has been one of those who believed that a man should be judged as an American citizen and accorded treatment and recognition of his worth as an individual. General New is credited with postoffice supervisory promotions made in Chicago, New York, and other cities as well as the appointment of John D. Gainey as assistant chief in Washington, a position never held before. In this he has been assisted enthusiastically by Governor Bartlett, first assistant postmaster general, and Colonel Paul Henderson, second assistant postmaster general and son-in-law of Congressman Martin B. Madden.

Secretary of Labor Davis is another of the cabinet members, it is declared, upon whom the race can count for support when the opportunity presen itself and our political leaders present some concrete program in such a fashion that it must be acted upon.

DISCUSS RACIAL PROBLEMS.

Must Treat All as Equals, Says Lord Willingdon.

At the annual Church Congress recently held in London, great attention was given to a problem of much wider bearing than the religious one, which of course was mainly in view, namely, the future relation of the white and colored races, according to the London correspondent of The Journal of the American Medical Association.

"The Great War" says the correspondent, "has stimulated certain tendencies already existing. In the East the gospel of self-determination has been everywhere eagerly received by the colored races. To the resentment of the colored man at his position of inferiority and to his determination that the democratic ideals of the Allies should be of universal application, there has been added the belief that the moral basis of Eastern life is in many ways higher and nobler than that of the West.

"The war has done more than anything else to rouse the people of India to a sense of nationhood and to an intense desire to have more control of their affairs. In opening a discussion on the subject, Lord Willingdon said there was only one solution to the problem. The white races must realize the necessity of treating all colored men in a spirit of absolute equality and give up the attitude of color superiority. Providence had long years ago placed the white man in the position of a trustee, whose wards, the colored men, were rapidly growing up. The white man no longer dominated them even for their own good. At best he could tactfully guide them past particular dangers. He had now to meet on terms of absolute equality those whom he had previously regarded as inferiors.

"J. H. Oldham said that perhaps the most fundamental cause of friction and conflict between races was not so much racial as economic. The exclusive immigration policies of the United States and the British Dominions, which had produced tension between Western and Oriental peoples, were due, in part at least, to the fear that the standards of living might be affected by the admission of cheap labor. The relations between the white and the black races were largely influenced by the fact that the whites were almost everywhere the employers and the blacks the employed. The problem was essentially economic, though made more difficult by racial differences.

"In the case of the Eastern races, differences of civilization, which in turn depended on historical experiences, complicated the question. The race problem, to the minds of the colored peoples, resolved itself largely into a claim for equality. The sting of the exclusion of Oriental immigration from Western countries lay not so much in the fact of restriction as in discrimination. Many voices called today in all sorts of ways for a solid white front against the colored races. But a solid white front meant a solid yellow front, a solid black front and so on, which in turn meant war. The only way to avoid this disaster was to put the claims of humanity and justice higher than those of race, and in this the lead should be given by the Christian churches."

NEGRO EDITORS NOT FOOLED BY THAT COOLIDGE SPEECH
(From Afro-American Weekly, Baltimore.)

Mr. Coolidge's speech before the American Legion at Omaha, Nebraska, last week was received by the colored press with a lack of editorial comment that is enlightening.

Of the larger papers, the Chicago *Whip* and The *Defender* ignored the speech in both editorial and news columns. The Pittsburgh *Courier* opines that President Coolidge had not expressed his views on tolerance and rights of minorities before because he feared the lack of public endorsement.

The Omaha, Nebraska, *Monitor* calls the Coolidge address a "call to America to save her own soul" and the Washington *Eagle* declares that it is the anti-Ku Klux Klan speech we have been asking him to make for so long. It recalls, however, that pronouncement is one thing and action another. To men of public life they should not be [illegible]

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

HAS THE NEGRO SERVED HIS PURPOSE IN AMERICA?

THAT the Negro was brought to America against his will is common knowledge; that he intends to remain in America is the determination of many; but under what conditions and to serve what purpose are questions that do not seem to be considered in the desire to stay.

Negroes were enslaved and transported to America years ago for the purpose of doing the laborious work in building up the country. The country has been built up, the slaves have been freed, and for sixty years the presence of these ex-slaves here have created a problem, commonly called the race problem. Divers have been the solutions offered for the problem, but up to now no organized, legalized method has met the popular approval of both races.

Some whites say, "Let the Negro remain here and gradually work out his salvation," yet secretly knowing that by economic pressure he may be exterminated in another century. Others say, "Let him go," yet they offer no recompense for his contribution to America and no help to re-establish him in Africa. In brief, white America is heartless and cruel and is not concerned about the fate of the Negro because he has already served the purpose for which he was brought here. Therefore the Negro's future rests in his own hands, and should be a matter of deep concern to him at this time, seeing he is no longer the ward of the nation.

Some Negroes believe that by miscegenation he will be absorbed into the white race, and enjoy social equality with his erstwhile master. Others believe that it is a crime to mongrelize the race; and by active campaign and propaganda, are endeavoring to get white America to realize its moral obligation to the Negro, and secure its aid n helping ambitious, industrious Negroes to return to their ancestral home and there establish a government of their own along modern lines based on their own racial culture.

The advocate of this latter group is Marcus Garvey, who has made a thorough study of the industrial, political and economic life of the Negro in America and is convinced that the Negro can rise no higher than his present status—that of the underdog in the nation. His development is circumscribed by an overwhelming white majority, whose prejudices and intolerance increase daily. He cannot employ himself and is entirely dependent on the white man for work (which brings him bread and butter) and that work is of the most menial and for which he is underpaid. Even these jobs are being jeopardized with the introduction of labor-saving devices. Where twelve Negroes were formerly employed to dig a ditch, now two white men can operate a machine that not only digs the ditch but shovels up the earth and puts same into a motor truck, in less than half the time. As the World's Work observes in its current issue:

"In the decade following the Civil War there was one domestic servant for every forty people in the United States. In 1920 there was one domestic servant for every sixty people. Mechanical progress has made this reduction. In place of the work of a maid carrying, cleaning and filling kerosene lamps there is the work of engineers and linemen supplying electricity. Food is prepared by manufacturers, so that the burden of cooking is lightened. Pipes carry water that servants used to carry. Vacuum cleaners help sweep. The telephone runs errands. By all these contrivances things are done which servants used to do, so that now servants are not only less in proportion than they used to be, but the life of those that remain is far less taxing."

Electricity and motor power are now doing the work of the Negro and it is imperative that he create his own jobs, or face unemployment and consequent starvation. The life of the black consumer is short unless he starts out immediately to produce those essentials of every day life, which will take him out of the servant class and at the same time ensure his livelihood; but the question of protection lies in the establishment of a government of his own in Africa, strong enough to protect him in any part of the world he may reside.

Truly the Negro has served well the white man's purpose for bringing him to America; and the enlightened wide-awake Negro is now determined to serve his own purpose, that of living and enjoying life as any other man, without limitations and without barriers against his development and progress.

Who can stop the onward march of ten million Sons of Ham, to nationwood and to power!

RACE PROBLEM REVIEWED BY LORD OLIVER

The Chicago Defender

Is Secretary of State for India

10-31-25
Chicago Ill

Of Lord Willingdon's challenging speech on Race problems at the Church congress recently, Lord Olivier, secretary of state for India in the labor government, a former governor of Jamaica and author of "White Capital and Colored Labor," has written the Daily News in London, England, as follows:

"Lord Willingdon * * * showed a depth of appreciation of the fundamental facts involved, which those who know his record would have expected of him, but which is unfortunately rare in the mentality of the imperial proconsuls, and still rarer in that of white colonists engaged in economic enterprise among subordinate races. * * *

"Color prejudice and color pride are due to spiritual blindness, and aggravate the rising resentments of the African and Asiatic worlds against European dominion and exploitation. * * *"

ENGAGE IN RELATIONS FOR MATERIAL ENDS

"Some colonists," continues Lord Olivier, "for the most part engage in relations with African natives or alien Asiatic peoples solely for material purposes and in connection with material interests, and only accidentally, and then often with naively expressed surprise, discover any community of spiritual life.

"At best they may interpret 'Christianity' as requiring them to be good and kind to their servants, just or tolerant towards their fellow citizens of the inferior Colored race, devoted to the interests, as they apprehend them, of the populations they govern, or may be disposed, by the sincere Christianity of their own character, as some are, to be so."

Referring to the essential strength and cogency of the appeal of Christianity, Lord Olivier says:

"The difficulty is * * * that the native does not believe in words and names, except as convenient instruments for a purpose; he believes in facts and forces, and he sees that the white men with whom he chiefly has to do in the relations of fact and force are not Christian either in doctrine or practice. Whether the white man's juju may seem to be for the African (and it is plainly a useful thing, full of marvelous powers) it manifestly does not come out of Nazareth."

Lord Olivier agrees that Islam often appeals to Colored races more strongly than dots white men's Christianity because it asserts the equality of al humanity and is strong on that account in its rivalry with the religion of the dominant European, just as it is strong in its rivalry with Hindu caste religion in India.

COLOR IS NOT THE REAL DIFFICULTY

A correspondent writes from Southampton:

"The real difficulty of intercourse between Europeans and Colored races is not one of color, but of religion, social customs, domestic habits, and of cultural evolution." In his view a Colored combination against the whites is absurd. "An educated Chinese or Japanese," he adds, "has more in common with a Frenchman or a German than he has with a Negro or a Hottentot."

"It is worth noting," writes another correspondent, "that the Prince of Wales received his Easter communion at Holy Trinity, Africa, Accra, at the hands of a native African priest—a fact, as the Gold Coast Independent remarked, of tremendous significance, which cannot be sufficiently gauged at the moment."

PLATO DURHAM WARNS AGAINST RACE SPLIT

The Chicago Defender
10-31-25
Chicago Ill

Washington, Oct. 30.—"The United States will be torn asunder unless the white and darker races live together on a basis of equality," Plato Durham of Atlanta declared on Wednesday, Oct. 21, in an address before the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States.

In denouncing race prejudice of the American public the professor from the Theological Seminary of the South asserted that the United States will be a coward nation unless it offers the same protection of the flag to the members of our Race as it does to the white person.

"If there is no process under present religion to live together in peace," he delcared, "we must get another religion."

He saw a new day dawning in the South through the work of the interracial commissions in bringing members of our group and white representatives together on the same basis to discuss their problems. Southern editors, he added, are learning to give credit where it is due and space once consumed in southern newspapers by reports of lynchings and crimes committed by Race men is now being filled with praise for meritorious work they are accomplishing.

Professor Durham's address before the Congregationalist council coincided with the opening here of the 21st national conference of the Young Men's Christian association, at which speakers urged that men of the highest type be sent into the South and to Africa to carry on the work. These speakers included Jesse Morland, international secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; Rev. M. Ashby Jones, pastor of the Ponce de Leon Baptist church, Atlanta, Ga., and chairman of the commission on interracial cooperation, and Kelly Miller, dean of Howard university.

The council will act Saturday on the proposal to erect a $1,250,000 First Congregational church here, symbolic of the denominational national character, to replace the edifice in which President and Mrs. Coolidge now worship.

THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

The Colored American—according to Kelly Miller, ex-dean of Howard University—is between the devil and the deep blue sea. In the eternal fight between labor and capital, Mr. Miller avers that "logic aligns the Negro with labor, but good sense arrays him on the side of capital." Therefore in an article under the caption "The Negro as a Workingman," in the November issue of "The American Mercury," the ex-dean runs true to the form of our so-called leaders. They throw logic to the winds and decry anything and everything, even the value of organization, in the proletarian movement of the world.

The sole objective of capital is more capital. "The workman is listed along with the material assets as an instrument of production," avers Miller. But the Negro should not "flout" the "generous advances," made by the capitalists, "by joining the restless ranks [organized labor] which threaten industrial ruin." For "the capitalistic class," writes the ex-dean, "possesses the culture and the conscience which hold even the malignity of race passion in restraint. There is nothing in the white working class to which the Negro can appeal. They are the ones who lynch and burn and torture him. He must look to the upper element for law and order."

From the foregoing quotation, it seems that Mr. Miller would press the Negro back into a cult of submissiveness and a state of slavery by the doctrine that the common people shall forever remain a part of that system of society's organization whereby a few ride on the backs of many. He knows that the safety of the capitalist's position lies in its ability to keep whites and blacks fighting among themselves—to keep them separate by means of race prejudice. He knows that thinking on the part of the common people is the thing "dangerous to civilized [capitalistic] society." He knows that the mind is a social explosive, therefore, it must be used under the capitalist's most carefully regulated restrictions. Industrialism based on exploitation will stand but little tampering with. The thin crust which separates capital and labor may easily be shattered by the explosive force of a thinking populace. One thinking workman can do harm; 50,000,000 can raise the crust, and throw it into oblivion.

Therefore Mr. Miller would suppress every tendency of the Negro towards independence of thought and massed action. He would assign these to the duly accredited agents of the capitalists. He would, through his awe-inspiring doctrine—and its reserves of damnation—keep submissiveness and slavery fixed in the working man's heart—beat down the seditious prompting ere it comes to birth in deed; force industrial slavery by a ghostly terrorism.

Yet, whatever the outcome, the history of 6,000 years seem sufficient to show us that the coronation of workingmen is drawing nigh. Day by day we hear speech of it; night unto night we find knowledge concerning it; it has gone through all the earth—this demand of working men for a controlling voice in their destinies. And the Negro, the disinherited class of workingmen, will REFUSE to remain disinherited. The methods by which he attempts to come unto his own may not always be wise, but the effort shall forever be noble.

MR. COOLIDGE POINTS THE WAY.

In his exposition of the true meaning of Americanism, made before the American Legion at Omaha, a few weeks ago, Mr. Coolidge by his denunciation of the evils of intolerance condemned, by implication at least, the policy and practice of the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations bent on perpetuating racial and religious antagonisms. The Age, among other papers, welcomed this sign of intellectual growth and moral courage on the part of the President, trusting that it would prove to be a forerunner of executive policy that would fit appropriate action to the sentiments so deliberately enunciated.

It must be conceded that Mr. Coolidge has not been hasty in his rebuke of intolerance of opinion and narrowness of outlook. His arraignment of Ku Kluxism might with equal force have been applied to the pernicious practice of racial discrimination and segregation suffered to continue unchecked under Republican administration at Washington, as well as in various sections of the country. We are now referring to matters under executive control in the various departments of the government. A Washington correspondent of the Cleveland Gazette charges that there is more segregation in Washington today under President Coolidge than there has ever been since the Civil War. This un-American and undemocratic practice began, it is alleged, under President Taft, was extended under Wilson, increased further under Harding and reached its zenith under President Coolidge. It was first introduced in the bureau of engraving under Taft, and in 1910 the census takers were segregated as to color. It is said that the present commissioner of Internal Revenue refuses to appoint one colored clerk in his office and is sustained by Secretary Mellon and the President. Instances of segregation are cited as rampant in the Post Office department, the Government Printing Office, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and other departments. Qualified applicants are refused appointment and efficient employees denied promotion solely on account of color. All this injustice, born of intolerance, could be swept away by a simple order of the President.

Then theer is another surrender to intolerance in the failure of the President to restore to the race the representation in political positions of the higher rank held by Negroes under former Republican administrations. The office of Register of the Treasury, filled by Bruce, Lyons, Vernon and Napier, was held to be too exalted to be given to another man of their race. A Louisiana Democrat was kept on the rolls as Minister to Haiti until he died in Canada, far away from his post, to avoid filling the position. A reputable colored candidate for the place of Collector of Customs at Savannah, the post once filled most acceptably by the late John H. Devaux, was turned down in favor of an alleged leader of the Ku Klux Klan. An auditorship in the Treasury Department, collectors of Internal Revenue at Atlanta, Jacksonville and Honolulu, besides a number of consular posts under the State Department have been lost to the race through this spirit of intolerance and proscription.

President Coolidge's arraignment of intolerance was presumably aimed at the Klan, but it also constituted an indictment of the Republican administration of which he is the present head. His stirring advocacy of an intellectual demobilization as well as a military demobilization, so as to regain the advances made by tolerance and liberalism through long periods of development applies with special force to the status of the Negro in the administration of government. The demobilizing of racial antagonisms, fears, hatred and suspicions which the President urged, should begin here at the seat of government. The President has pointed the way to begin it. He has the opportunity to enforce his words by appropriate action. Will he embrace it?

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

The Problems of the City Dweller

By Mary McLeod Bethune

IT is ever the problem of living a rational, healthy life in the midst of an environment which for the masses is for the most part, unfavorable. It is the problem of fresh air, wholesome food, sunshine and freedom within limits as pitilessly circumscribed as prison walls. It is the problem of making an increased wage, a better school, an easily accessible and cheap means of transportation, electric light, motion pictures, parades and band concerts, a policeman on the corner and propinquitous neighbors, compensate for the sweep of the hill, the greeness of expansive meadows, and the lure of the endless road. It is the problem of getting a chance to live the abundant life, the door to which in our urban centers yields only to the touch of a golden key.

The problem has been greatly intensified in the past ten or twenty years by the rush from the rural districts. This rush has been neither sectional nor racial. Every section of the country has felt it. While there may be specific causes back of the "push" that has moved hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the Southern States to various points in the North-east and middle West, the migration can be truthfully considered as only another phase of the general movement of population from the rural towards the urban centers. In fact, for a long period, preceding the migrations of large bodies of Negroes northward there was a steady and perceptible increase in the Negro population of Southern cities caused by a movement of this element of the population from the country to the city.

"During the past 30 years there has been a great shift of population from the country to the town, and every class of towns, from village to great cities, has grown, whereas the country districts have actually decreased in population. The increase of the Negro urban population in the South in the decade 1910-1920 was 396,444 or 56,000 more than the increase for the same period in the number of Negroes in the North from the South—340,260. More than one-third—34% of the total Negro population is living in urban territory. The census reports show an actual decrease of 234,876 or 3.4% in the Negro rural population of the United States. In 1910 the number of Negroes reported as living in rural territory was 7,138,534. In 1920 the number thus living reported was 6,903,658."

A powerful contributory cause for recent legislation in the restriction of immigration was the alarming extent to which our future citizens were concentrating in the large seaport and manufacturing cities instead of seeking the extensive and unworked agricultural lands of the middle West and the West. It is not necessary for me to worry you with census figures, and other statistics compiled by special investigators to establish the fact that the problem of the city dweller has been greatly intensified by this almost steady and constant movement of the rural dweller to the urban centers. The causes back of this almost universal movement of population cityward are usually conceded to be economic, educational and social.

In spite of the manifold movements, plans and efforts to make Farming and other rural pursuits pay, the country lad still turns his eye towards the city as his El Dorado. He wants a shorter working day; wages that will insure him good clothes and creature comforts; an opportunity to advance in earning power as he increases his ability to be of service in his calling; a fair chance to acquire wealth and become a leader in his community. To the country lad with plenty of time to dream while he plods thru days and days of monotonous routine, this is what the city means. To many an adult, weary of the grind and isolation of wresting a living from the soil, it offers an opening for a new chance, a realized vision. And so they come—young and old—beardless youth and gnarled old age—all expecting that the road to wealth and power and influence lies down the great white way of the modern city.

The cry of the Soul to know has given another push to this modern move towards the city. Longer school terms; better-equipped school buildings; more capable teachers; the broadening influence of lectures; concerts, motion pictures, libraries, parades and festive and holiday occasions have lured many a grizzled homesteader to abandon home and ancestral acres and move cityward. The widening out and diversification of the modern high school with its facilities for teaching the technique of skilled trades and business; home economics and agriculture as well as the arts and sciences. The extending of education at the public expense in some cities to include even a college education. The offering of night courses for underprivileged boys and girls, men and women. These are advantages which even the phonograph, the motion picture machine and the radio cannot compensate for in the country.

Then, again, in spite of automobiles, Fords, good roads and the transmission of electric light current over long distances, the country is still a lonely place for thousands and thousands of dwellers. Weary of quilting parties, barnraisings and quarterly meetings, they are impelled cityward by the age-old urge towards companionship and recreation. Happiness is usually a result of a perfect balancing of work-time, play-time and rest-time and the normal human being is likely to continue to migrate until he arrives at a place where that balance comes nearest to being struck. The city with its socialized Churches, its civic clubs, its parks, its easily accessible amusement resorts and centers, its playgrounds, its bathhouses and skating rinks; its roof gardens, theatres and cabarets exert a pull as mighty as the social push of the rural populations toward the metropolitan centers.

Though not so often mentioned as a cause, the desire for protection has impelled many a rural dweller to move into or nearer the city. This is especially true with Negro rural dwellers in nearly every part of the South, where the lack or indifference of constabulary or police agencies make the possession of property uncertain—often hazardous and the safeguarding of life uncertain. These people turn towards the cities for protection in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them under the constitution, and a half chance to defend themselves should these rights be infringed upon. They also seek the protection from fire and ravages of disease which the superior organization and supervision of city life afford.

Because of these causes—educational—economic—social—the country has been for decades disgorging itself into the cities and the very obtaining of the advantages it has come to seek presents the biggest problem to the city dwellers. To get wealth when the cost of living keeps pace or a little in advance of increased wages; to enjoy educational advantages when creature needs require the time of all whose strength can be turned into wages; to aprpeciate recreations that take for toll the coin that should be spent for fuel and bread; to have better health and longer life in crowded ghettoes and sunless rooms; to have a neighbor in the man that lives next door and a friend in the thousands that pass unknowing and unknown along a hundred ways; to have children who will not grow to adult life unacquainted with a tree or afraid of a blade of grass; to have counting rooms and generous hearts; great white ways and unstained souls; apartment houses and the spirit of home; this, my friends, in homely, unscientific language, is the problem of the city dweller.

To meet this problem is the social challenge of our generation! To assist the city dweller to make the adjustments necessary to a full possession and enjoyment of the manifold blessings and privileges of urban life is the business of the Church; the mission of the trained social worker; the raison d'être of organized philanthropy and charity. To this task should be applied the earnest and intelligent aid of every group that makes up the population of our cities. It requires cooperation among racial groups widely differing in language, national customs, and color. It requires mutual racial respect and confidence. It requires tolerance and a courageous application to all sorts of unusual maladjustments, of the principle of the Golden rule. Whether the newcomer to the city is from Texas or South Carolina; whether he is from the Steppe of Russia or the sunny Plains of Italy; whether he is of Nordic hue, or wears the "shadowed livery of the burnished sun," his problem is to obtain for himself and family a living wage, and a place to invest it in cleanliness, fresh air, sanitary surroundings and wholesome recreation. Forcing individuals or groups into segregated ghettoes, with poor sanitation, unpaved streets, run-down houses, filthy alleys and surroundings conductive to depravity of both thought and action is neither a scientific nor altruistic approach to the problem of the city dweller. Agencies must be multiplied that can and will bring sufficient pressure to bear upon city governments to insure living conditions that will safeguard the well being of all the dwellers in urban

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

The Problems of the City Dweller

By Mary McLeod Bethune

IT is ever the problem of living a rational, healthy life in the midst of an environment which for the masses is for the most part, unfavorable. It is the problem of fresh air, wholesome food, sunshine and freedom within limits as pitilessly circumscribed as prison walls. It is the problem of making an increased wage, a better school, an easily accessible and cheap means of transportation, electric light, motion pictures, parades and band concerts, a policeman on the corner and propinquitous neighbors, compensate for the sweep of the hill, the greeness of expansive meadows, and the lure of the endless road. It is the problem of getting a chance to live the abundant life, the door to which in our urban centers yields only to the touch of a golden key.

The problem has been greatly intensified in the past ten or twenty years by the rush from the rural districts. This rush has been neither sectional nor racial. Every section of the country has felt it. While there may be specific causes back of the "push" that has moved hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the Southern States to various points in the North-east and middle West, the migration can be truthfully considered as only another phase of the general movement of population from the rural towards the urban centers. In fact, for a long period, preceding the migrations of large bodies of Negroes northward there was a steady and perceptible increase in the Negro population of Southern cities caused by a movement of this element of the population from the country to the city.

"During the past 30 years there has been a great shift of population from the country to the town, and every class of towns, from village to great cities, has grown, whereas the country districts have actually decreased in population. The increase of the Negro urban population in the South in the decade 1910-1920 was 396,444 or 56,000 more than the increase for the same period in the number of Negroes in the North from the South—340,260. More than one-third—34% of the total Negro population is living in urban territory. The census reports show an actual decrease of 234,876 or 3.4% in the Negro rural population of the United States. In 1910 the number of Negroes reported as living in rural territory was 7,138,534. In 1920 the number thus living reported was 6,903,658."

A powerful contributory cause for recent legislation in the restriction of immigration was the alarming extent to which our future citizens were concentrating in the large seaport and manufacturing cities instead of seeking the extensive and unworked agricultural lands of the middle West and the West. It is not necessary for me to worry you with census figures, and other statistics compiled by special investigators to establish the fact that the problem of the city dweller has been greatly intensified by this almost steady and constant movement of the rural dweller to the urban centers. The causes back of this almost universal movement of population cityward are usually conceded to be economic, educational and social.

In spite of the manifold movements, plans and efforts to make Farming and other rural pursuits pay, the country lad still turns his eye towards the city as his El Dorado. He wants a shorter working day; wages that will insure him good clothes and creature comforts; an opportunity to advance in earning power as he increases his ability to be of service in his calling; a fair chance to acquire wealth and become a leader in his community. To the country lad with plenty of time to dream while he plods thru days and days of monotonous routine, this is what the city means. To many an adult, weary of the grind and isolation of wresting a living from the soil, it offers an opening for a new chance, a realized vision. And so they come—young and old—beardless youth and gnarled old age—all expecting that the road to wealth and power and influence lies down the great white way of the modern city.

The cry of the Soul to know has given another push to this modern move towards the city. Longer school terms; better-equipped school buildings; more capable teachers; the broadening influence of lectures; concerts, motion pictures, libraries, parades and festive and holiday occasions have lured many a grizzled homesteader to abandon home and ancestral acres and move cityward. The widening out and diversification of the modern high school with its facilities for teaching the technique of skilled trades and business; home economics and agriculture as well as the arts and sciences. The extending of education at the public expense in some cities to include even a college education. The offering of night courses for underprivileged boys and girls, men and women. These are advantages which even the phonograph, the motion picture machine and the radio cannot compensate for in the country.

Then, again, in spite of automobiles, Fords, good roads and the transmission of electric light current over long distances, the country is still a lonely place for thousands and thousands of dwellers. Weary of quilting parties, barnraisings and quarterly meetings, they are impelled cityward by the age-old urge towards companionship and recreation. Happiness is usually a result of a perfect balancing of work-time, play-time and rest-time and the normal human being is likely to continue to migrate until he arrives at a place where that balance comes nearest to being struck. The city with its socialized Churches, its civic clubs, its parks, its easily accessible amusement resorts and centers, its playgrounds, its bathhouses and skating rinks; its roof gardens, theatres and cabarets exert a pull as mighty as the social push of the rural populations toward the metropolitan centers.

Though not so often mentioned as a cause, the desire for protection has impelled many a rural dweller to move into or nearer the city. This is especially true with Negro rural dwellers in nearly every part of the South, where the lack or indifference of constabulary or police agencies make the possession of property uncertain—often hazardous and the safeguarding of life uncertain. These people turn towards the cities for protection in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them under the constitution, and a half chance to defend themselves should these rights be infringed upon. They also seek the protection from fire and ravages of disease which the superior organization and supervision of city life afford.

Because of these causes—educational—economic —social—the country has been for decades disgorging itself into the cities and the very obtaining of the advantages it has come to seek presents the biggest problem to the city dwellers. To get wealth when the cost of living keeps pace or a little in advance of increased wages; to enjoy educational advantages when creature needs require the time of all whose strength can be turned into wages; to aprpeciate recreations that take for toll the coin that should be spent for fuel and bread; to have better health and longer life in crowded ghettoes and sunless rooms; to have a neighbor in the man that lives next door and a friend in the thousands that pass unknowing and unknown along a hundred ways; to have children who will not grow to adult life unacquainted with a tree or afraid of a blade of grass; to have counting rooms and generous hearts; great white ways and unstained souls; apartment houses and the spirit of home; this, my friends, in homely, unscientific language, is the problem of the city dweller.

To meet this problem is the social challenge of our generation! To assist the city dweller to make the adjustments necessary to a full possession and enjoyment of the manifold blessings and privileges of urban life is the business of the Church; the mission of the trained social worker; the raison d'être of organized philanthropy and charity. To this task should be applied the earnest and intelligent aid of every group that makes up the population of our cities. It requires cooperation among racial groups widely differing in language, national customs, and color. It requires mutual racial respect and confidence. It requires tolerance and a courageous application to all sorts of unusual maladjustments, of the principle of the Golden rule. Whether the newcomer to the city is from Texas or South Carolina; whether he is from the Steppe of Russia or the sunny Plains of Italy; whether he is of Nordic hue, or wears the "shadowed livery of the burnished sun," his problem is to obtain for himself and family a living wage, and a place to invest it in cleanliness, fresh air, sanitary surroundings and wholesome recreation. Forcing individuals or groups into segregated ghettoes, with poor sanitation, unpaved streets, run-down houses, filthy alleys and surroundings conductive to depravity of both thought and action is neither a scientific nor altruistic approach to the problem of the city dweller. Agencies must be multiplied that can and will bring sufficient pressure to bear upon city governments to insure living conditions that will safeguard the well being of all the dwellers in urban

respect of the individual. The foundation of the programme of organizing the foreigner thru easily accessible agencies like the Urban League and other great teaching him the language, social agencies whose militant efforts in these ns of his adopted country, directions have made them national in scope and g him in industry, educating purpose. ing him in habits of decent cuted with ever increasing The breaking down of conceding to every man his y his property wherever his own it; the opening up of ls for the enjoyment and tizens alike; the firm but uninitiated newcomer in the ns of urban life, must still

WAUKESHA WIS. FREEMAN
FEBRUARY 28, 1925

Promoting Negro Uprisings.

For many years the South has lived in the joyful consciousness of increasing sympathy and cooperation between the white and black races. Always, however, there have been a few whites and a few blacks who delighted in casting firebrands and destroying the growing spirit of Christian neighborliness. Prominent among the negroes of this type is W. E. B. Dubois, who was a constant opponent of Booker T. Washington and his wise policies and who has constantly endeavored to fan into flame every still smouldering ember of racial hatred. During the past year he has been trying to incite students at Fisk University to demand more power. In fact, he insists that all schools for colored students must be turned over to the control of their alumni, and that white men must have nothing more to do with the shaping of their policies. This would mean that a policy of promoting a true Christian education would be abandoned. Last week the students at Fisk attempted to carry out something of this program. The uprising was suppressed, but it afforded plain evidence of what will be the outcome of the general acceptance of the Dubois policies. Both white and colored Christians of the South should take earnest counsel and prevent the spread of an agitation which is likely to produce disastrous results.

MISSISSIPPI MOVES TO PITTSBURGH

THE BRUTAL TREATMENT accorded our people in the Mississippi cane brakes has been transplanted to Pittsburgh. The spectacle of brutal white men invading a Negro home, intimidating and assaulting defenseless women on the pretext of carrying out the mandate of the law, was painfully evident last Wednesday when eight to ten white cowards, led by a deputy sheriff, unworthy of a deputy's commission, broke down the door, brandished revolvers and wielded blackjacks and hob-nailed boots upon the persons of the terrified female occupants—all for the purpose of collecting an eighteen dollar bill for merchandise. And this was done in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

This is not the first case that has been brought to the attention of the Pittsburgh American. It would seem that Pittsburgh is thoroughly organized with a low-bred, fire-eating type of prejudiced white man whose sworn duty is to "keep the Negro down." If the victim shows any sign of being timid, he or she is made the special object of attack as being a "nigger just from the South who should have remained there," as though a southern Negro could be beaten up and maltreated without insult to, or protest from, his brothers in the North.

The motto of the N. A. A. C. P. is apropos, "We must hang together, or hang separately." Assaulting our defenseless women while their husbands are at work is the first step. If this damnable practice goes unchallenged. then the next step is to lynch Negro men on the highway in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. And men who cannot organize to defend their women, their homes and themselves deserve the worst treatment that can be inflicted.

In Maryland the other day, a Colored boy was hanged because a white judge and jury denied him the right to receive the solicited attention of a white woman. Thus the white man throws up an insurmountable barrier to protect his women. We owe our women no less duty. We must give them even better protection than thugs and fiends, clothed in the law, are sworn to give them. When we do this, we will be respected, and not until then.

DISCUSSES CRUX OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Member of the Inter-Racial Committee Says Solution Rests With the Individual

the Philadelphia Interracial Committee "The crux of the so-called Negro problem is not a difficulty peculiar to this problem, but is the common difficulty of securing from those in actual possession of power the justice due to those so situated that they cannot enforce their claims.

There is enough decency left in people to make them, no matter how strong, try and find cover for their injustices; so it would seem that publicity would offer a check that would be partially effective. It will, therefore, be necessary to maintain agencies to watch for movements and legislations that will give cover for oppression, and agencies that will publicly lift the cover from such purposes.

The only real cure will be in the conscience of the individuals that make up the people, for as the individuals, so will be the nation, the race, the group. This cure cannot be affected in a day, still history teaches us that wonderful advances have been made and obtained in many of these problems by constant and untiring efforts coupled with alertness to find and make the best use of every opportunity that present itself; and how often has an opportunity that seemed small proved to be the pivot that caused the door of new and unlooked for progress to be swung open.

Any one that has studied this problem knows that these difficulties are not readily curable, and there is no immediate and practical remedy. All who have this task at heart should get to work using every little opportunity to break down prejudice and to build up understanding good will and fair play."

"AMERICA'S RACE PROBLEM."

THE composition of the Harlem Negro as delineated in the current number of The Survey Graphic is an integral expression of the aims and aspirations of the Negro group—so that manifestations of disfavor with treatment as children or wards of the nation should neither offend nor surprise.

The disturbance at Fisk arises not so much from a wish for a colored President, but as an incidental disclosure of discontent and resistance to further race debasement and an insidious emphasis upon an "inferiority complex." In the issue of March 12th, "The Christian Century" remarks that "The Negro the world round is becoming increasingly self-conscious as an exploited human." We can not advance very rapidly nor very far in the cultivation of amicable relations until this obvious fact is generally conceded and sincere amendatory efforts put forth. There is a practical and concrete way to do this. Theorizing about it when the remedy is at hand is exasperating.

It should occasion no surprise that quoting from the Christian Century—"The same watch-words that are being raised by the exploited peoples of Europe and Asia—self determination, self expression, self-control are now being raised by Negroes." Why not? The Negroes are students of all the literature, of all the histories, of all the poetry, of all the arts and sciences of all the centuries. He is experiencing a rebirth of the soul; and, as others, turns away with disgust at the delimitation of human rights as applied to himself, and revolts at the proscription of thought and action.

Howbeit, we do not share the views of those foreign observers that this feeling and movement for unfettered articulation "has gone so far that it may undermine the foundations of the republic" for the black man is essentially and fundamentally a man of peace, and desperate indeed must be the situation that impels him to violence. Nor do we believe that the outbreak at Fisk forebodes any ultimate national disaster; but we do most heartily concur that "Here again looms a question for which the nation can find a final answer only as it finds the Christian answer." The Negro has arrived, and he is in quest of the "Christian answer" to all human relations.

THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH

The Telegraph calls the attention of its a Northerner for a magazine published in the Survey Graphic, which is being simultaneously by The Telegraph and the New York World.

readers to an article in the news columns of North, shows that Harlem is overcrowded; that people in the black belt are being cheated and swindled and fed poison liquor. The Telegraph does not carry the story as a fragment of publicity against migration. It presents it simply is given over as an unbiased report of conditions from an unbiased source.

today's paper by Winthrop D. Lane, of the that negroes in New York are sleeping on the benches in the subways; that the relief

Race Problem — 1925.

United States.

Our Nordic Myth-Makers

(The Fifth Article of the Series on The Nordic Myth)

By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON

MY friend Bill returned from Europe with a noble war record and a game leg. He deserved a holiday and went to his folks in Missouri to recuperate. Six days later he was back. I asked him what the matter was.

"Hell," said Bill, anticipating "What Price Glory" by four years.

"What was the trouble? Did they want you to tell them all about the war?"

"Much worse. They insisted upon telling me all about it."

"That must have been interesting. And how much did they get straight?"

"Well, they knew that Europe lies due east of the United States. Beyond that, their information was a bit hazy."

"Why didn't you tell them?"

"Tell them? I tried to tell them. Tried hard. But the moment I opened my mouth, they called me a liar."

"How could they when you had been there and they had not?"

"Their minister had read about it in a magazine."

Then I took Bill tenderly by the hand and conducted him (for this was in the Maryland Free State) to a glass of beer. Neither of us is particularly fond of beer, but three per cent of alcohol on such occasions is better than none.

This unfortunate Nordic business is on a par with my friend Bill's adventures.

It happens that personally I am Exhibit A, the one and original 100 per cent Nordic, and that my people had bowling alleys in this part of the world years and years before the Puritan started his regime of spiritual Schrecklichkeit on the bleak shores of that stretch of water which my esteemed ancestors naively called the North Sea and which later generations call Cape Cod Bay.

If that were not the case, I would probably be requested to go back to the ghetto whence I came. For the dissenter upon the subject of the Nordic theory is the heretic of the year 1924 and "haereticos comburi" is still a favorite sport with many people who ardently believe in free speech, provided the opinions expressed by their adversaries do not clash with their own prejudices.

Let me interrupt myself and get one point clear before I proceed to the next.

I have no fault to find with those learned doctors who have presented the world with the strange theory of white superiority. The more clashes of opinion, the merrier. But I will call them all the names Brother Sumner allows us to use in public when they proclaim that their "guess" is an established fact, accepted by all the professors of anthropology, and when they use their own pet prejudice to stir up a general racial war.

It has been my fortunate fate to live in some four-teen countries under a dozen different forms of government and I have spent the greater part of my waking hours these last forty years trying to discover something about that curious mammal which God, in His almighty mercy allows to continue on a planet which it has so terribly defiled by its greed and cruelty. But I have come to the conclusion that the world today is quite as much at sea regarding the true nature of race as it was a generation ago.

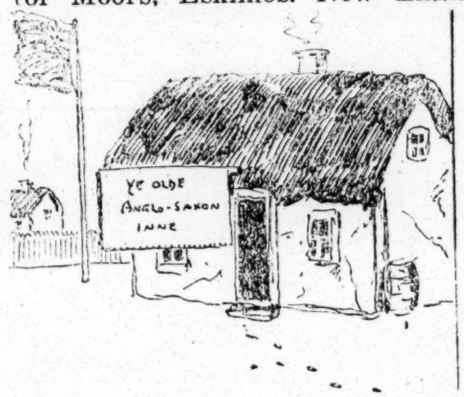
The only conclusion we seem to have reached is this: that without exception every nation (using the expression in the sense of little bits of green and purple and yellow and blue blotches upon a map) is composed of good and bad and indifferent citizens, that good Chinamen and good Danes and good Papuans are good Chinamen and good Danes and good Papuans, and that bad Chinamen and bad Danes and bad Papuans are bad Chinamen and bad Danes and bad Papuans.

In short, it is apparently becoming more and more clear that all generalities about race are misleading and that they will continue to be misleading until we shall know a lot more about the last million years than we do at present. Meanwhile, it is respectfully suggested that we make the best of the unpleasant muddle which has been presented to us and do some watchful waiting at the cradle of humanity.

It is the accursed fate of the "true liberal" to be an object of pity and detestation to both radicals and reactionaries. The Pfefferkorns (look Johann up, my friends, he is worth a little study) who are at the head of Ye Olde Anglo-Saxon Buncombe Shoppe, have by this time cross-indexed me as a German, a Bolshevik, a Turkish, and a Flemish menace. They have omitted reference to my previous state of servitude because they have it on excellent authority that I was forced to "flee from Holland at the tender age of sixteen for participation in a plot to abduct the Princess Juliana." As the poor child was then still fourteen years in abeyance the dates seem a bit vague. But as Paul said to Peter, "What are a few miracles between friends?" Or, what is the truth between patriots? And so we proceed to the next chapter, to wit, the radicals.

They, too, have their grievances. I am not truly one of their number. I only look it because I am addicted to red neckties and profanity.

But in my heart of hearts I harbor violent racial prejudices, and I have been heard to say that I feel really most at home when I am with my own color, sort, and variety of people and that I have little faith in the future of those societies which want to arrange indiscriminate Sängerfests for Moors, Eskimos, New Englanders, and Russians.



THE NEGRO AT HOME.

The negroes are again beginning to get restless and show signs of starting a great movement to the north similar to that of two years ago. Intelligent members of the race will do well to investigate very carefully the glittering allurements that may be held out by labor agents to lure them away from their southern homes. Occasonally an industrious and honest negro may better his condition by changing his residence to another part of the country, but it does not always work out. The right kind of a negro will have friends among the white folks in the neighborhood where he was brought up who will stand behind him if he needs help. These friends he will miss if he goes far away. The kindly counsel and the pecuniary help which he is accustomed to get from his white friends among whom he was brought up, and whom he has known from infancy, will be lacking if he goes among strangers, and there will be nothing to take their place.

Winthrop D. Lane has recently made an investigation of the conditions which surround the colored race in the great city of New York, and the pictures which he draws are not attractive. They are not calculated to inspire a great migration to that region. The colored people of the great metropolis are mostly located in Harlem, and their increasing numbers there is distasteful to the white people, who seek to check it by asking exorbitant rents from the colored renter. He is forced to pay from 40 to 60 per cent more than the whites for exactly the same accommodations. Of course this is unjust, but

same conditions prevail in other northern cities—in Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit. The high wages which have drawn the negroes from the south are more than balanced by the increased cost of living. The negro who is lured to the north by the talk of high wages will find that when he has paid for his coal or wood bill is paid for and his extra clothing provided for he will have little left from his high wage.

The home of the negro is in the south, where he knows the people and they know him. When he strays abroad he is pretty certain to lose out.

Race Problem — 1925.

United States.

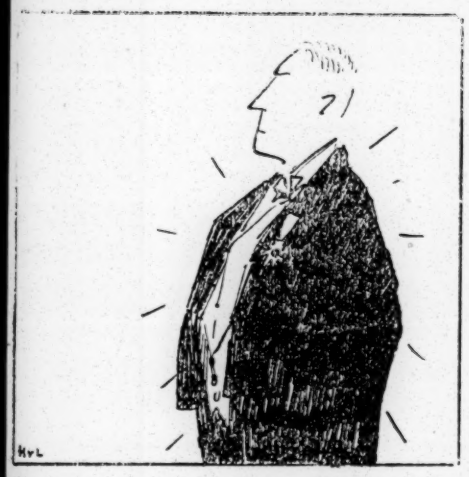
Our Nordic Myth-Makers

(The Fifth Article of the Series on The Nordic Myth)

By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON

MY friend Bill returned from Europe with a noble war record and a game leg. He deserved a holiday and went to his folks in Missouri to recuperate. Six days later he was back. I asked him what the matter was.

"Hell," said Bill, anticipating "What Price Glory" by four years.



"What was the trouble? Did they want you to tell them all about the war?"

"Much worse. They insisted upon telling me all about it."

"That must have been interesting. And how much did they get straight?"

"Well, they knew that Europe lies due east of the United States. Beyond that, their information was a bit hazy."

"Why didn't you tell them?"

"Tell them? I tried to tell them. Tried hard. But the moment I opened my mouth, they called me a liar."

"How could they when you had been there and they had not?"

"Their minister had read about it in a magazine."

Then I took Bill tenderly by the hand and conducted him (for this was in the Maryland Free State) to a glass of beer. Neither of us is particularly fond of beer, but three per cent of alcohol on such occasions is better than none.

This unfortunate Nordic business is on a par with my friend Bill's adventures.

It happens that personally I am Exhibit A, the one and original 100 per cent Nordic, and that my people had bowling alleys in this part of the world years and years before the Puritan started his regime of spiritual Schrecklichkeit on the bleak shores of that stretch of water which my esteemed ancestors naively called the North Sea and which later generations call Cape Cod Bay.

If that were not the case, I would probably be requested to go back to the ghetto whence I came. For the dissenter upon the subject of the Nordic theory is the heretic of the year 1924 and "haereticos comburi" is still a favorite sport with many people who ardently believe in free speech, provided the opinions expressed by their adversaries do not clash with their own prejudices.

Let me interrupt myself and get one point clear before I proceed to the next.

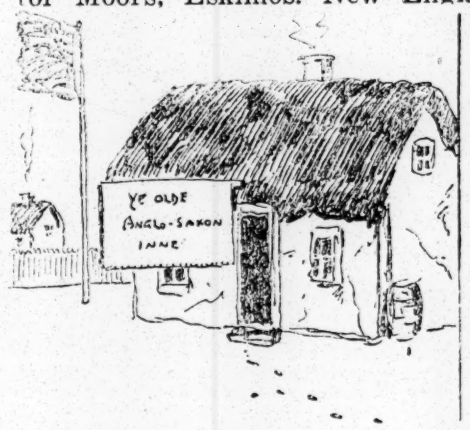
I have no fault to find with those learned doctors who have presented the world with the strange theory of white superiority. The more clashes of opinion, the merrier. But I will call them all the names Brother Sumner allows us to use in public when they proclaim that their "guess" is an established fact, accepted by all the professors of anthropology, and when they use their own pet prejudice to stir up a general racial war.

It has been my fortunate fate to live in some fourteen countries under a dozen different forms of government and I have spent the greater part of my waking hours these last forty years trying to discover something about that curious mammal which God, in His almighty mercy allows to continue on a planet which it has so terribly defiled by its greed and cruelty. But I have come to the conclusion that the world today is quite as much at sea regarding the true nature of race as it was a generation ago. The only conclusion we seem to have reached is this: that without exception every nation (using the expression in the sense of little bits of green and purple and yellow and blue blotches upon a map) is composed of good and bad and indifferent citizens, that good Chinamen and good Danes and good Papuans are good Chinamen and good Danes and good Papuans, and that bad Chinamen and bad Danes and bad Papuans are bad Chinamen and bad Danes and bad Papuans.

In short, it is apparently becoming more and more clear that all generalities about race are misleading and that they will continue to be misleading until we shall know a lot more about the last million years than we do at present. Meanwhile, it is respectfully suggested that we make the best of the unpleasant muddle which has been presented to us and do some watchful waiting at the cradle of humanity.

It is the accursed fate of the "true liberal" to be an object of pity and detestation to both radicals and reactionaries. The Pfefferkorns (look Johann up, my friends, he is worth a little study) who are at the head of Ye Olde Anglo-Saxon Buncombe Shoppe, have by this time cross-indexed me as a German, a Bolshevik, a Turkish, and a Flemish menace. They have omitted reference to my previous state of servitude because they have it on excellent authority that I was forced to "flee from Holland at the tender age of sixteen for participation in a plot to abduct the Princess Juliana." As the poor child was then still fourteen years in abeyance the dates seem a bit vague. But as Paul said to Peter, "What are a few miracles between friends?" Or, what is the truth between patriots? And so we proceed to the next chapter, to wit, the radicals.

They, too, have their grievances. I am not truly one of their number. I only look it because I am addicted to red neckties and profanity. But in my heart of hearts I harbor violent racial prejudices, and I have been heard to say that I feel really most at home when I am with my own color, sort, and variety of people and that I have little faith in the future of those societies which want to arrange indiscriminate Sängerfests for Moors, Eskimos, New Englanders, and Russians.



THE NEGRO AT HOME.

The negroes are again beginning to get restless and show signs of starting a great movement to the north similar to that of two years ago. Intelligent members of the race will do well to investigate very carefully the glittering allurements that may be held out by labor agents to lure them away from their southern homes. Occasionally an industrious and honest negro may better his condition by changing his residence to another part of the country, but it does not always work out. The right kind of a negro will have friends among the white folks in the neighborhood where he was brought up who will stand behind him if he needs help. These friends he will miss if he goes far away. The kindly counsel and the pecuniary help which he is accustomed to get from his white friends among whom he was brought up, and whom he has known from infancy, will be lacking if he goes among strangers, and there will be nothing to take their place.

Winthrop D. Lane has recently made an investigation of the conditions which surround the colored race in the great city of New York, and the pictures which he draws are not calculated to inspire a great migration to that region. The colored people of the great northern cities—in Philadelphia, the southern metropolis are mostly located in Harlem, and their numbers there is distasteful to the white people, who seek to check it by asking exorbitant rents from the colored renter. He is forced to pay from 40 to 60 per cent more than the whites for exactly the same accommodations. They can be done about the increased cost of living. The negro who is lured to the north by the talk of high wages will find that when his coal or wood bill is paid for and his extra clothing provided for he will have little left from his high wage.

Of course this is unjust, but the home of the negro is in the south, where he knows the people and they know him. When he strays abroad he is pretty certain to lose out.

Being Born Black—A Tragedy

WITH the social order as now constructed reflecting an exaggerated, intensely selfish, and unchristian public opinion as to relative human values it is a tragedy for one in America to be born a Negro. Not that there is inherent evil in colored pigment, is this true, but because in Western civilization, black is made the object of evil in all of its manifestations. A specie of American psychology makes the color of a man's skin synonymous of evil.

In practical, primary values, though not in theory, American civilization is organized and is being vigorously maintained on an anti-black basis. Society's behavioristic attitude observed from well-nigh every angle is anti-colored. Every aspect of Western civilization in America betrays the deliberate purpose to repress and subordinate its native colored group for purposes of exploitation and to inflate the pagan vanity of sections of the dominant group. Recent repetition of a common social practice reveals another very obvious reason *why* it is a tragedy to be colored.

Even the crimes and sins of the miscreants of other races, camouflaged, are paraded under the guise of "crimes of black folk." And a gullible public opinion, eager, witnesses accretions to its already inordinate anti-Negro attitude. In New York a short time ago, a young white man wanted to acquire some money and jewelry without honest toil, and he resolved to resort to the age-old ruse of converting himself into a Negro externally. Mind you, there was no change of the youth's character within. His "white" ideals, motives, and desires remained the same, though encased in a coating of burnt cork. For character *is* what it *is*, whether its possessor be a black face with a *white* heart, or a white face with a *black* heart. When the young man had blackened his face, he sallied forth on his crime escapade, but soon found himself frustrated and in the hands of officers of the law, who found him possessed of a supply of burnt cork, prepared for a series of crimes as a white man under a "black skin."

By a similar ruse the other day a prominent white gentleman in Florida decided he would violate the chastity of white womanhood. The best way, because the easiest and surest way to shift the gear of public opinion from suspicion of himself, was to blacken his face and attack the woman in the guise of a "black" man. Of course, as usual, when a black-faced white man commits a crime, a Negro, often a white-souled black man and innocent, must suffer at the hands of the community. Though helpless to protect themselves from such imposition, the twelve millions of Negroes in America know that a very considerable amount of the crime committed in this country and laid at our door is not being committed by us, but by other folks who, finding our color more convenient for the time being, adopt it, expecting to elude arrest, while at the same time the victim, or someone else, seeing the incident and the criminal, will circulate in a highly sensational way the rumor that a Negro "did so-and-so."

Very much of the charge that has been current to our race detriment during the years past concerning Negro violators of the virtue of women would fall flat to the ground if a public sentiment hostile to Negroes were sufficiently honest, courageous, and active to detect the real criminals and wash the burnt cork from their faces. It would be a startling spectacle and one that would be fatal to our made-to-order theories of race superiority and race righteousness, should the just and loving Father of us all line up before the bar of American public opinion for exhibition all those individuals of the Jekyl-Hyde type who have committed heinous crimes in the name and under the guise of black men. It is a melancholy and tragic reflection to contemplate the number of innocent Negroes who have been heartlessly and ruthlessly murdered on the highways, in their homes, in prison cells, in farm-houses, in forest, and woods, singly and in groups, by day and by night by communities that would not take the time, or lacked the sense of ordinary human fairness to wash the burnt cork from the faces of the real criminals who went scot free and now walk about in their respective communities as model members of a "superior" race. But He who wipes tears from our eyes will wash faces some day.

Under a social order of such manifest unfairness as is reflected in our own nation's institutions and public opinion and constant behavior against men because of their color, what wonder is it that the Negro is gradually but surely developing a spirit of stubborn protest and open opposition to the existing institutions and social procedure of the nation! Such a system impairs the Negro's sense of self-respect and makes it difficult for him to maintain his race integrity. It contracts and makes narrower his outlook upon life. If he is beguiled and tabooed and exploited because of his color merely, then what can he hope for?

Whatever is said about our boasted national progress, we Americans do well to keep in mind that the only permanent progress is that made in accordance with the eternal laws of a moral and spiritual order. Any culture that places the emphasis beyond this sphere misses the mark; and any reversal of the principle and practice of the Christian ethic of human brotherhood cannot integrate itself with a universal moral order which we hold Christ came and died to effect in our world relationships. This emphasis on color rather than on Christ heads humanity for the breakers. This cry of race and clan rather than of righteousness and the cross must cease in American civilization. This repudiation of members of the universal spiritual brotherhood of man and denying them the heritage bequeathed to them through the cumulated contribution of the ages must soon be acknowledged as unchristian and untenable by those who keep it up. The only and ultimate chart of man's liberties and opportunities must be the Word of God. All else must be sloughed off.

As a corrective for our disordered social system with its diseased psychology of self-interest, the educative agencies of every kind within the nation must be invoked and set in motion to restore the emphasis of our culture to the character basis as the only worthy foundation of an enduring civilization. The other will be comparatively easy. Character is not an accident or product of color or the absence of color. It is a composite of spiritual principle, conduct, and ideal for which God made all men capacitated. The Creator who would make a race of men characterless and incapable of character would hardly commend himself to that race as a fit Deity. Fundamental to our religious faith is our concept of the character of our God. Our present historic revelation affirms that our God "caused to spring from one forefather all the races of men that dwell on the face of the earth." All are therefore likewise possessed of capacity for God-like character. The tragedy of the moral order is for one section of the family to make it impossible for any other section to develop its powers to their fullest capacity.

Inspired by this conception, America must set about the task of educating her millions away from the superiority-race complex, from the white-supremacy complex, and from the color-phobia complex, and must instill, both as an ideal and a normal attitude and practice among all the people, the teaching and spirit of Jesus, the historic Christ.

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

N. Y.

JANUARY 21, [illegible]

Mrs. Catt Sees War Peril in Race Hatred

Tells Delegates 'White Race Must Return Lands Stolen From Yellow and Black Before Peace Can Come

Finds Japan Awakening

CallsPrejudices 'Slumbering Earthquakes' Which Will Disturb World Harmony

By Emma Bugbee

A Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—"The white race must disgorge. The lands we stole from the yellow and black races at the point of he sword must be returned ere there can ever be peace on the earth."

With these words Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt brought to an end to-night the discussions on the causes of war which have held five hundred women delegates in session for the last two days.

Race and religious prejudices were sources of war, she said, which would not be touched by the League of Nations or the World Court, but which were "great big slumbering earthquakes" which eventually would disturb the peace of the world.

Japanese Learn Our Ways

"The Japanese are being taught Western ways of living and Western ways of making war," she said. "They are also learning our stock arguments for foreign aggression. They will establish a Monroe Doctrine for Asia, they say. They will assume the yellow man's burden for Asia. They will establish twentieth century civilization in Asia. They have just as much right to use this patter as we had."

Likewise, in South America, according to Mrs. Catt, there is danger in racial antagonism, arising from the negro question. Until the United States solves the negro question within its own boundaries, it will never have the confidence of the peoples of South America, she said.

"I don't want to get mixed up with the Fundamentalists," she added, "but if you believe we all came from the Garden of Eden, then the white race is no farther along than the yellow and the black. If you think we came by evolution, well, there may be a difference in the kind of flocks we sprang from. At any rate, it is not fair for the white man to have two acres each, and the yellow man an inch; and we shall never have peace until there is justice for all the people God ever made.

Woman Can Banish War

One generation would be sufficient to banish war if the instinctive impulses of women could be applied to the task, Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, psychologist, told the conference. The instinctive impulses of men tending toward war are now driving the race to its own destruction, she said, and only the deep-rooted impulse toward life preservation inherent in women can save the race.

"The impulse toward creative effort, by which man rose from the jungle, and which underlies modern civilization, with its machinery, its airplanes and wireless telegraphy, are now being used by man for his own destruction in war implements. His reason is helpless before the demands of his emotional nature tending toward war," she said.

It was especially the task of American women to organize a movement to prevent war, because American women are awake to their power, while the women of Europe are still in their ancestral sleep, Dr. Hinkle said.

"I do not mean that there are not some highly intelligent women in Europe, superior to the mass of American women," she said, "but in the main European women are not yet awakened."

"Men dominate women to an extent which even intelligent women scarcely realize," she continued, "and in such matters as war itself they often follow the lead of the masculine mind. They assist in the process of making war though it is not natural to them. And when they indulge in hero worship, it is the man, not his job, which they adore."

Scores Near East Investments

The investments of Europeans in the Near East were held responsible for the troubles in that part of the globe rather than concern over the fate of Christian Armenians, according to M. Barton Malcolm, an Armenian lawyer living in New York.

The economic stability of nations rather than the ruthless greed was the chief cause of war, according to John Foster Dulles, former member of the Reparations Commission; while William Smith Culbertson, of the United States Tariff Commission, said the struggle for the raw materials of the earth was the basis of most modern wars.

Mr. Dulles told the women that the homely virtues of trying to hold what they have earned rather than predatory lust was the impulse that drove nations to war.

At the evening session most of the speakers of the last two days were present, offering the women a chance to question them freely in a open forum. The final conclusions of the individual delegates are now to be presented to the committee on the cause of war, which will report Saturday.

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—The American section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose president is Jane Addams, announced to-day its withdrawal from the national council of women, declaring its program "is perhaps too far advanced for some of the organizations of the council."

THERE WAS NO "RIOT" AT GAME

Cops Answer Call, Abuse and Man-handle The Colored Patrons

The "riot" that the daily papers graphically broadcasted to a gullible and believing public as having taken place between the basketball players of Wendell Phillips High School and Linbloom Tech, upon investigation, has turned out to be nothing but the jingo of yellow journalism.

The account as given by one of the daily papers is as follows:

Colored Pupils and White Fight

Two hundred high school boys, white and colored, milled in the gymnasium of Lindbloom Technical High school late yesterday in a miniature riot over the result of a basketball game. Seventeen detective bureau squads and police from a dozen south side stations, numbering some 200, were rushed to the school, but peace had arrived before them.

A dozen black eyes and as many tapped noses were the only casualties, according to witnesses, although it is reported that several razors and a revolver were flourished.

The Wendell Phillips High school team, composed of colored boys and accompanied by about 300 rooters came to the Lindbloom gynasium at 62nd and Lincoln streets.

The lightweight teams of both schools played first and the white boys won 13-10. Then the heavyweights of Lindbloom won 18 to 16. In both games there was rough playing. The referee, R. E. Braunan, came under fire.

After the game the crowd poured on to the floor, surrounded the referee and fists flew. Girls screamed and there was a rush down the stairs. Several girls were trampled but none hurt.

In the street fighting broke out again and one of the Lindbloom coaches phoned a riot call. The fighting, however, soon subsided.

What Really Happened

What really took place was that a few of the followers of the fortunes of the Wendell Phillips High school began to hoot the referee for some seemingly unfair decisions.

After the game was over, fans of both teams indulged in some catty remarks. One of the coaches sensed a "riot" coming and phoned for the police. Seven quads responded to his call.

Upon arriving at the gymnasium they began to man-handle and abuse the colored patrons. Many were struck. One girl, whose color is such that she might be taken for white, was caught by one of the officers and was about to be rudely punished, when he recognized her as "white." Begging her pardon he said, "excuse me, I thought you were one of those niggers. Do you want me to see you safely home?"

LEADING THE NEGROES ASTRAY.

The negro has made his greatest progress in sobriety, in industry and in home-owning within the past eight years. In other words his general advancement began when he was divorced from politics and his mind diverted to the better things of life. The truth of all this is manifested no where better than in Charlotte, where the negro population has developed along all the lines of welfare. The negro is no longer a political chattel. Finding freedom from political exploitation, he has found himself within the space of a comparatively few years safely classified in the better citizenship list. He has become a patron of the building and loan, instead of the saloon; he has become owner of a home and is proud in happy domesticity. It was a decided mistake on part of the visiting negro bishops, the past week, to once more undertake planting the seed of politics in the minds of the negroes of the South. It is to be said, in mitigation, that the majority of these bishops came from north of the Mason and Dixon line and were unfamiliar with the excellently-established state of negro society in this part of the country and altogether unaware of the great advancement made by the race in both the spiritual and material direction. It was an entirely wrong note they struck in their "message to the country." in which they insisted that one of the objectives to be sought by the negroes during 1925, is "more political power and independence." The best thing that was ever done for the negroes in this part of the South was in rescuing them from exploitation by the politicians. The negro, himself, does not want to be returned to his former political thralldom. He wants, along with the white people, to get as far away as possible from recollections of past political history, for the negro has a good memory, and contrasting his condition now with what it was in times past—in the days of Reconstruction and the days immediately following—he may prove stubborn to the advice of the Northern bishops. He has learned that the industrial leader is his friend, as the political boss had been his enemy.

A little bit of Southern history might be re-The equal rights amendment was proposed called to emphasize to the bishops how far theytors was the magnificent sum have departed from the course of true leading the two and one-half yership for the Southern negroes. On page 352Legislature, in its riot of graft of Hill's "Young Peoples History of Northincreased the State's public Carolina," one may read: "During Reconstruc-306.27 to $14,833,349.17. tion in this State three ex-Governors, a formeroperating the State Justice of the Supreme Court, several ex-Con-war was approximately a half gressmen and a number of other distinguishedyear. Many of these high finamen were at a dinner together. The only per-then shaping the destiny of son present who could vote or hold office wasNegro to have been unable to the negro who waited on the table."

Although the State, like the whole Southplanation of the prevalence of was practically bankrupt at the close of theation of the prohibition amend war, the unholy regime in North Carolina hend, had its inception in the 1868 voted bonds to the amount of $20,000,000the amendments to the The same condition prevailed in every otherclothing the negro with citizen Southern State. The Legislature in South Caro-lights.

of the several States of the Legislatures of the Fortieth Congress, February 27, 1869, and was declared to have been ratified by proclamation by the Secretary of State under date of March 30, 1870.

The prohibition amendment to the Constitution was voted by an untrammeled people. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments—the former conferring citizenship rights and the latter equal rights—were accepted by the South under duress. If, as the bishops say, Government is predicated on the consent of the governed, what volume of consent was there to the State's acquiescence in the amendments which were not only enfranchised its former slaves, but put the reins of Government for years in the freedmen's untried and irresponsible hands?

With such a background, one is somewhat amazed that the bishops—supposedly the most learned among the colored leaders—should present the argument that violation of the prohibition law had its incipiency in disregard for the constitutional guarantees of rights to the negro and that the color of a man's skin is the standard of justice in this country.

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

N. Y.

Mrs. Catt Sees War Peril in Race Hatred

Tells Delegates 'White Race Must Return Lands Stolen From Yellow and Black Before Peace Can Come

Finds Japan Awakening

Calls Prejudices 'Slumbering Earthquakes' Which Will Disturb World Harmony

By Emma Bugbee

A Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—"The white race must disgorge. The lands we stole from the yellow and black races at the point of the sword must be returned ere there can ever be peace on the earth."

With these words Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt brought to an end to-night the discussions on the causes of war which have held five hundred women delegates in session for the last two days.

Race and religious prejudices were sources of war, she said, which would not be touched by the League of Nations or the World Court, but which were "great big slumbering earthquakes" which eventually would disturb the peace of the world.

Japanese Learn Our Ways

"The Japanese are being taught Western ways of living and Western ways of making war," she said. "They are also learning our stock arguments for foreign aggression. They will establish a Monroe Doctrine for Asia, they say. They will assume the yellow man's burden for Asia. They will establish twentieth century civilization in Asia. They have just as much right to use this patter as we had."

Likewise, in South America, according to Mrs. Catt, there is danger in racial antagonism, arising from the negro question. Until the United States solves the negro question within its own boundaries, it will never have the confidence of the peoples of South America, she said.

"I don't want to get mixed up with the Fundamentalists," she added, "but if you believe we all came from the Garden of Eden, then the white race is no farther along than the yellow and the black. If you think we came by evolution, well, there may be a difference in the kind of flocks we sprang from. At any rate, it is not fair for the white man to have two acres each, and the yellow man an inch; and we shall never have peace until there is

mane.

Woman Can Banish War

One generation would be sufficient to banish war if the instinctive impulses of women could be applied to the task, Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, psychologist, told the conference. The instinctive impulses of men tending toward war are now driving the race to its own destruction, she said, and only the deep-rooted impulse toward life preservation inherent in women can save the race.

"The impulse toward creative effort, by which man rose from the jungle, and which underlies modern civilization, with its machinery, its airplanes and wireless telegraphy, are now being used by man for his own destruction in war implements. His reason is helpless before the demands of his emotional nature tending toward war," she said.

It was especially the task of American women to organize a movement to prevent war, because American women are awake to their power, while the women of Europe are still in their ancestral sleep, Dr. Hinkle said.

"I do not mean that there are not some highly intelligent women in Europe, superior to the mass of American women," she said, "but in the main European women are not yet awakened."

"Men dominate women to an extent which even intelligent women scarcely realize," she continued, "and in such matters as war itself they often follow the lead of the masculine mind. They assist in the process of making war though it is not natural to them. And when they indulge in hero worship, it is the man, not his job, which they adore."

Scores Near East Investments

The investments of Europeans in the Near East were held responsible for the troubles in that part of the globe rather than concern over the fate of Christian Armenians, according to M. Barton Malcolm, an Armenian lawyer living in New York.

The economic stability of nations rather than the ruthless greed was the chief cause of war, according to John Foster Dulles, former member of the Reparations Commission; while William Smith Culbertson, of the United States Tariff Commission, said the struggle for the raw materials of the earth was the basis of most modern wars.

Mr. Dulles told the women that the homely virtues of trying to hold what they have earned rather than predatory lust was the impulse that drove nations to war.

At the evening session most of the speakers of the last two days were present, offering the women a chance to question them freely in a open forum. The final conclusions of the individual delegates are now to be presented to the committee on the cause of war, which will report Saturday.

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—The American section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose president is Jane Addams, announced to-day its withdrawal from the national council of women, declaring its program "is perhaps too far advanced for some of the organizations of the council."

THERE WAS NO "RIOT" AT GAME

Cops Answer Call, Abuse and Man-handle The Colored Patrons

The "riot" that the daily papers graphically broadcasted to a gullible and believing public as having taken place between the basketball players of Wendell Phillips High School and Linbloom Tech, upon investigation, has turned out to be nothing but the jingo of yellow journalism.

The account as given by one of the daily papers is as follows:

Colored Pupils and White Fight

Two hundred high school boys, white and colored, milled in the gymnasium of Lindbloom Technical High school late yesterday in miniature riot over the result of a basketball game. Seventeen detective bureau squads and police from a dozen south side stations, numbering some 200, were rushed to the school, but peace had arrived before them. A dozen black eyes and as many tapped noses were the only casualties, according to witnesses, although it is reported that several [illegible] were flourished.

The Wendell Phillips High school team, composed of colored boys and accompanied by about 300 rooters came to the Lindbloom gynasium at 62nd and Lincoln streets.

The lightweight teams of both schools played first and the white boys won 13-10. Then the heavyweights of Lindbloom won 18 to 16. In both games there was rough playing. The referee, R. E. Braunan, came under fire.

After the game the crowd poured on to the floor, surrounded the referee and fists flew. Girls screamed and there was a rush down the stairs. Several girls were trampled but none hurt.

In the street fighting broke out again and one of the Lindbloom coaches phoned a riot call. The fighting, however, soon subsided.

What Really Happened

What really took place was that a few of the followers of the fortunes of the Wendell Phillips High school began to hoot the referee for some seemingly unfair decisions.

After the game was over, fans of both teams indulged in some catty remarks. One of the coaches sensed a "riot" coming and phoned for the police. Seven quads responded to his call.

Upon arriving at the gymnasium they began to man-handle and abuse the colored patrons. Many were struck. One girl, whose color is such that she might be taken for white, was caught by one of the officers and was about to be rudely punished, when he recognized her as "white." Begging her pardon he said, "excuse me, I thought you were one of those niggers. Do you want me to see you safely home?"

Chicago Whip 1-17-25

BEGUILING THE NEGROES ASTRAY.

The negro has made his greatest progress in sobriety, in industry and in home-owning within the past eight years. In other words his general advancement began when he was divorced from politics and his mind diverted to the better things of life. The truth of all this is manifested no where better than in Charlotte, where the negro population has developed along all the lines of welfare. The negro is no longer a political chattel. Finding freedom from political exploitation, he has found himself within the space of a comparatively few years safely classified in the better citizenship list. He has become a patron of the building and loan, instead of the saloon; he has become owner of a home and is proud in happy domesticity. It was a decided mistake on part of the visiting negro bishops, the past week, to once more undertake planting the seed of politics in the minds of the negroes of the South. It is to be said, in mitigation, that the majority of these bishops came from north of the Mason and Dixon line and were unfamiliar with the excellently-established state of negro society in this part of the country and altogether unaware of the great advancement made by the race in both the spiritual and material direction. It was an entirely wrong note they struck in their "message to the country," in which they insisted that one of the objectives to be sought by the negroes during 1925, is "more political power and independence." The best thing that was ever done for the negroes in this part of the South was in rescuing them from exploitation by the politicians. The negro, himself, does not want to be returned to his former political thralldom. He wants, along with the white people, to get as far away as possible from recollections of past political history, for the negro has a good memory, and contrasting his condition now with what it was in times past—in the days of Reconstruction and the days immediately following—he may prove stubborn to the advice of the Northern bishops. He has learned that the industrial leader is his friend, as the political boss had been his

sent the argument that violation of the prohibition law had its incipiency in disregard for the constitutional guarantees of rights to the negro and that the color of a man's skin is the standard of justice in this country.

With such a background, one is somewhat amazed that the bishops—supposedly the most learned of the former slaves, what volume of consent was there to the amendments which were under duress. If, as the bishops say, Government is predicated on the consent of the governed, what volume of consent was there to the proposed amendments which were under duress. If, as the bishops say, Government is predicated on the consent of the governed, what volume of consent was there to the

MILWAUKEE CHURC
MARCH 14, 1925

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

FROM THE CONVENTION ADDRESS OF THE RT. REV. T. F. GAILOR, D.D., BISHOP OF TENNESSEE, AND PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

COMING as I do, from the central office of the Church in New York City, and being compelled to study my own section of the country without prejudice one way or the other, I find only one department of work where it seems to me that we are weak both in intention and achievement: I do not think that we are doing justice to ourselves or to them or to the Church by our indifference to the work among the negro population. There are about eleven million of these people in this country, and more than nine-tenths of them are in the South. We have, I believe, more negroes in the State of Tennessee, than there are Indians in the whole United States; but there is a decided contrast in the way we show our interest in the two races. And yet I believe our Church has a special mission to the negro. Its emphasis upon reverence and order and moral character and the refinement of life is just the discipline that the black man needs; but we are doing very little indeed. I don't suppose that we have half a dozen self-supporting Episcopal congregations of negroes in the whole South: but we have—and we are proud of the fact—we have nine good schools that are doing an excellent service in teaching negro youth to believe in work and training them to do it. Indeed, our schools have as many pupils as Hampton and Tuskegee together, and are run at half the cost: yet our people seem to know little or nothing about them. One of these schools is in this diocese, forty miles from Memphis, in the Black Belt, where there are 150,000 negroes within a radius of fifty miles. The school has about 250 pupils who are learning to be useful and self-supporting under the wise and efficient direction of a negro clergyman of the Church. But its support, except for the food raised on the place by the pupils themselves, comes, for the most part, from outside our diocese.

I do not know what you think about it, but for myself I cannot help feeling a sense of responsibility for these people. I was born among them and raised among them, and I think that I know them. As a matter of self-protection, we must try to inspire them with hope and desire for better living and train them to habits of order and cleanliness, virtue and self-respect. They live in our homes and associate with our children, and we must see to it that they are carriers of health and not disease, of decency and not indecency, of righteousness and not wrong. And certainly as Christians we cannot exclude the negro from the application of our Lord's saying: "Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these ye have done it unto Me."

I have heard many men talk about the Negro Problem, as they call it, but they do not try for any real solution. For the most part they act like ostriches, blinding their eyes and leaving it to their posterity. And it is a problem. The negro is here to stay. He has been made an American citizen, and the white man and the black man are going to live together in this country for centuries to come.

My solution of the problem is to awaken in the negro a pride in his own race and a satisfaction with the work, that he, as a negro, is able and given to do—yes! pride in his own home, in his own leaders, in his own means of recreation and his own labors: and then he will not want to be in all things like the white man, and a mere imitator of the white man's ways. But that can come only by education, the right kind of education, based on a moral integrity, rooted in faith in God.

The New South and I'ts New Awakening

By DR. H. R. BUTLER

The New South and its New Awakening leads one to the thought that at some time back, there must have been an Old South in its sleeping. And that is true, because over a long stretch of years the South slept and did a lot of some funny propositions. It held the Bible and the whip in one hand and the slave and aristocracy in the other hand. It thought that the brotherhood of man did not include the colored brother at all. Mixed all up in this sort of semi-Christian group were some good white men and some good white women. They were not only opposed to what they themselves were doing, but they were opposed to what their people were doing but they did it because it was the custom coming to them over the years, and they suffered others to do it because they were not in a position to prevent it.

Finally a change came after many years of toil by the slaves. It is not necessary for me to pause here to explain how that change was brought about. Every primary school boy and girl knows when and how it all happened. It was January 1, 1863, that Abraham Lincoln, as a war measure wrote his famous EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION liberating 4,000,000 slaves, thus writing his immortal name away up in the stars, above the names of all the earth's great men. And still the South went on sleeping and sleeping with its little gods of racial hates, spured on by ignorant soulless politicians and some soul-less newspaper writers. On for another half century this thing went until one day (June 28, 1914), something happened at Sarajevo, Bosnia. Archduke Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated; two pistol shots set fire to the civilized world and it burned and burned away millions of foreign men's souls and billions of foreign money, until March 9, 1917, when President Wilson called an extra session of congress. Here things took a serious turn for the United States of America, and by June the 5th nearly ten million Americans had answered the call of their country to go forth to war. Among the number over more than a half million of America's colored sons They came from the North, East West and from the South. From Georgia alone, a state that has heaped more indignities and insults upon its colored citizens than perhaps, any other state, came 34,303 colored defenders of the nation and flag, while the white citizens furnished 34,748 defenders of the flag and nation—just 445 more men than their colored comrads. While these colored men went into the trenches in France and fought, bled and died for a democracy that has not yet come, their people back home bought government bonds Savings Stamps, worked for the Red Cross, and with their white neighbors they ate cornbread and sent the flour over the seas to feed the boys in the trenches; they sang the song, "Together we did not so sweetly live, But Together let us die for our country and our firesides." While this was an awful situation, and awful times to live in, yet in a way, it has brought the South to where the real cross, the place where TRUTH has been met, and a great host of good white men and white women are waking up and rubbing their eyes. They are beginning to put some real Christ life into their own lives which is being felt in a responsive way by a large group of colored men and women. That dreadful war had its effect upon the colored people also. For all through the years of slavery there was a hatred in the hearts of most of the slaves against their owners. After the emancipation that hatred was increased by the actions of the K. K. K., carpet-bag politicians and ignorant politicians of our own group, and added to these was perhaps one of the worst of all, the cheap newspaper reporter. Hence we had lots of racial hate to be overcome, and we have yet lots to overcome, among ourselves.

And, so, in this unfriendly way the races have gone on building up a wall between themselves, the chief cornerstone of which was HATE. Thank God the TRUE Christian spirit of both races is breaking down that wall; we are clasping hands as never before; not in any social equality way, but in a democratic Christian way; not in, you pull your way, and I pull my way, but in an ALL TOGETHER PULL for a more Christ-like life in us all; for better homes for all; for better schools for all; for a better and a closer understanding for us all; a pull together for our great government for which we have all fought, bled and died. Since we must all pay taxes to support the government, regardless of the color of our skins, let us all take part in the election of our officers regardless of the color of our skins. Let's not be a SKIN government, rather let us be a BRAIN government. Both the white people and the colored people are beginning to realize the fact that people are just people after all. They are beginning to deal with each other on those righteous principles.

I have traveled extensively in eight different countries and while my own country (the United States) is the only one in which I have traveled which pays very much attention to the color of its citizens, yet in it, and here in the South at that, I have met some of as fine white people as I have met anywhere in the world. I will also say, they are becoming more human and more Christian every day. Just take Atlanta, for example, the white people here have a kinder and more sympathetic feeling for the colored people now than they had three or four years ago. A large part of this change has been brought about through the wonderful work of the white pulpit, which was and is ably assisted by the colored minstrel and the melodies so beautifully sung by our people, some times in sorrow and sadness.

Yes, the races are getting together in Christian work, thought and life; talking about race problems—we will soon have no race problems in the South—they will be transferred to the North, East and West. Here in the South colored people are seeing the good in the white people and losing sight of the evil that is in them; on the other hand the white people are seeing the good in the colored people and are losing sight of the evils in them; we are facing each other as human beings knowing that each group has its faults as well as its virtues; in this Christian way we intend to LOVE our way into the spirit of PATIENCE, JUSTICE AND RIGHT; WE ARE FRIENDS NOW.

FRIENDSHIP, above all ties,
does bind the heart;
And FAITH in FRIENDSHIP is
the noblest part.

The New South awakes; the Old South goes to sleep—may she never WAKE. WE ARE CHRISTIAN FRIENDS now and may we ever be. May I suggest to the white friends, if the colored people do wrong in the community, show them the right way; don't abuse arrest and imprison them for frivolous, little crimes; you cannot get far along the Christian way with that kind of program.

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

Recompense

The Chicago Defender
2-28-25
Chicago, Ill.

On March 5, 1770, Crispus Attucks, a slave, was the first to give his life for liberty and freedom from British tyranny in the American colonies.

SOUTHERN JUDGE SETS ASIDE DAMAGE VERDICT AS TOO MUCH FOR COLORED

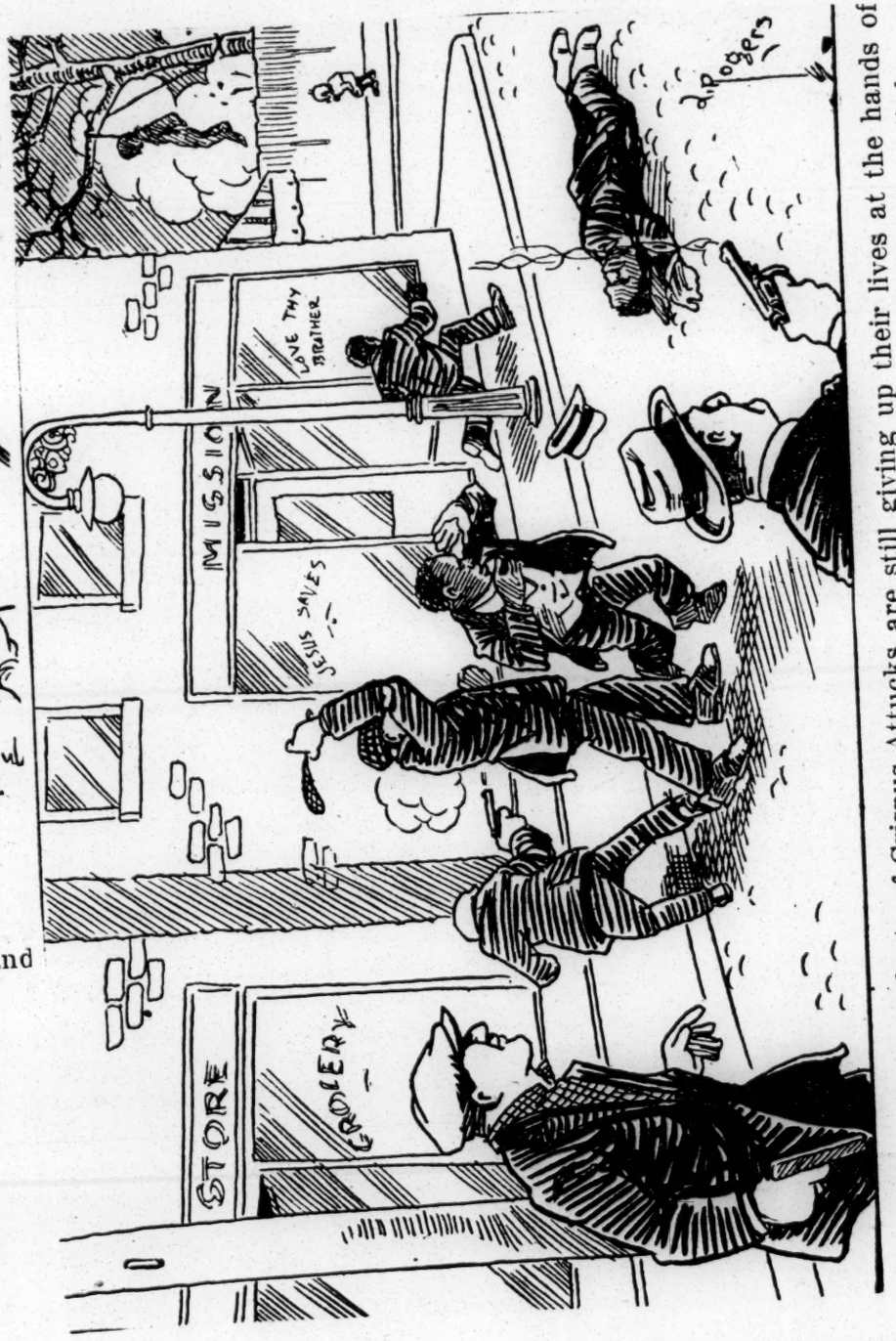
Raleigh, N. C., May 15, 1925.—A verdict for $15,000 awarded the estate of George Minter, a brakeman, against the Seaboard Airline railroad was set aside by Judge Frank Daniels in Wake Superior Court on the grounds that it was excessive. The action was taken on motion of Murray Allen, attorney for the railroad.

Minter was killed in a collision near Apex last year, for which his administrator brough suit for $25.000.

DEPUTY DIAGNE'S TRIP TO U. S. POSTPONED

Blaise Diagne, member of the French Chamber of Deputies from the Senegal, who sgined agreements with Rayford Logan of this city to tour America and for whom definite arrangements on a large scale were made in fifteen metropolitan centers, is not expected to make the trip as proposed at this time, because of recent developments in the French Colonies. The deputy is the ranking member of the colonial committee of the chamber.

Diagne recruited the Senegalese troops which won fame on the Aisne, the Marne, at the Chemin des Dames and at Verdun. He was entrusted with this mission by Clemenceau in 1917, but refused the decoration of the Legion of Honor for the service. Since trouble began in the colonies, Diagne has been the subject of litigation at Paris, but has been victorious in his legal battles.



Today the descendants of Crispus Attucks are still giving up their lives at the hands of mobs who ignore the liberty, justice and equality for which he and the colonists died.

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

Recompense

On March 5, 1770, Crispus Attucks, a slave, was the first to give his life for liberty and freedom from British tyranny in the American colonies.

Today the descendants of Crispus Attucks are still giving up their lives at the hands of mobs who ignore the liberty, justice and equality for which he and the colonists died.

SOUTHERN JUDGE SETS ASIDE DAMAGE VERDICT AS TOO MUCH FOR COLORED

Raleigh, N. C., May 15, 1925.—A verdict for $15,000 awarded the estate of George Minter, a brakeman, against the Seaboard Airline railroad was set aside by Judge Frank Daniels in Wake Superior Court on the grounds that it was excessive. The action was taken on motion of Murray Allen, attorney for the railroad.

Minter was killed in a collision near Apex last year, for which his administrator brough suit for $25.000.

DEPUTY DIAGNE'S TRIP TO U. S. POSTPONED

Blaise Diagne, member of the French Chamber of Deputies from the Senegal, who sgined agreements with Rayford Logan of this city to tour America and for whom definite arrangements on a large scale were made in fifteen metropolitan centers, is not expected to make the trip as proposed at this time, because of recent developments in the French Colonies. The deputy is the ranking member of the colonial committee of the chamber.

Diagne recruited the Senegalese troops which won fame on the Aisne, the Marne, at the Chemin des Dames and at Verdun. He was entrusted with this mission by Clemenceau in 1917, but refused the decoration of the legion of Honor for the service. Since trouble began in the colonies, Diagne has been the subject of litigation at Paris, but has been victorious in his legal battles.

The Population Problem and the Negro

By Arthur E. King

III

It is indeed an interesting observation that the proponents of a white world quoted, faced with the prospect of an intense struggle within measurable time for places to accommodate the increasing numbers of the white race, are determined not only to urge control of places already preempted for use, but have marked out tropical Africa—whose climate is greatly modified by its elevation—for colonization. Included in this area is Abyssinia. In places where white settlement is not possible virtual slavery is planned for the Negro and other non-white populations, or the alternative, of elevating their standards of living to a point where the accumulation of a surplus would be difficult and their survival value considerably reduced. And the most sympathetic writer of all dealing with the problem in the United States, can only see "the disappearance of the problem through the disappearance of the Negro himself." Not even the Socialists, on whom so much reliance is placed in certain quarters, are prepared to let their political doctrines overshadow their race consciousness. Accordingly we find that High Priest of Socialism, Bertrand Russell, when faced with the realities of the population problem, saying that "The less prolific races will have to defend themselves against the more prolific by methods which are disgusting even if they are necessary. In the meantime, therefore, our Socialistic aspirations have to be confined to the white races, perhaps with the inclusion of the Japanese and Chinese at no distant date."[30]

This foresight on the part of the white world is based on two fundamental instincts—the desire for individual and group survival and a desire for a larger measure of life, that is, a higher standard of living, or at least no reduction of the standard already reached. And behind all this is the unshakeable belief that not only must the white races exercise this provision in their own interest but that they do it in the interest of Civilization itself; for they allege that they might even reconcile themselves to the passing of their power if it appeared that the torch would be carried forward by a hardier, higher, and more scientific group.

This problem is world-wide in its ramifications and Negroes in the United States cannot escape its effects. It is true that they live in a land most favorably situated from every point of view, but it must not be forgotten that their rate of increase has slowed down from the beginning of the century to a marked extent.[31] This is not surprising in view of the fact that from 1900 the Law of Diminishing Returns in agriculture became noticeable in the United States, and it always bears most heavily on the lowest economic group. And the contention of Bryce, that Negroes cannot survive beyond a certain degree of latitude, misses the point entirely. It is not because of physical reasons, for Henson stood with Peary at the Pole and there are Negro farmers today in the Canadian Northwest; but the higher the latitude the more complex is the social organization required, and no ignorant, incompetent, improvident group can maintain themselves in these latitudes.

But if the position of the American Negro is particularly difficult because of the weight of social tradition against him and also because of his lack of organizing aptitude, it is a matter that Negroes everywhere must regret because he is the most favorably situated branch of the Negro race. He is at heart of the most dynamic section of the white race and in a position to exercise a profound influence on world politics and economics —if he would only organize and make full use of his powers.

It may easily be argued that the white world cannot and will not adopt the program as outlined by the writers quoted. Their aims may be defeated by social idealism of another sort, by socialism, by the deflection of Russia, or by French imperialism. Or, on the other hand, Asia and Islam may rise and arrest their program. But we must face the program as it is, and neither a foolhardy optimism or an enervating pessimism should cause us to delay a single moment in putting our house in order to meet the *real Negro problem*—and Time is not with us.

HOPEFUL ON RACE PROBLEM

Glenn Frank Thinks Best Minds Can Approach the Solution.

Science has failed to establish the superiority of any one race over the others, and the advisability of mingling races is also a moot question, Glenn Frank, editor of Century Magazine, declared yesterday in an address on "Race, Religion and Radicalism" before the League for Political Education at Town Hall.

"There is no question," he said, "that there is inequality among individuals. The framers of the Federal Constitution, most of whom were slave owners, could not have believed in the literal truth of their doctrine of all men being equal. What they really meant was that they themselves and their kind were the equals of George the Third. But as to which races are superior, biological research has as yet proved nothing.

"Even if science should prove that some races are superior, there are always certain superior individuals in all races who will resent oppression and lead the world into a succession of bloody wars. Let the superior Americans not make comon cause with the dolts of their own race, but rather join with the elite of other races to stamp out present-day evils. There must be a spiritual and a scientific approach to the solution of the race problem."

The Supreme Court Speaks

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in a case involving the right of a Japanese to naturalization papers indicates that Uncle Sam is not willing to complicate his race problem by adding yellow to the already black and white.

Hidemitsu Toyota, born in Japan, came to this country in 1913, served ten years in the Coast Guard, which during the war was a part of the naval service, received eight honorable discharges, and upon application was granted citizenship papers in the Massachusetts Federal Court.

The present case arose on a petition to cancel the certificate of citizenship on the ground that it was illegally procured. The case went to the United States Supreme Court, where it was decided that persons of Japanese descent may not bcome citizens, even though they served in the armed forces of the country, Chief Justice Taft alone dissented from this view.

Mr. Justice Butler stated that up to 1870, only aliens who were free white persons were entitled to citizenship. In that year persons of African nativity and African descent were made eligible.

It's an anomalous situation in which a Japanese finds himself. He is good enough to fight for a country which refuses to protect him in time of peace. He can sacrifice his life for America, which on the other hand can assume no obligation toward him under the law.

It would be interesting to hear the view of Chief Justice Taft as to why he dissented, but he did not deliver a written opinion. Perhaps he thinks as we do that a man who is good enough to die for his country is good enough to live for it too

IN THE PHILIPPINES

Floyd Gibbons, traveling correspondent on the staff of our contemporary, the Chicago Tribune, and in his own judgment an authority on color problems, has paused long enough in his pilgrimages to broadcast on the color situation in the Philippines. There is a deep race feeling on the islands, he declares. He qualifies this by stating that all the island races envy the whites and that this envy is detrimental to peace between Philippines and Americans who go there.

"The color question will always be a source of antagonism and division in the islands. As the darker skinned Filipinos feel it towards their mestizo politicians, so do these same mestizo leaders feel it against Americans." Following that trend, he continues: "The line of demarcation between the colors is strongly defined. Socially, the whites will not mix with the browns and yellows. At the army posts attempts to have joint club and recreation grounds for American and native soldiers result always in the withdrawal of Americans from the project."

And Floyd Gibbons marvels that there is resentment among the islanders! Just why shouldn't a Filipino object to an outsider entering his domain, dominating his government, forcing servility upon him, and climaxing it all by flaunting in his face a superiority based upon color?

America certainly has enough of a race problem at home without sending snobbish trouble-makers into foreign territories to stir strife among natives. Those who do not care to mix with natives should be sent where they will not be faced with this contingency. But to keep them in a subject country, where the people are already fretting under a yoke of foreign domination, and allow them to sow their seeds of prejudice, is adding insult to injury—and will prove of no help to this country.

Race Problem – 1925.

United States.

NEGRO CITY IN HARLEM IS A RACE CAPITAL

Community of 175,000, Now Largely in Negroes

By MARY ROSS.

BLACK fingers whipping furiously over the white keys, beating out cascades of jazz; black bodies swaying rhythmically as their owners blow or beat or pluck the grotesque instruments of the band; on the dancing floor throngs, black and white, gliding, halting, swinging back madly in time to the music—this is the Harlem of the cabarets, jazz capital of the world.

Downtown specialists who have wearied of the tricks of Broadway come northward to this new centre of pleasure. In some of its fifteen cabarets black and white eat together, dance together in the rich abandon of the race which evolved that first jazz classic, the Memphis Blues; which refined the cakewalk into the fantastic fling of the "Charleston." But this is only one Harlem. Jazz is only the foam on the surface. Beneath it lie depths of which New York, rumbling under it on the subway or past it in elevated or bus, little dreams.

Fifteen years ago Harlem looked much as it does today on the surface—a prosperous district north of Central Park, with brownstone houses bordering the broad streets, with "new-law" tenements, costly churches, magnificent avenues. Originally a Dutch village, it had become in turn predominantly Irish, then Jewish and Italian. About 1904 a few negroes began to trickle in east of Lenox Avenue. The district had been overbuilt, and a negro real estate operator, Philip A. Payton, offered to fill the vacant houses with self-respecting negro tenants. As the move of the more enterprising negroes northward from the old negro district in West Fifty-third Street became more and more pronounced, there was first organized opposition by the whites, then a panic which left rows of houses vacant. If one negro family moved into a block every one else moved out.

With the war a black tide of laborers rolled in from the South and the West Indies to the metropolitan district, where work was waiting at wages beyond their rosiest dreams. The white resistance in Harlem broke. And then a strange thing happened. According to all popular legends, those negroes who were earning big money for the first time in their lives should have spent it all on silk shirts and white buckskin shoes. But they did no such thing. They bought real estate.

Realty Ownership Shifts.

There was a feverish taking up of those handsome houses and shops and churches of Harlem, which in the war slump could be had at prices far below their actual value. During the height of that fever it was no unusual thing to see a negro cook or washerwoman or workman go into a real estate office and plunk down $1,000, or $2,000, or $5,000 on the price of a house. Fifteen years ago there were only a few negroes in all Manhattan who owned real estate. Now it is estimated conservatively by John E. Nail, a negro real estate operator in Harlem, that the property owned and controlled by negroes in that district alone exceeds $60,000,000 in value. Negro Harlem is practically owned by members of that race.

The solid current of opportunity beneath the heat of the jazz has lured the most enterprising negro men and women from all corners of the world, till Harlem now is a city of 175,000 negroes, larger than Worcester, Mass., or Dallas, Texas. They have poured in from the South. Probably there are no less than 25,000 negro Virginians in New York City, more than 20,000 North and South Carolinians, and 10,000 Georgians. They have come from every island of the Caribbean Sea. More than 25,000 West Indians have arrived in the past four years. A few even have come over the old slave trail from Africa, voluntary immigrants this time. Within the seventy or eighty blocks of Harlem for the first time in their lives negroes formerly living under the Spanish, Dutch, French, Arabian, Danish, Portuguese and British flags, as well as those native to Africa, meet and move together in one of the largest negro communities ever known.

The West Indians are the business men of the group. Coming from countries where there have been fewer discriminations against their choice of occupation than in the United States, they have not been content to follow the unskilled trades and personal service jobs. They have been compared to the Jews in their tendency to set up in independent retail business—grocery stores, tailor shops, jewelry stores, fruit markets. They are numerous in the fields of real estate and insurance. They are saving, ambitious, aggressive. It is due to the enterprise and energy of women from the West Indies that the needle trades have been opened to negro women.

For, all in all, negro workers in New York City are shunted chiefly into "blind alley" jobs. By the last census count half the negro men at work in New York City were porters, waiters, messengers, elevator tenders, chauffeurs and janitors. More than half the negro women were laundresses and servants. It is hard for negroes to get into the trades requiring long periods of apprenticeship, and some of the trade unions discriminate against them. Yet of the 5,387 negro longshoremen at work in 1920 (the largest number of negro men in any one occupation and more than a tenth of all negro workmen in the city) about 5,000 were organized.

In certain of the skilled trades, too, negroes are becoming more common. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of negro carpenters was trebled; electricians, machinists and musicians more than doubled in number; the number of shoemakers jumped from 14 to 581; stationary firemen from 249 to 1,076, real estate agents from 89 to 247, and 462 negro mechanics, 2,685 workers in the textile industries and more than 6,000 clothing workers appeared where there had been practically none ten years earlier.

The most enterprising, ambitious and adventurous of the race come to New York—to Harlem—as a golden dream of opportunity. In the aggregate, they find it. Individually they are likely to get a job as a porter and rent a room or a flat that absorbs the greater part of their wages. Rents are high everywhere in New York. In Harlem they are exorbitant. A Judge who handles rent cases in the Municipal Court in Harlem says that negroes pay twice as much as white tenants for the same apartments. Result: the family takes in lodgers until the flat is crowded to twice its capacity, or they go without fun and food and clothing to stretch their money over the rent. Sometimes one room will be let out on the double shift principle—one tenant by day (a night worker, of course), another by night. Black owners as well as white have taken advantage of the pressure on Harlem to turn easy pennies.

As a result, at least in part, of these conditions, comes much of the "running wild" of Harlem. It is the old story of the tired business man—dull by day, reckless by night. It is behind the development of the cabarets, of the street gambling on "numbers" (the day's total of bank exchanges and bank balances announced by the Clearing House each day in the newspapers), in which even the poorest wager their nickels and dimes; the brass band parades which liven Lenox Avenue. The city has many pitfalls for the negroes who hurdle a half century of economic development at one leap, coming from their little quiet country towns or tropical islands to a city on edge with competition, ready to exploit their color, their credulity, their simple faith in dreams or "yarbs." The medicine men of Harlem—many of them cannot be dignified as doctors or druggists—and their preying on the simple immigrants would make a story in themselves.

To one institution the negro has held tightly under the new conditions of city life. That is his church. The last Sunday of September, 1924, was a dramatic day in Harlem. Members of the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, a congregation of negroes, had assembled as usual in rooms where they had worshiped for fourteen years—a converted apartment house in which partitions had been torn down to allow for the expansion from a mission to a church. At a designated hour they rose and marched quietly up Seventh Avenue to the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, where a white pastor and his white congregation waited to turn over the buildings—church, parish house and parsonage—which the negro group had purchased. There were representatives, negro and white, from the common denominational board to witness this historic event. After addresses of welcome and hymns, the outgoing Board of Trustees turned over the keys of the church to the incoming board, and here was another imposing negro church in Harlem.

One of the earliest of the large negro churches in this part of the city is St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, erected fifteen years ago on 133d Street under the supervision of a negro architect, after the congregation had sold its old buildings in the Pennsylvania zone for a large sum. The Abyssinian Baptist Church sold its building in Fortieth Street and built a church and community house on 138th Street at a cost of about $325,000. "Mother Zion" built in 136th Street twelve years ago, and has recently added a new structure, running through to 137th Street. St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church is building in 138th Street at a cost of half a million. The Grace Congregational Church of Harlem has taken over the building of a Swedish congregation west of Eighth Avenue. The imposing Lutheran Church at Edgecombe Avenue and 140th Street has been bought and occupied by the Calvary Independent Methodist Church, and recently it was announced that the Mount Olivet Baptist Church had purchased for $450,000 the white limestone Adventist Temple in 120th Street. The seating capacity of the churches and missions of Harlem is estimated at 24,000 by George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on Church and Race Relations of the Federated Churches of Christ in America. Around these churches centres much of the social and cultural life of Harlem.

An Intellectural Center.

Far beyond its physical setting of a negro capital in brick and stone, Harlem has become an intellectual capital, a Paris of the race. The negro race has furnished the stage such actors as Paul Robeson, Gilpin, Bert Williams; its musicians include Roland Hayes, Harry Burleigh, Nathaniel Dett; with writers and poets such as DuBois, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Walter White, James Weldon Johnson. Probably no form of race segregation has bitten deeper into the consciousness of the leaders of the race than the intellectual isolation to which its more talented members often were condemned because they were barred from other racial groups with like interests. They cannot enter a downtown restaurant without fear of insult or ejection. The first centre in New York of fashionable and intellectual negro life was the Marhall, a hotel which flourished seven or eight years ago in the West Fifty-third Street district. Artistic achievement is no new attainment of the negro race. The famous Barnes Foundation at Merion, Pa., has subtle and delicate sculptures made in Africa centuries before the first colonists landed on American shores. But Harlem is the setting for a new negro art, built on race consciousness, influenced by the America of which it is one element.

While consciousness and pride of race are characteristics of the younger generation of negro intellectuals, who ask neither patronage nor philanthropy but the chance to work out their own racial salvation, there is another group who take the easiest way out. In a city such as New York, where there are many swarthy races, it is comparatively easy for the lightest of the negro group to deny their negro blood. This is known as "passing." Walter F. White, novelist and Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is authority for the statement that in New York there is a well-known surgeon who grew tired of the proscribed life of a negro in a Southern city and moved North and forgot his negro blood. At least one man high in the field of journalism, a certain famous singer, several persons prominent on the stage and many others pass for white despite their mixed race, he says. A very few of those who might escape the racial yoke do so, though the total probably is much larger than is popularly supposed.

To many more, equally gifted, Harlem is the proud capital of their race—something entirely new on the face of the earth—a modern negro metropolis, a city of movement, gayety and color, of singing, dancing, boisterous laughter and loud talk; of luxurious homes and shops that would do credit to Fifth Avenue; of churches and cabarets and overcrowded tenements; the meeting place of the negroes of the world, where the habits and customs of half a dozen different decades are suddenly

past few years have registered as they are the first to go, often losing th the power to choose another favor- e home. But another move north- rd seems remote.

n most of the other Northern cities, o which negroes have migrated they e employed in gangs in great indus- es, such as the steel mills of Pitts- gh or the automobile plants of De- t. In a period of economic depres-

Stability of the Colony.

Their city has therefore stability; it

last into one of the liveliest corners of the twenty-fifth year of the twentieth century. Harlem is not a ghetto or a quarter or a slum. It is an American city, in tones of black, brown and yellow. The negroes have bought it; they hold it?

Yes, answers James Weldon Johnson, who speaks for his race as journalist, editor, poet, Executive Secretary of the Advance-ment of Colored People. When the negro group to which he belongs has become so valuable that they will not only not be thrown out of employment at once, but will be able to hold it; they will sell it at an even greater profit than the transactions of

Race Problem – 1925.

United States.

NEGRO CITY IN HARLEM IS A RACE CAPITAL

Community of 175,000, Now Largely in Negroes

By MARY ROSS.

BLACK fingers whipping furiously over the white keys, beating out cascades of jazz; black bodies swaying rhythmically as their owners blow or beat or pluck the grotesque instruments of the band; on the dancing floor throngs, black and white, gliding, halting, swinging back madly in time to the music—this is the Harlem of the cabarets, jazz capital of the world.

Downtown specialists who have wearied of the tricks of Broadway come northward to this new centre of pleasure. In some of its fifteen cabarets black and white eat together, dance together in the rich abandon of the race which evolved that first jazz classic, the Memphis Blues; which refined the cakewalk into the fantastic fling of the "Charleston." But this is only one Harlem. Jazz is only the foam on the surface. Beneath it lie depths of which New York, rumbling under it on the subway or past it in elevated or bus, little dreams.

Fifteen years ago Harlem looked much as it does today on the surface—a prosperous district north of Central Park, with brownstone houses bordering the broad streets, with "new-law" tenements, costly churches, magnificent avenues. Originally a Dutch village, it had become in turn predominantly Irish, then Jewish and Italian. About 1904 a few negroes began to trickle in east of Lenox Avenue. The district had been overbuilt, and a negro real estate operator, Philip A. Payton, offered to fill the vacant houses with self-respecting negro tenants. As the move of the more enterprising negroes northward from the old negro district in West Fifty-third Street became more and more pronounced, there was first organized opposition by the whites, then a panic which left rows of houses vacant. If one negro family moved into a block every one else moved out.

With the war a black tide of laborers rolled in from the South and the West Indies to the metropolitan district, where work was waiting at wages beyond their rosiest dreams. The white resistance in Harlem broke. And then a strange thing happened. According to all popular legends, those negroes who were earning big money for the first time in their lives should have spent it all on silk shirts and white buckskin shoes. But they did no such thing. They bought real estate.

Realty Ownership Shifts.

There was a feverish taking up of those handsome houses and shops and churches of Harlem, which in the war slump could be had at prices far below their actual value. During the height of that fever it was no unusual thing to see a negro cook or washerwoman or workman go into a real estate office and plunk down $1,000, or $2,000, or $5,000 on the price of a house. Fifteen years ago there were only a few negroes in all Manhattan who owned real estate. Now it is estimated conservatively by John E. Nail, a negro real estate operator in Harlem, that the property owned and controlled by negroes in that district alone exceeds $60,000,000 in value. Negro Harlem is practically owned by members of that race.

The solid current of opportunity beneath the heat of the jazz has lured the most enterprising negro men and women from all corners of the world, till Harlem now is a city of 175,000 negroes, larger than Worcester, Mass., or Dallas, Texas. They have poured in from the South. Probably there are no less than 25,000 negro Virginians in New York City, more than 20,000 North and South Carolinians, and 10,000 Georgians. They have come from every island of the Caribbean Sea. More than 23,000 West Indians have arrived in the past four years. A few even have come over the old slave trail from Africa, voluntary immigrants this time. Within the seventy or eighty blocks of Harlem for the first time in their lives negroes formerly living under the Spanish, Dutch, French, Arabian, Danish, Portuguese and British flags, as well as those native to Africa, meet and move together in one of the largest negro communities ever known.

The West Indians are the business men of the group. Coming from countries where there have been fewer discriminations against their choice of occupation than in the United States, they have not been content to follow the unskilled trades and personal service jobs. They have been compared to the Jews in their tendency to set up in independent retail business—grocery stores, tailor shops, jewelry stores, fruit markets. They are numerous in the fields of real estate and insurance. They are saving, ambitious, aggressive. It is due to the enterprise and energy of women from the West Indies that the needle trades have been opened to negro women.

For, all in all, negro workers in New York City are shunted chiefly into "blind alley" jobs. By the last census count half the negro men at work in New York City were porters, waiters, messengers, elevator tenders, chauffeurs and janitors. More than half the negro women were laundresses and servants. It is hard for negroes to get into the trades requiring long periods of apprenticeship, and some of the trade unions discriminate against them. Yet of the 5,387 negro longshoremen at work in 1920 (the largest number of negro men in any one occupation and more than a tenth of all negro workmen in the city) about 5,000 were organized.

In certain of the skilled trades, too, negroes are becoming more common. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of negro carpenters was trebled; electricians, machinists and musicians more than doubled in number; the number of shoemakers jumped from 14 to 581; stationary firemen from 249 to 1,076, real estate agents from 89 to 247, and 462 negro mechanics, 2,685 workers in the textile industries and more than 6,000 clothing workers appeared where there had been practically none ten years earlier.

The most enterprising, ambitious and adventurous of the race come to New York—to Harlem—as a golden dream of opportunity. In the aggregate, they find it. Individually they are likely to get a job as a porter and rent a room or a flat that absorbs the greater part of their wages. Rents are high everywhere in New York. In Harlem they are exorbitant. A Judge who handles rent cases in the Municipal Court in Harlem says that negroes pay twice as much as white tenants for the same apartments. Result: the family takes in lodgers until the flat is crowded to twice its capacity. Or they go without fun and food and clothing to stretch their money over the rent. Sometimes one room will be let out on the double shift principle—one tenant by day (a night worker, of course), another by night. Black owners as well as white have taken advantage of the pressure on Harlem to turn easy pennies.

As a result, at least in part, of these conditions, comes much of the "running wild" of Harlem. It is the old story of the tired business man—dull by day, reckless by night. It is behind the development of the cabarets, of the street gambling on "numbers" (the day's total of bank exchanges and bank balances announced by the Clearing House each day in the newspapers), in which even the poorest wager their nickels and dimes; the brass band parades which liven Lenox Avenue. The city has many pitfalls for the negroes who hurdle a half century of economic development at one leap, coming from their little quiet country towns or tropical islands to a city on edge with competition, ready to exploit their color, their credulity, their simple faith in dreams or "yarbs." The medicine men of Harlem—many of them cannot be dignified as doctors or druggists—and their preying on the simple immigrants would make a story in themselves.

To one institution the negro has held tightly under the new conditions of city life. That is his church. The last Sunday of September, 1924, was a dramatic day in Harlem. Members of the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, a congregation of negroes, had assembled as usual in rooms where they had worshiped for fourteen years—a converted apartment house in which partitions had been torn down to allow for the expansion from a mission to a church. At a designated hour they rose and marched quietly up Seventn Avenue to the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church where a white pastor and his white congregation waited to turn over the buildings—church, parish house and parsonage—which the negro group had purchased. There were representatives, from the common denomination, white and negro, to witness this historic event. After addresses of welcome and hymns, the outgoing Board of Trustees turned over the keys of the church to the incoming board, and here was another imposing negro church in Harlem.

One of the earliest of the large negro churches in this part of the city is St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, erected fifteen years ago on 133d Street under the supervision of a negro architect, after the congregation had sold its old buildings in the Pennsylvania zone for a large sum. The Abyssinian Baptist Church sold its building in Fortieth Street and built a church and community house on 138th Street at a cost of about $325,000. "Mother Zion" built in 136th Street twelve years ago, and has recently added a new structure, running through to 137th Street. St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church is building in 138th Street at a cost of half a million. The Grace Congregational Church on the corner of Eighth Avenue. The imposing Lutheran Church at Edgecombe Avenue and 140th Street has been bought and occupied by the Calvary Independent Methodist Church, and recently it was announced that the Mount Olivet Baptist Church had purchased for $450,000 the white limestone Adventist Temple in 120th Street. The seating capacity of the churches and missions of Harlem is estimated at 24,000 by George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on Church and Race Relations of the Federated Churches of Christ in America. Around these churches centres much of the social and cultural life of Harlem.

An Intellectural Center.

Far beyond its physical setting of a negro capital in brick and stone, Harlem has become an intellectual capital, a Paris of the race. The negro race has furnished the stage such actors as Paul Robeson, Gilpin, Bert Williams; its musicians include Roland Hayes, Harry Burleigh, Nathaniel Dett; with writers and poets such as DuBois, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Walter White, James Weldon Johnson. Probably no form of race segregation has bitten deeper into the consciousness of the leaders of the race than the intellectual isolation to which its more talented members often were condemned because they were barred from other racial groups with like interests. They cannot enter a downtown restaurant without fear of insult or ejection. The first centre in New York of fashionable and intellectual negro life was the Marhall, a hotel which flourished seven or eight years ago in the West Fifty-third Street district. Artistic achievement is no new attainment of the negro race. The famous Barnes Foundation at Merion, Pa., has subtle and delicate sculptures made in Africa centuries before the first colonists landed on American shores. But Harlem is the setting for a new negro art, built on race consciousness, influenced by the America of which it is one element.

While consciousness and pride of race are characteristics of the younger generation of negro intellectuals, who ask neither patronage nor philanthropy but the chance to work out their own racial salvation, there is another group who take the easiest way out. In a city such as New York, where there are many swarthy races, it is comparatively easy for the lightest of the negro group to deny their negro blood. This is known as "passing." Walter F. White, novelist and Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is authority for the statement that in New York there is a well-known surgeon who grew tired of the proscribed life of a negro in a Southern city and moved North and forgot his negro blood. At least one man high in the field of journalism, a certain famous singer, several persons prominent on the stage and many others pass for white despite their mixed race, he says. A very few of those who might escape the racial yoke do so, though the total probably is much larger than is popularly supposed.

To many more, equally gifted, Harlem is the proud capital of their race—something entirely new on the face of the earth—a modern negro metropolis, a city of movement, gayety and color, singing, dancing, boisterous laughter and loud talk; of luxurious homes and shops that would do credit to Fifth Avenue; of churches and cabarets and overcrowded tenements; the meeting place of the negroes of the world, where the habits and customs of half a dozen different decades are suddenly

Stability of the Colony.

In the past few years they are the first to go, often losing registered they have gained in prosperity. But the power to choose another home. When the negro labor in New York is scattered and diversified. There is little danger seems remote.

Yes, answers James Weldon Johnson, who speaks for his race as Journalist, Author, Executive Secretary of the Advance-ment of Colored People. In most of the other Northern cities which negroes have migrated they are employed in gangs in great industrial plants of Pittsburgh or the automobile plants of Detroit. In a period of economic depression such as the steel mills of Pittsburgh hold it; they will sell it at an even greater profit than the transactions of 1924.

Their city has therefore stability; it is thrown out of employment at once.

can die in, anchored to its own homes, churches, shops and theatres, with its own working classes and business and professional groups. It is not a section shut off, but a zone through which run the main thoroughfares of the city; its people speedily become New Yorkers. With the passing of the first indignation of the white residents, many of those who did not escape at the time have settled down to live side by side with the negroes, in some cases occupying apartments in the same buildings. White merchants still do business there. As a result of these conditions, and especially of the fact there are large numbers of negroes on the police force in that district, there is perhaps less racial friction than is observable in any other part of the country where there are large groups of negroes. In Harlem there are 75,000 more negroes than in any Southern city, yet there is little irritation or disorder. Harlem is not typical, but it may be prophetic.

Harlem Jazz.
Winold Reiss, in the Survey Graphic.

N. Y. C. WALL STREET JOURNAL
MARCH 27, 1925

Taxes and the Negro Worker

While the supposed exigencies of politics are responsible for the publication of a great deal of nonsense, much of it pernicious nonsense, in newspapers there is a residue of good sense remaining which tends to keep the body politic sweet. The Indianapolis World is a weekly publication appealing directly to the negroes and it has this to say to the negro worker:

> "As a renter, he pays the taxes and interest on the investment. As a consumer of foods, he pays his proportion for the planting, the harvesting, manufacturing and marketing those things that go to sustain life. And he should always keep this in mind, that when politicians raise taxes, they raise his rent and the price of his food and all commodities which he uses in his daily life."

In all the vicious attempts of the politicians to give classes with large potential voting power something for nothing, none has been more demoralizing than the effort to make the humbler workers believe that taxation can be loaded upon the rich man with immediate, or even ultimate benefit to themselves. This has been tried throughout all the ages of history. The record goes back beyond Diocletian's attempt to fix prices, over sixteen centuries ago. The humbler the worker the more he has suffered.

Nothing could be more cruel than to deceive the negro with promises like those outlined and condemned by the Indianapolis World. His natural handicap is heavy. The American negro slave was not drawn from the finer and more intelligent races of Africa. The slave raiders went in small well-armed parties of less than two hundred and purposely avoided the intelligent and well organized tribes. They obtained their dreadful raw material from races to whom slavery was an old story long before America was discovered. Apart from his color, the American negro has a long inherited intellecutual handicap. Of course, there are exceptions, as for instance when the slave raiders picked up a few stray specimens of better races, but the rule is clear and historically accurate.

Nobody can redress that balance but the negro himself, and only then by the cultivation of habits of order discipline and self-reliance. The way to degrade him is to make him an object of charity, whether direct or disguised as political relief. Legislation to that end could undo in a few brief years all that Tuskegee or Hampton have done to raise the negro and to cultivate his self-respect. He should be shown economic conseqences exactly in the same way as any white worker and taught to recognize crude political and economic fallacies at sight.

The fallacy the Indianapolis World exposes is one of general application. It is by no means universally recognized among supposedly more intelligent white people.

Y BRONX HOME NEWS
SEPTEMBER 24, 1925

New West Indians Are Citizens, Says Speaker

Less than 3,000 West Indians residing in the colored section of Harlem are naturalized citizens out of a total of 26,000 adults making up the colony. This fact was made known by S. R. Williams at the annual meeting of the National Colored Coalition Association, 200 W. 135th St., at its headquarters, the other evening.

Following a discussion of various problems affecting the colored population of the nation and the city, Williams was appointed to supervise an Americanization campaign to start shortly in Harlem. By means of lectures and personal canvassing the members of the organization hope to acquaint the neighborhood residents with the fundamentals of American Government and good citizenship, according to an announcement made by its officials.

It was decided that the association will give Mayor Hylan its full support should he accep' the offer of the Brooklyn Progressive League to run for re-election on an independent ticket.

Officers elected at the meeting for the ensuing year are Capt. E. L. Daines, pres. and treas.; S. R. Williams, first vice-pres.; Mrs. E. L. Daines, second vice-pres.; W. G. Clerk, executive sec.; Wallace Cooper, chairman of the speakers' bureau, and M. C. Cavelli, sgt.-at-arms.

NEGROES THANK COOLIDGE.

Congregationalists at White House Praise Omaha Speech.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—Negro representatives at the National Council of Congregational Churches called on President Coolidge today and praised him for his speech against intolerance delivered at Omaha this month. Henry H. Proctor, who acted as spokesman, said:

"In behalf of the 15,000 colored Congregationalists of the United States we greet you as a fellow-Congregationalist in whom we have full confidence, not only because of your traditional background, but also because of your example as a Christian and your acts as a President.

"Particularly do we want to thank you for that great word you spoke at Omaha, the bravest word spoken by any Executive for three-score years. It sounds like Lincoln.

"Our prayer is that God may use you to promote that good-will between white and black in America that speaks interracial cooperation and that peace among all the nations of the earth that means they will study war no more."

Race Problem — 1925.
United States.

Coolidge Klucks in Minnesota

President Coolidge in his speech to the Norse-American society in the Twin Cities made no statements that could not have come from any lad of sixteen. It was composed of a string of platitudes so trite that we feel now that the burlesques of politicians' speeches heard from time to time in vaudeville are not exaggerations but are little pictures from life. Daily Worker

One thing he said is of interest, however, as showing what the legal fraternity calls "the state of mind." 6-4-25

He referred to "the blond sons of Norway" and their deeds of derring-do with the evident purpose of showing his loyalty to the prevailing moronic legend concerning the natural superiority of the Nordics over the darker-skinned peoples. Chicago Tribune

The kluxers will be delighted with the president's effort.

It was one of those home-and-fireside speeches that have been the stock in trade of American capitalism's tools for years without a single new thought or idea.

The 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States and the 3,000,000 or more that are ruled by bayonet and machine gun democracy in the colonies, should read the president's speech with care. They can then ask themselves why it is that he takes a trip half-way across the continent to pat Norwegian farmers on the back while his govenrment cannot raise a hand to stop lynching, peonage and forcible disfranchisement of the millions of black men and women.

The answer is that these Norwegian farmers have shown signs of revolt against the republican party and its Wall Street leadership. These farmers have organized, not very well, but well enough to worry the big capitalists.

Nothing can take the place of organization. American capitalism will do nothing for the Negro until he forces it to act by showing that he has determined to live on equal terms with the "blond Nordics"—socially, politically and economically.

AN UGLY AND INFLAMMATORY EDITORIAL

An editorial should be the choice and studied expression of a newspaper or periodical that reflects the policy of the publication and offers opinion on men, measures and things. It should be based on a thorough study of facts and may, as well, serve as a review of conditions without an expressed opinion.

We are not sure that many of our publications are concerned as much in expressing the truth as they are in emphasizing personal feelings and prejudices. We have before us an ugly editorial opinion from The Chicago Defender of its last issue—a tirade against southern white editors. We want it understood that our expression is not provoked in an effort to defend southern editors of white newspapers because we believe they are thoroughly prepared to make their own defense against attacks if a defense is necessary. It is to be understood also that we are not agreed on much of the practice of some of our southern white newspapers as regards race matters as well as a number of our northern and eastern newspapers operated by white people. The entire utterance of the Defender editorial needs correction, and especially the charge against the general attitude of the Negro and that our women and girls are taught to become the prey for the abuses of white men.

The Defender editorial follows:

"Southern papers rushed into print last week with the report that an ex-slave, who fought in the Confederate army during the Civil War, was awarded a veteran's compensation by the State of South Carolina. These same issues carried stories of an old "mammy" who died in Macon, Ga., and was buried beside her "white folks." Here, declared Dixie editors, is ample proof that the white man of the South is grateful to those who serve him, and is "the Negro's best friend." Birmingham Reporter

"White people of the South never miss an opportunity to capitalize on such incidents as these. And all that is necessary for a man or woman of our race to become immortal is for him or her to remain a "good nigger." Stay in your place; raise your hat to anything white; stay off the sidewalks as much as possible, and don't wear a clean collar on Sunday. 6-13-25

"Teach your children that they are inferior to children of other races; don't allow them to go to school, and instruct your girls especially in the art of appearing attractive to white men that they may be more easily abused.

"Work hard in the fields and on the railroads—but don't expect full pay for your labors. Follow "Cap'n" and "Boss" around with your hat in your hand; tell him all your family affairs and take his advice as to how to settle them. Birmingham, Ala.

"Do these things—all of them—and when you die, white people of the South, your friends, will honor you. They may even erect a statue to you in a public park, and call it the "Black Mammy." Do anything else, and you are a "bad nigger," who doesn't know his place!"

The utterance is wholly untrue, and apparently born of a malicious mind, without the slightest fact to support its contention. We who are living in the South realize that there are certain prejudices and limitations that hinder us, but we are rapidly overcoming much of what we consider race feeling. We have circumstances that we must of our own motion change, but such editorials as published in the Defender, purporting to be the creed of the South can but make our burdens more and inflame racial antagonism as much on the part of Negroes as on the part of the whites. Utterances of this kind can mean no good to us; nor can they strengthen The Defender.

We who have lived in the South for many years and know it better from every angle, no doubt, than the Chicago Defender editor, would in one accord disapprove this as a creed. And if it is the creed of the South it is broken more by Negroes than the Ten Commandments are by the people of the nation. If the white people of the South wish to honor their ex-slaves and their faithful servants, there should be no objection. There is a relation existing between these people that cannot be described by our long-distance friends. It is a personal matter; it is a choice of theirs. Every man should be privileged to make his choice when he does not violate the law or injure society.

The Birmingham Reporter is opposed to any "black mammy" monument at the seat of our government, and we expressed our opinion on this when the agitation was on, while we oppose such a monument, it is not to discredit the feeling or spirit of southern whites to immortalize the mothers who gave them succor in their youth, who nursed them into manhood and womanhood. But we believe it places emphasis where it is not needed.

The most wicked and inflammatory utterance of The Defender appears in the third paragraph: "Teach your children that they are inferior to children of other races; don't allow them to go to school and instruct your girls especially in the art of appearing attractive to white men that they may be more easily abused." This is a reflection not only upon the whites of the South, but a criminal reflection upon the blacks of the South. Where is the man, black, yellow, brown or any other color who would for a moment listen to such teaching or would live in the atmosphere of such inference? It is an ugly utterance; it says that the Negroes of the South are cowards and slaves and their women common prostitutes for white men. This is false and cannot be substantiated by the slightest bit of fact. Every Negro man and every Negro woman with human impulse should rise to condemn this damnable utterance.

The expression is altogether unreasonable, unfair and not only misrepresents the white South but it makes the Negro a common coward.

President Coolidge was snapped by the photographer shaking hands with the "hero of the Mississippi river," Tom Lee. Maybe the President feels that he has performed his duty to the fifteen million black citizens by recognizing Hero Tom, but we don't feel that way about it. Mr. Coolidge has been sumciently informed that we want representation in the affairs of the government and we are expecting him to appoint some black men to important offices. We are desirous of having all segregation in Washington eliminated. These are our paramount desires and we believe that Hero Tom feels the same way about it. Mr. Coolidge's silence accompanied by lack of action are causing the fears of the country to rise and the hopes of black Americans to fall.

Race Problem — 1925.

United States.

Coolidge Klucks in Minnesota

President Coolidge in his speech to the Norse-American society in the Twin Cities made no statements that could not have come from any lad of sixteen. It was composed of a string of platitudes so trite that we feel now that the burlesques of politicians' speeches heard from time to time in vaudeville are not exaggerations but are little pictures from life. Daily Worker

One thing he said is of interest, however, as showing what the legal fraternity calls "the state of mind." 6-9-25

He referred to "the blond sons of Norway" and their deeds of derring-do with the evident purpose of showing his loyalty to the prevailing moronic legend concerning the natural superiority of the Nordics over the darker-skinned peoples. Chicago Tribune

The kluxers will be delighted with the president's effort.

It was one of those home-and-fireside speeches that have been the stock in trade of American capitalism's tools for years without a single new thought or idea.

The 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States and the 3,000,000 or more that are ruled by bayonet and machine gun democracy in the colonies, should read the president's speech with care. They can then ask themselves why it is that he takes a trip half-way across the continent to pat Norwegian farmers on the back while his government cannot raise a hand to stop lynching, peonage and forcible disfranchisement of the millions of black men and women.

The answer is that these Norwegian farmers have shown signs of revolt against the republican party and its Wall Street leadership. These farmers have organized, not very well, but well enough to worry the big capitalists.

Nothing can take the place of organization. American capitalism will do nothing for the Negro until he forces it to act by showing that he has determined to live on equal terms with the "blond Nordics"—socially, politically and economically.

AN UGLY AND INFLAMMATORY EDITORIAL

An editorial should be the choice and studied expression of a newspaper or periodical that reflects the policy of the publication and offers opinion on men, measures and things. It should be based on a thorough study of facts and may, as well, serve as a review of conditions without an expressed opinion.

We are not sure that many of our publications are concerned as much in expressing the truth as they are in emphasizing personal feelings and prejudices. We have before us an ugly editorial opinion from The Chicago Defender of its last issue—a tirade against southern white editors. We want it understood that our expression is not provoked in an effort to defend southern editors of white newspapers because we believe they are thoroughly prepared to make their own defense against attacks if a defense is necessary. It is to be understood also that we are not agreed on much of the practice of some of our southern white newspapers as regards race matters as well as a number of our northern and eastern newspapers operated by white people. The entire utterance of the Defender editorial needs correction, and especially the charge against the general attitude of the Negro and that our women and girls are taught to become the prey for the abuses of white men.

The Defender editorial follows:

"Southern papers rushed into print last week with the report that an ex-slave, who fought in the Confederate army during the Civil War, was awarded a veteran's compensation by the State of South Carolina. These same issues carried stories of an old "mammy" who died in Macon, Ga., and was buried beside her "white folks." Here, declared Dixie editors, is ample proof that the white man of the South is grateful to those who serve him, and is "the Negro's best friend." Birmingham Reporter

"White people of the South never miss an opportunity to capitalize on such incidents as these. And all that is necessary for a man or woman of our Race to become immortal is for him or her to remain a "good nigger." Stay in your place; raise your hat to anything white; stay off the sidewalks as much as possible, and don't wear a clean collar on Sunday. 6-13-25

"Teach your children that they are inferior to children of other races; don't allow them to go to school, and instruct your girls especially in the art of appearing attractive to white men that they may be more easily abused.

"Work hard in the fields and on the railroads—but don't expect full pay for your labors. Follow "Cap'n" and "Boss" around with your hat in your hand; tell him all your family affairs and take his advice as to how to settle them. Birmingham, Ala.

"Do these things—all of them—and when you die, white people of the South, your friends, will honor you. They may even erect a statue to you in a public park, and call it the "Black Mammy." Do anything else, and you are a "bad nigger," who doesn't know his place!"

The utterance is wholly untrue, and apparently born of a malicious mind, without the slightest fact to support its contention. We who are living in the South realize that there are certain prejudices and limitations that hinder us, but we are rapidly overcoming much of what we consider race feeling. We have circumstances that we must of our own motion change, but such editorials as published in the Defender, purporting to be the creed of the South can but make our burdens more and inflame racial antagonism as much on the part of Negroes as on the part of the whites. Utterances of this kind can mean no good to us; nor can they strengthen The Defender.

We who have lived in the South for many years and know it better from every angle, no doubt, than the Chicago Defender editor, would in one accord disapprove this as a creed. And if it is the creed of the South it is broken more by Negroes than the Ten Commandments are by the people of the nation. If the white people of the South wish to honor their ex-slaves and their faithful servants, there should be no objection. There is a relation existing between these people that cannot be described by our long-distance friends. It is a personal matter; it is a choice of theirs. Every man should be privileged to make his choice when he does not violate the law or injure society.

The Birmingham Reporter is opposed to any "black mammy" monument at the seat of our government, and we expressed our opinion on this when the agitation was on, while we oppose such a monument, it is not to discredit the feeling or spirit of southern whites to immortalize the mothers who gave them succor in their youth, who nursed them into manhood and womanhood. But we believe it places emphasis where it is not needed.

The most wicked and inflammatory utterance of The Defender appears in the third paragraph: "Teach your children that they are inferior to children of other races; don't allow them to go to school and instruct your girls especially in the art of appearing attractive to white men that they may be more easily abused." This is a reflection not only upon the whites of the South, but a criminal reflection upon the blacks of the South. Where is the man, black, yellow, brown or any other color who would for a moment listen to such teaching or would live in the atmosphere of such inference? It is an ugly utterance; it says that the Negroes of the South are cowards and slaves and their women common prostitutes for white men. This is false and cannot be substantiated by the slightest bit of fact. Every Negro man and every Negro woman with human impulse should rise to condemn this damnable utterance.

The expression is altogether unreasonable, unfair and not only misrepresents the white South but it makes the Negro a common coward.

President Coolidge was snapped by the photographer shaking hands with the "hero of the Mississippi river," Tom Lee. Maybe the President feels that he has performed his duty to the fifteen million black citizens by recognizing Hero Tom, but we don't feel that way about it. Mr. Coolidge has been sumptuously informed that we want representation in the affairs of the government and we are expecting him to appoint some black men to important offices. These are our paramount desires and we believe that Hero Tom feels the same way about it. Mr. Coolidge's silence accompanied by lack of action are causing the fears of the country to rise and the hopes of black Americans to fall.

NEWSPAPER LOGIC

When a white man is arrested for murder or rape, the papers state that a man was arrested for murder or rape. When another man is arrested for murder or rape, the same papers declare that a "Negro" was arrested for murder or rape.

When a white man steals something, it is the thing stolen which is of interest to head writers and reporters. When another man steals something, it is his race which is of paramount importance.

Only when a black man makes a great discovery or does something especially commendable is his racial identity forgotten by head writers and reporters.

This is newspaper logic—white American logic. The answer is obvious. Tactics such as these serve to keep before the white race the delusion that we are a race of thieves, murderers and rapists. It is a deliberate plan to vilify us and even many of our own Race are falling into the trap. Signaling us out for special favors by going into details concerning our race connections is a distinction that helps neither us nor the paper which does that.

The sooner the white editor realizes how silly his own reasoning is when it is given serious consideration, the sooner he will drop the terms "Negro" and "Negress" from his style book. He will know that others realize how infinitely small is the difference between a crime committed by a black, red, yellow, brown or white person. He will also remember that a good deed is just as good when performed by a black hand as by a white one.

THE SOUTH'S CREED

Southern papers rushed into print last week with the report that an ex-slave, who fought in the Confederate army during the Civil war, was awarded a veteran's compensation by the state of South Carolina. These same issues carried stories of an old "mammy" who died in Macon, Ga., and was buried beside her "white folks." Here, declared Dixie editors, is ample proof that the white man of the South is grateful to those who serve him, and is "the Negro's best friend."

White people of the South never miss an opportunity to capitalize on such incidents as these. And all that is necessary for a man or woman of our Race to become immortal is for him or her to remain a "good nigger." Stay in your place; raise your hat to anything white; stay off the sidewalks as much as possible, and don't wear a clean collar on Sunday.

Teach your children that they are inferior to children of other races; don't allow them to go to school, and instruct your girls especially in the art of appearing attractive to white men that they may be more easily abused.

Work hard in the fields and on the railroads—but don't expect full pay for your labors. Follow "Cap'n" and "Boss" around with your hat in your hand; tell him all your family affairs and take his advice as to how to settle them.

Do those things—all of them—and when you die, white people of the South, your friends, will honor you. They may even erect a statue to you in a public park, and call it the "Black Mammy." Do anything else, and you are a "bad nigger," who doesn't know his place!

CLAIM STATE OF FLORIDA PARADOX

PALATKA, Fla., June 6—(A. N. P., In this state where a lynching just took place, where a white woman died of heart failure when she saw her murdered Negro neighbor and where a white marine was just sentenced to twenty years for killing a Negro woman, history is being made. The South is a paradox. While the above mentioned events were taking place something else that shows the bright side of the South was also taking place. In this little city fifty-four miles from Jacksonville, the Knights of Pythias were accorded the most cordial reception by the white people that a Negro fraternal Order has ever been accorded anywhere in the South, and the K. O. P. of the State held the must successful Grand Lodge they have ever held in the State. The business sessions were held in the Bethel A. M. E. Church and the Mt. Tabor Baptist church. On Tuesday afternoon dress parade was held at the campground; Tuesday night, the most wonderful torch light parade and fireworks display ever given by Negroes of Florida was held. This spectacular display astonished the white and Colored citizens of Palatka. Wednesday afternoon was prize drill, and Wednesday the Garraett Red Cross Company presented an original female minstrel. Thursday the Grand Lodge closed with the Grand Parade in which over 4,000 people marched and over five hundred automobiles, from the stately Lincoln to the humble Ford participated.

COOLIDGE AND THE NEGRO

By William Pickens
Associated Negro Press

The President's 1925 message to Congress utters a good homily on "The Negro." It is worthy of New England good-heartedness. But his words for "states-rights" in the first part of his message may bear against his implied Congressional duty to the Negro, as laid down last in his message. The first part of the message seems to say that what a state can do, Congress should not do, even if the state does not do it. At least he does not make it clear, under his tangle of words, whether it is the business of Congress to do a needed thing, like breaking up lynching, if the states will not or cannot do it.

The message is a good survey, a sort of bird's-eye view, of the difficulties confronting the nation,—with very few specific suggestions as to the remedies. But that it is natural. The message will do no harm,—for it is much more of a Sermon than a state paper.

THE NEGRO'S BURDEN

The reading public is quite accustomed to the glaring headlines in a certain type of daily papers featuring alleged and other crimes committed by the Negro. With evident delight these articles are inserted on the front page. On Tuesday the dailies featured on the front page in large headlines the following: "Girls Kidnapped by Negroes at Tampa—Seized While Walking Along Street and Drugged—One Makes Her Escape—Whereabouts of Her Companion Unknown." With the date line Tampa, Fla., Dec. 7, the article follows:

"Police and detectives were searching tonight for a Negro and his Negress companion who kidnapped two white girls tonight on the outskirts of the business section and after drugging them carried them to a house in a Negro quarter.

"One of the girls regained consciousness about an hour later and escaped from the house when the Negress, guarding them, went into another room.

"She followed the railroad tracks of the Atlantic Coast Line in an effort to reach town and collapsed in the doorway of a warehouse where she was found by a night watchman who summoned the police.

"She was unable to lead the officers to the house, and her companion has not been found.

"She said they were walking along the street when the Negroes grabbed them in the darkness, gagged and drugged them and took them to the house. She gave her name as Anna McGlohon, eighteen, of Pensacola, Fla., and said her companion's name is Pearl Keel, twenty-six, of Panama City, Fla."

The Wednesday morning issue of the same daily in a secluded place in the inside page appeared the following under the smallest possible headline "Abandon Search For Negro."

"Search by police for a Negro couple, alleged by two white girls to have drugged and abducted them last night, was abandoned today when investigation by the authorities proved their story was incorrect, according to a statement by the authorities. Both girls denied the statement, when questioned today."

What's the use commenting; the articles speak for themselves and prove that a large per cent of the crimes charged to the Negro are imaginary and done for the purpose of shielding the real perpetrator. This is an enormous burden that the Negro has been bearing for many many years, notwithstanding the fact that so often charges have been found erroneous.

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

AN FRANCISCO CAL. CALL
MARCH 20, 1925

WAYS OF THE WORLD

By JOHN D. BARRY

NEGROES AND THEIR PROBLEM: Hearing Black Boys Sing in Prison, Difference in Attitude of Northern and Southern Whites, Exile as a Means of Escape.

AFTER hearing Roland Hayes, the negro tenor, sing negro spirituals I had occasion to mention the experience in a letter I wrote to Mrs. W. B. In her answer she says:

"I agree with you that the spirtuals are very beautiful and most moving. I never heard them sung better than they were sung in a prison yard at Savannah by a group of half-grown black boys sentenced for vagrancy and petty crimes.

"The day was still and balmy. We were in charge of a Southern judge and his wife who had a great interest in prisons. At their word a bell in a tower was rung and about fifty boys stopped their play and assembled under a tree in the bare yard where they were free to roam.

"One of them, with a black skin, rolling eyes, great white teeth and bare feet, shuffled forward as leader and sang like a prophet.

"I can hear his wild, sweet tones yet above the others, 'I wan' dem golden shoes.' He was, we were told, the worst boy in the prison. But while he sang he looked like an ebony Israfel.

"I was struck by the stately courtesy of the judge's wife, with her 'Thank you, boys. You have given us great pleasure.' It was so at variance with the manner of a Northern man, a citizen, too, of Savannah, who had said to us that very day, 'The way to treat them is as if they were dogs,' and who had brought up to us a porter by saying, 'Come here, nigger!'

"No wonder the blacks like the Southern whites better than they do these Northern intruders."

The last words remind me of my friend, Mrs M. R. She is Southern, with all that the word implies. She has a good mind and she's powerful in argument.

Though I have never dared to tell her what I think of the negro problem she assumes that I've told her and she magnificently refutes things I have never said. Whether I believe them or not I won't say.

To me one of her most interesting convictions is that the attitude toward the negroes of the Northern whites is worse than the attitude of the Southern whites, less understanding, less friendly and less intelligent.

Behind the superiority of the Southerners she says there's genuine affection for the negroes, so long as the negroes stay where they believe the negroes belong.

The problem seems to come from the reluctance of the negroes to stay there.

Someone has suggested that the thing for the more far-seeing negro in this country is to establish himself in Europe, where the color prejudice isn't so strong or doesn't exist at all.

But this kind of advice ignores some of the deepest forces in human nature.

As a rule, it's only the well-to-do and the rich that impose on themselves the penalties of exile.

Some of the most discontented people in the world are to be found among those Americans who settle in Europe and stay there year after year, never becoming Europeanized, always more or less ill-at-ease in their surroundings, always at a disadvantage through imperfect acquaintance with the language, always longing for home and yet unable to make up their minds to return.

To persuade anyone deliberately to abandon the country he was born and brought up in and to take root in some other country requires an extraordinary urge.

It's not unlikely, however, that, when many American negroes acquire wealth, some of them, to protect their children and their children's children, will leave this country and go abroad to live. It would be comparatively easy for their descendants to merge into the southern peoples, where there is already some mixture of blood.

The negro educator and writer, Burghardt Du Bois, has movingly described his feelings when his first child was born, his joy followed by pain at the thought of what the child would have to meet.

There must be many negroes that share his feelings and would be ready to make great sacrifices to keep their descendants from having color prejudice added to the other exactions of life.

A man like Roland Hayes, if he wished, could meet the problem for himself quite easily. His eminence in the world of art would help him to feel as much at home in Europe as in this country, perhaps even more at home. But Hayes has a mission associated with his career. And it's the kind of mission that must be exceedingly gratifying to his religious temperament.

ND[illegible] IND. STAR
[illegible]ARY 7, 1925

NEGRO MAKING PROGRESS.

It is fitting that in the week wherein is celebrated the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, who broke the shackles of slavery for American negroes and set them free, that churches of the nation should consider whether that freedom attained by the people so released is yet all that the great emancipator had in mind. It is a proper time for religious bodies of the white race to ask themselves whether or not there are duties in connection with the black brethren that they have neglected, whether they might not have promoted a better interracial feeling, a friendlier co-operation in the efforts of the colored people to rise to such a level in education and occupation as their abilities will permit and to share fairly in all the rights of citizens without prejudice and discrimination.

It must surely be evident to all intelligent and fair-minded people of whatever race or color, to say nothing of religious organizations, that only friction and trouble can come of a persistent continuation of a denial of civic and industrial rights. It should be equally plain that the churches can do much to remove race prejudice and to promote a friendly and helpful feeling toward a brave and self-helpful people.

What the negroes of the South have done to raise themselves above the ignorance and helplessness of slavery is one of the amazing things of modern times. They have slowly gained self-confidence and initiative, and as they have acquired these virtues they have gone forward in an astonishing way. In the field of education they have had help from far-sighted philanthropists, but out of their own ranks have come leaders without whom they would not have advanced so rapidly. Booker Washington was their wisest prophet. He knew his people and he knew white men and realized that they must and could come together in harmonious relations, also that the black man had the longest road to travel.

Booker Washington knew that when negroes became skillful workmen there would be a place for them and he saw agriculture as the first and best opportunity. Statistics show a great increase in the number of negro farmers in the South—men who own their own land, from a few acres each to large tracts, and cultivate it intelligently. He encouraged other industries, knowing that in the South there was room for all classes of competent workmen, and that as negroes were in the majority in industrial ranks there was no color line drawn against them there in respect to employment. Washington knew, too, that as members of his race gradually became educated they would help to "leaven the mass" by their influence and achievements. But he always discouraged agitation, impassioned demands, movements to stir animosity of whites.

There has been, uninfluenced by him, a group of assertive colored men, mainly college bred and of liberal culture, who were unwilling to compromise their intellectual integrity by surrendering the abstract claim of political rights. But it is pointed out by a writer of their own race that they have not realized in the least the rights and recognition so vehemently demanded. Meanwhile, the soul of Booker Washington is marching on. Negro education is slowly making itself felt in a thousand ways. The industry, the achievements, the increasing intelligence of millions attract respectful attention. Their protests against injustice have even brought shame to Southern white communities and the past year marks a greatly lessened number of lynchings in the South and a realization by white men that they lower themselves and harm their states by such deeds. In Northern communities the self-respecting effort of negroes to "make good," to improve their condition in honest and industrious ways, even against often hampering difficulties, have won approval. Indianapolis, for example, has a large negro population, but what would the city do without it? These negroes supply a need. They have made a place for themselves. The great majority are doing their part as good citizens.

They are not seeking social recognition which certain white people profess to fear. The colored people of Indianapolis are sufficient unto themselves socially. They wish to live in peace and to be in harmony with their fellow white citizens, but they also wish to enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship extended to other law-abiding citizens, and they are not getting them all. Tomorrow is to be a harmony Sunday in many churches. It is a day in which white citizens may ask themselves how they can best promote this friendly spirit without the all too common air of condescension and superiority.

INTER-RACIAL MIXING STEADILY ON THE DECREASE

Anthropologist Says Crossing Between Races Has Stopped

WASHINGTON, D. C.—March 23—The American Negro seems just on the point of branching off into a distinct race, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits of New York, now engaged in a scientific study of the students of Howard University, told the Anthropological Society of Washington, at a meeting in the new National Museum. The term "Negro" as applied to the black element in the American population is somewhat of a misnomer the scientist said. Actually, the race is a black-white-red hybrid with African negroid strains predominating, due to a peculiar twist in the working out of evolution.

Not more than 20 per cent of black men in the United States, Dr. Herskovits said, are of pure Negro blood and this is probably a very liberal estimate. The mixture of white and Indian blood, however, came mostly before the Civil War. At the end of that confiict the race was a very unstable combination indeed. For the last sixty years, however, this mixing has stopped. There has been practically no intermarriage. The blood has had a chance to settle. This means that the Negro now will pass on to his children certain racial characteristics, the probability of which, in any individual, can be figured with something like mathematical certainty.

Studies Cover Hundreds

Dr. Herskovits based his calculations on physical examinations, not only of the Howard students during the past few weeks, but of hundreds of Negro school children in Harlem, New York's great Black Belt. He chose these places because they represent a cross-section of the race.

What this race stabilization actually means is this: The child of a white couple will always be white, and of a Chinese couple always yellow, but up to the present there was no certainty whether the child of a Negro couple would be unmistakably black or so white that it could be told from a white child only by careful examination, but the time has come when such a child will always stick close to a rather defining shade of black. The probability of white or Indian ancestry introduced before the Civil War cropping out in the baby has been very greatly reduced. But this works both ways. The American Negro of the future will always bear the mark of that white and red ancestry, and will remain a far different man from his ancestor of Central Africa.

Likely to Remain Black

It is reasonably certain, Dr. Herskovits said the tests indicated, that the American Negro will remain black, perhaps blacker than the average of the race at present, and during his studies at Howard University he has found why this is probably so. The United States has predominately a white civilization and hence a white man can survive better under the conditions of that civilization than a black man. Consequently, it is advantageous to be white, or as nearly white as possible. Those Negroes so fortunate as to be born with white skins have disappeared in considerable numbers into the white race. But those who are not white enough to pass for white men still have some advantages of association which enable them to secure wealth and culture more easily. Consequently they live on a border line, associating neither with white nor real black to a great extent, but trying to form a sort of racial island.

Of the 300 or more men examined at Howard, he said, 60 per cent told him that their mothers were lighter than their fathers, and they represent the trend of the race all over the Southeast. Also the average boy told him that his ideal of a sweetheart was a lighter Negro girl.

Made Color Tests

Even without his complicated situation, he said, the tendency has been for the black to predominate in a racial intermixture of black and white. This is deduced from interesting skin color tests which he has conducted both at Howard and among the Harlem schoolchildren.

Of 300 students examined at Howard he found only 10 per cent which claimed pure Negro blood, and he believes some of these may be mistaken. Of the 125 adult Negroes selected at random in New York, only two claimed racial purity, and one of these was so light that the doctor believes he either was mistaken or lying.

On the other hand, only one student at Howard has a parent belonging definitely in the white race. Only 10 per cent have white grandparents. This indicates that the period of racial crossing is over and that Negroes are marrying Negroes.

Dr. Herskovits studied not only skin color, but 100 different features possible of transmission among the Harlem children. All to the same conclusion. The Negro of today is more fixed as a race than for instance some southern Italian and other European groups studied. In other words, the child is more likely to stick to a racial standard.

More Powerful Than Whites

Comparing the colored boys of Harlem with an average group of white boys, he found that the former averaged 5 pounds heavier, and 5 or 6 centimers taller. This indicates, since the rate is becoming fixed, that the American Negro of the future will be a somewhat more powerful man physically than his white neighbor.

There is only one other example of a white and black combination, which has become stabilized in historic times into a distinct race, he said—a race in South Africa which resulted from intermarriages many years ago between Hottentots and Boer pioneers, which no longer take place. But the American Negro of the future cannot be predicted on this model, because conditions were different and there was no red intermixture.

Dr. Ales Hrdlicka said that anthropologists have just reached the point where they can study the American Negro, since prejudice, both white and black has hindered them in every way possible in the past.

All the white strain in Negroes is not due to recognized white strains in the ancestry, it was indicated. The original slaves, captured in the African jungles, were as pure black as a race could be when they arrived in America. But in the more advanced centres, they had an opportunity to meet and intermarry with other Negroes from Northern Africa, in whom a strain of white blood had been bred in almost prehistoric times, possibly by the Carthaginians or Egyptians.

This had become fixed, and when intermarriages took place had its effect on the progeny of the pure black slaves—even when both parents were supposedly Negroes.

NEGROES IN NEW YORK

At times the New York World has had many things to say about the South and radical relations here. It commented on the movement of negro population from South to North. Now it has found that there are many things to be said of the conditions under which a great number of negroes are living in the North. New York City has not been the Heaven that some negroes from the South expected to find when they went there. It has reprinted from the Survey Graphic a story, which, with one illustration, occupies a whole page of the World of last Sunday, with these headlines: "Robbing the Negroes—The New Slavery in Harlem. Black and White Alike Freece Our Colored Citizens—And they Must Submit, for They Can't Move Rent Gougers, Medical Quacks, Fake Druggists, Lottery Sharks, Crooked Merchants—Exploiters All."

In the story are a number of instances of the robbing of negroes, old residents, apparently, as well as new. And if the situation is even half so bad as it is pictured, it is very bad. The Morning News does not contend that conditions under which negroes live in the South are as good as they should be, not by any means. But surely they can be no worse than those under which they live in New York. The segregation of races is a fact in New York, not on so great a scale as in the South, but nevertheless it exists. The Survey Graphic story in the World shows how a congested negro district tends to become more congested as the population increases because other districts do not welcome the negroes. Their entry into a district formerly white would cause the value of other property nearby to decrease; many suburban districts do not want them to enter to become residents. They are gregarious, and, it is suggested, couldn't make even a meager living except while living in districts looked upon as set apart for them. The New York fake druggists and doctors (white) are quoted as saying: "Oh, anything is good enough for niggers."

Is this the boasted "understanding" of the negro which was promised inferentially by the North? Is this the fine treatment he was to get if he would leave the South and go to the North? He is robbed, cheated in his sickness, in his superstition, in his home and at his work. An investigator sent to fifteen drug stores that cater to negro trade and had a prescription filled at each one—and not one of them was even halfway properly filled, and even the quantities asked for were wrong. One prescription called for seven-grain capsules and they came back all the way from three grains to ten. One doctor (white) made a habit of flopping down on his knees and praying after giving the nature of the illness. Another always put a plaster on his patent, regardless of the nature of the illness. Another always gave pills in a series of colors.

As to room to live: Many rooms work in double shifts; a day worker sleeps in it at night and a night worker sleeps in it in the day. One apartment normally intended for ten persons gave residence to forty-four.

And so the story keeps going. The negro is a "good thing" for unscrupulous persons both of his own color and white. There is seemingly very little fairness towards him. He is short changed even after paying for inferior stuff what would be a high price for excellent stuff. He goes into a store to buy something. The price immediately goes up and when he selects an article an inferior variety is wrapped up and handed him and then he is hustled out with less than his correct change. That system is hard to beat. It gets him three ways on one transaction.

He is huddled as a race, cheated, as a race discriminated against in sickness and in health

York plainly is no place for the negro. And this goes on summer and winter. New York people used to poke fun at the idea that Southern people "understood" the negro better if "understanding" means profit taking nobody in the North ever "understood" the negro race as the Northerners do who are making money out of it.—Savannah News.

INTER-RACIAL MIXING STEADILY ON THE DECREASE

Anthropologist Says Crossing Between Races Has Stopped

WASHINGTON, D. C.—March 23—The American Negro seems just on the point of branching off into a distinct race, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits of New York, now engaged in a scientific study of the students of Howard University, told the Anthropological Society of Washington, at a meeting in the new National Museum. The term "Negro" as applied to the black element in the American population is somewhat of a misnomer, the scientist said. Actually, the race is a black-white-red hybrid with African negroid strains predominating, due to a peculiar twist in the working out of evolution.

Not more than 20 per cent of black men in the United States, Dr. Herskovits said, are of pure Negro blood and this is probably a very liberal estimate. The mixture of white and Indian blood, however, came mostly before the Civil War. At the end of that conflict the race was a very unstable combination indeed. For the last sixty years, however, this mixing has stopped. There has been practically no intermarriage. The blood has had a chance to settle. This means that the Negro now will pass on to his children certain racial characteristics, the probability of which, in any individual, can be figured with something like mathematical certainty.

Studies Cover Hundreds

Dr. Herskovits based his calculations on physical examinations, not only of the Howard students during the past few weeks, but of hundreds of Negro school children in Harlem, New York's great Black Belt. He chose these places because they represent a cross-section of the race.

What this race stabilization actually means is this: The child of a white couple will always be white, and of a Chinese couple always yellow, but up to the present there was no certainty whether the child of a Negro couple would be unmistakably black or so white that it could be told from a white child only by careful examination, but the time has come when such a child will always stick close to a rather defining shade of black. The probability of white or Indian ancestry introduced before the Civil War cropping out in the baby has been very greatly reduced. But this works both ways. The American Negro of the future will always bear the mark of that white and red ancestry, and will remain a far different man from his ancestor of Central Africa.

Likely to Remain Black

It is reasonably certain, Dr. Herskovits said the tests indicated, that the American Negro will remain black, perhaps blacker than the average of the race at present, and during his studies at Howard University he has found why this is probably so. The United States has predominately a white civilization and hence a white man can survive better under the conditions of that civilization than a black man. Consequently, it is advantageous to be white, or as nearly white as possible. Those Negroes so fortunate as to be born with white skins have disappeared in considerable numbers into the white race. But those who are not white enough to pass for white men still have some advantages of association which enable them to secure wealth and culture more easily. Consequently they live on a border line, associating neither with white nor real black to a great extent, but trying to form a sort of racial island.

Of the 300 or more men examined at Howard, he said, 60 per cent told him that their mothers were lighter than their fathers, and they represent the trend of the race all over the Southeast. Also the average boy told him that his ideal of a sweetheart was a lighter Negro girl.

Made Color Tests

Even without his complicated situation, he said, the tendency has been for the black to predominate in a racial intermixture of black and white. This is deduced from interesting skin color tests which he has conducted both at Howard and among the Harlem schoolchildren.

Of 300 students examined at Howard he found only 10 per cent which claimed pure Negro blood, and he believes some of these may be mistaken. Of the 125 adult Negroes selected at random in New York, only two claimed racial purity, and one of these was so light that the doctor believes he either was mistaken or lying.

On the other hand, only one student at Howard has a parent belonging definitely in the white race. Only 10 per cent have white grandparents. This indicates that the period of racial crossing is over and that Negroes are marrying Negroes.

Dr. Herskovits studied not only skin color, but 100 different features possible of transmission among the Harlem children. All to the same conclusion. The Negro of today is more fixed as a race than for instance some southern Italian and other European groups studied. In other words, the child is more likely to stick to a racial standard.

More Powerful Than Whites

Comparing the colored boys of Harlem with an average group of white boys, he found that the former averaged 5 pounds heavier, and 5 or 6 centimers taller. This indicates, since the rate is becoming fixed, that the American Negro of the future will be a somewhat more powerful man physically than his white neighbor.

There is only one other example of a white and black combination, which has become stabilized in historic times into a distinct race, he said—a race in South Africa which resulted from intermarriages many years ago between Hottentots and Boer pioneers, which no longer take place. But the American Negro of the future cannot be predicted on this model, because conditions were different and there was no red intermixture.

Dr. Ales Hrdlicka said that anthropologists have just reached the point where they can study the American Negro, since prejudice, both white and black has hindered them in every way possible in the past.

All the white strain in Negroes is not due to recognized white strains in the ancestry, it was indicated. The original slaves, captured in the African jungles, were as pure black as a race could be when they arrived in America. But in the more advanced centres, they had an opportunity to meet and intermarry with other Negroes from Northern Africa, in whom a strain of white blood had been bred in almost prehistoric times, possibly by the Carthaginians or Egyptians.

This had become fixed, and when intermarriages took place had its effect on the progeny of the pure black slaves—even when both parents were supposedly Negroes.

NEGROES IN NEW YORK

At times the New York World has had many things to say about the South and radical relations here. It commented on the movement of negro population from South to North. Now it has found that there are many things to be said of the conditions under which a great number of negroes are living in the North. New York City has not been the Heaven that some negroes from the South expected to find when they went there. It has reprinted from the Survey Graphic a story, which, with one illustration, occupies a whole page of the World of last Sunday, with these headlines: "Robbing the Negroes—The New Slavery in Harlem. Black and White Alike Freece Our Colored Citizens—And they Must Submit, for They Can't Move Rent Gougers, Medical Quacks, Fake Druggists, Lottery Sharks, Crooked Merchants—Exploiters All."

In the story are a number of instances of the robbing of negroes, old residents, apparently, as well as new. And if the situation is even half so bad as it is pictured, it is very bad. The Morning News does not contend that conditions under which negroes live in the South are as good as they should be, not by any means. But surely they can be no worse than those under which they live in New York The segregation of races is a fact in New York, not on so great a scale as in the South, but nevertheless it exists. The Survey Graphic story in the World shows how a congested negro district tends to become more congested as the population increases because other districts do not welcome the negroes. Their entry into a district formerly white would cause the value of other property nearby to decrease; many suburban districts do not want them to enter to become residents. They are gregarious, and, it is suggested, couldn't make even a meager living except while living in districts looked upon as set apart for them. The New York fake druggists and doctors (white) are quoted as saying: "Oh, anything is good enough for niggers."

Is this the boasted "understanding" of the negro which was promised inferentially by the North? Is this the fine treatment he was to get if he would leave the South and go to the North? He is robbed, cheated in his sickness, in his superstition, in his home and at his work. An investigator sent to fifteen drug stores that cater to negro trade and had a prescription filled at each one—and not one of them was even halfway properly filled, and even the quantities asked for were wrong. One prescription called for seven-grain capsules and they came back all the way from three grains to ten. One doctor (white) made a habit of flopping down on his knees and praying after giving the nature of the illness. Another always put a plaster on his patent, regardless of the nature of the illness. Another always gave pills in a series of colors.

As to room to live: Many rooms work in double shifts; a day worker sleeps in it at night and a night worker sleeps in it in the day. One apartment normally intended for ten persons gave residence to forty-four.

And so the story keeps going. The negro is York people used to poke fun at the idea that a "good thing" for unscrupulous persons both Southern people "understood" the negro better of his own color and white. There is seemingly than Northern people did. Certainly if "unvery little fairness towards him. He is short derstanding" means profit taking nobody in the changed even after paying for inferior stuff South ever "understood" the negro race as that what would be a high price for excellent stuff. Northerners do who are making money out o He goes into a store to buy something. The it.—Savannah News. price immediately goes up and when he selects an article an inferior variety is wrapped up and handed him and then he is hustled out with less than his correct change. That system is hard to beat. It gets him three ways on one transaction.

He is huddled as a race, cheated, as a race discriminated against in sickness and in health

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

N. Y. [illegible]
FEBRUARY 2, 1925

Traces Racial Hatreds To Inferiority Complex

Dr. John H. Denison Advises All With Grievance to Raise Themselves to Equality

HAMPTON, Va., Feb. 1.—Part of the responsibility for racial discrimination was placed on the members of the races discriminated against by the Rev. Dr. John Hopkins Denison, associate pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, in his Founder's Day address at Hampton Institute to-day. The occasion was the birthday of General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who established Hampton Institute in 1868.

"General Armstrong saw the real crux in the problem of race relations," Dr. Denison said. "What causes all the heart burnings between black and white, Jew and Christian, Japanese and American? It is that one considers the other inferior and the other feels in his heart that the first is right, though, at the same time, he clamors to be received as an equal. If he felt that he was an equal or a superior he would be indifferent to opinions.

"The cure for racial misunderstanding is exactly what General Armstrong saw it to be. If his colored regiment had had to ride in Jim Crow cars he would have set the men promptly at work to make their end of the car so attractive that the white men would beg to get in."

N. Y. [illegible] MAR 1925

Pondering Some Federal Amendments

Editor of Telegram and Mail:—

The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified 1870, giving the negro the ballot forthwith, without basing it on an educational and property qualification, was a crime.

It created the solid South, holding back the progress and development of that section, and has been a detriment to the whole country. Incidentally this amendment never has been and never will be enforced.

The Sixteenth Amendment, ratified 1913, granted power to lay and collect income taxes. It resulted in a law so intricate that the average citizen has to hire an expert to make out his return. A large force of men is required to collect and a greater number to interpret it. We did not need the money raised, and it has been wasted by politicians. It is a burdensome tax bearing heavily on thrift.

Popular Selection of Senators.

The Seventeenth Amendment, ratified 1913, brought about the popular election of Senators. It has only accomplished a very marked and a very continuous falling off of the intelligence of that body.

The Eighteenth Amendment, ratified 1917, an attempt to make man sober by act of law, is a dismal failure. It was sired by fanaticism out of hypocrisy. It was passed by the votes of a set of hypocrites who always drank and are still at it. Its enforcement is in the hands of a low order of political appointees, the partners of bootleggers.

It has cost a tremendous sum, besides breeding contempt of all law, because neither the amendment nor the decision of the Supreme Court convinces man that it is inherently evil to make or take an alcoholic drink. The court for the first time in history placed its decision on public policy and not on law.

The Nineteenth Amendment, ratified 1920, gave the women the vote. Another mistake; the right should have been based on a property and educational qualification. Nearly 200,000 women who cannot read or write now have the ballot in this State. The combined effect of the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Amendments is that we are living in a mobocracy, our republic has vanished.

Sees Nothing to Arouse Pride.

There is nothing in the amendments to rouse any feeling of pride; the whole country would be better off if they had never been heard of.

Now we are asked to consider the child labor amendment, the principal part of which reads as follows:—"The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen." A blanket statement covering all labor. If passed your child is nationalized, is a ward of the State.

If passed the amendment must be enforced; that can only be done by inspection of the family. How large an army of inspectors will be needed? Each Congressman can be trusted to appoint as many as possible for his district. They will be of the same low order that we now have in the prohibition force and graft will be rampant. How large will the bill be?

Variety of Marriage Laws.

There is another thing, probably not known to more than one out of every hundred people. In four States marriages of boys of fourteen is valid; in three it is valid at sixteen; in four at seventeen. In five States marriage of girls is valid at twelve; in one State at thirteen; in eleven States at fourteen; in eleven States at sixteen. By the census of 1920 we had 9,206 boys and girls married, divorced or widowed under fifteen years; 15,015 who were fifteen; 46,460 who were sixteen; 101,687 who were seventeen, a total of 170,378 under eighteen. What about the work of these children? Are these husbands and wives to be denied work because of their age?

What about the punishment of the infractions of this proposed amendment? The federal government has no juvenile courts, reformatories or reform schools. Are you going to shut them up in United States prisons?

Repugnant to American Ideals.

The whole idea of parents ceding to the federal government any authority over their children is repugnant to American ideals. This plan has been lifted bodily from the Bolshevists. It has the active and ardent support of every socialist, communist, anarchist and bolshevist in the country, and there are many more of them than we imagine. The bolshevist and all his kind say if they begin the training of children early enough they can make of them what they desire. Besides, it is supported by our grand army of emotionalist uplifters who feel they have a divine right to tell everybody else how they shall live.

If passed it will be followed by a medical bureau which will proceed to extract the tonsils and adenoids of all children, equip them with horrific tortoiseshell periscopes and put them on a federal diet. Then will come a bureau of educators, which will make a survey of the children and determine their life-work, and a complete socialism will have been attained, which is the end sought by this amendment.

The amendments noted above are blots on the Constitution; they have only weakened the fibre of our government. This proposed twentieth amendment is of the same type, and it deserves to be soundly beaten. Leave the Constitution alone, we have already done enough damage to it.

L. R.

New York, Feb. 10, 1925.

WHITE SOUTHERN DUPE OF NEGRO SAYS WRITER IN AMERICAN MERCURY

Mobbism An Outcome of White Man's Fear.

(N. A. A. C. P. Press Service)

The white Southerner, "knows less about the black man, understands him less, than any one else on this planet," according to L. M. Hussey, writing in the January American Mercury Magazine, edited by H. L. Mencken, (730 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.) What the white southerner calls a 'good nigger,' according to Mr. Hussey, is simply an accomplished actor playing a part, and deluding the dominant race in order that he may be permitted to live in the South, the while he laughs up his sleeve at his dupe. Mr. Hussey's article, written in a jocose vein, while employing expressions that will offend many colored readers, nevertheless states interesting facts and it is because of these facts and despite many distasteful phrases that the N. A. A. C. P. calls attention to the article.

The price of life for the Negro in the South, says Mr. Hussey, is ability to play a part. The colored people he observed, "adopted in their intercourse with me, with every white man, the voice and gesture familiar in all mimes. They were enacting subtly, ineffably, very persuasively, a self-imposed role. They were playing a part in a comedy!" The object of the comedy is to delude the white man into thinking them submissive. In this the Negro is completely successful, and the Southern white man thinks of him either as a good Uncle Tom or else as a criminal.

Mr. Hussey goes on to point out that there is another fallacy besides the one that the white man "understands the nigger." This fallacy is to the effect that the Negro is better treated in the South than elsewhere.

"The superior favors and condescension allotted the 'good nigger' of the Confederacy do not derive from the supereminent kindness of the Southern gentleman's heart nor from his better understanding of the blackamoor. They derive, instead, from the fact that the Southern gentleman is the dupe of the good nigger's histrionic wiles. He is the victim of hundreds of thousands of black Salvinis, playing their parts naturally, almost instinctively, under the brutal urge of a mere biologic prompting, yet withal superlatively."

The Negro's clowning plays upon the vanities of the dominant race, but at times the Southern whites come to doubt their own "superiority," especially when the Negro distinguishes himself as a business man or in the arts and professions. Then the white man begins to fear that "white superiority" is not inherent but "results from the accidents of numbers and conventions"—not from higher "talents." It is this fear of jeopardy to "white supremacy" that prompts the mob, says Mr. Hussey. "Shorn of his sense of mastery, the hysterical overman feels his own skull in danger," when a white woman has been stared at, or some crime committed, "he sees, abruptly, a horde of 'good nigger' ripping off their masks, no longer paying tribute to his accidental eminence. And forthwith he and his brothers in hysteria bear down in overwhelming numbers upon the first isolated cabin at hand—and proceed to lynch a nigger."

Meanwhile, the colored man is cynical, says Mr. Hussey, and laughs bitterly to himself. He is coming to repudiate the role of "good nigger." "To the white brethren seeking civilized amusement, to the Nordic overman a bit soured by the pallid timidities of his accustomed journals, I recommend a trial glance at such Negro papers as THE CRISIS, THE MESSENGER and OPPORTUNITY.

Solving Negro Problem By Improving Status

"The Negro problem of the South not only can be solved, but is being solved; and the method of solution is both improving the economic, moral and social status of the Negro, and pointing a moral that the white man may well take to heart," says Clarence H. Kelsey, Chairman of the Board of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company, and for years a student of the Negro problem and industry.

"There are two lines of effort aiming at a solution of the Negro problem," Mr. Kelsey declares. "The first is along general or mass lines. Through [illegible] societies, political action, legislation and similar means, attempts are made to bring about a better relationship between the white and colored races. This is directed toward the individual. It is being made right that has been accomplished and is being accomplished every day. Thousands of the Negro must be trained first to accomplished every day. Thousands of be a good workman; second, to be a able, hard-working and upright Negro citizen with sound morals, and groes, who are at the same time thirdly, to be disposed to lead those of leaders of their race, are testimonials his people with whom he comes in to that fact.

"The second line is working on the no longer a race problem. This

"Education nas been a great uplifting agent. Not education in general, but a system of education that trains for actual living. I refer to the type of training carried out at Hampton and Tuskegee and similar schools for Negroes. Graduates of these schools are to-day scattered all over the South. They are community leaders and teachers. Many instances have been observed where they have completely transformed entire communities.

"As I see it the question of the ultimate solution of the race problem in the South has become narrowed. That solution, I believe, lies in multiplying as rapidly as possible the number of thoroughly equipped graduates of the Hampton-Tuskegee type qualified to follow definite trades and fitted to be leaders of their fellows. Once the South is dotted with these communities, so that they spread out and touch one another, there will be no race problem in this country.

"Hampton, Tuskegee and the numerous progeny have set the whole standard for the industrial trade schools in the American public school system. The development of these industrial schools, unfortunately, has not been carried far enough. To date the public school system has not resulted in training youth to produce so much as to live on the producers. We are fast creating a race of commission hunters and almost of parasites on the body politic."

BURLINGTON N. J. ENTERPRISE
JANUARY 8, 1925

WHY THEY HATED LODGE

The Memphis Commercial-Appeal says that the late Senator Lodge was a "South-hater." The only justification for that statement is that Senator Lodge favored legislation providing honest federal elections in all parts of the country, including the South. Southern politicians insist upon the right of the autocratic political machines of the solid South to disfranchise four-fifths of the people of the South, including hundreds of thousands more white people than black, by force, fraud and legal trickery, and thus maintain a one-party government. The southern Democratic party organs which claim that this system is of interest or benefit to the masses of the southern people, overlook entirely the politically disinherited eighty per cent of the people of that section. If the masses of the people in the South were permitted a voice in the government, they would have voted more overwhelmingly than the people of any other section of the country in support of Senator Lodge and his senatorial colleagues in their fight against the un-Americanized covenant of the league of nations.

Senator Lodge is politically canonized by the bitter, vindictive, malicious hatred of those who sought to sacrifice the rights, interests and independence of the United States through the adoption of the unexpurgated covenant, and were ingloriously overwhelmed by the voters of the United States for doing so. It is a discreditable phase of human nature that even believers in a given cause are willing to permit the militant spirits who fight for it to suffer from the wounds that come in combat while fence-sitters complacently accept the fruits of victory without helping to pay the price even in defending the real warriors from their assailants. Senator Lodge suffered from such ungrateful and cowardly indifference, but at least he had the inward assurance of his own courage in a great cause, and the knowledge that he contributed something more substantial than mild approval and pious wishes toward the success of a great cause.

Changing the Leopard's Spots

The AFRO-AMERICAN has long maintained that if the makers of cosmetics can invent a lotion to change a black skin into a white one the race problem would be solved overnight.

There is no race problem in America, but there is a color problem. America is a melting pot in which thousands and millions of people with varying customs, divergent moral and mental characteristics and strange tongues, are absorbed within two generations. Had the Negro a white skin and straight hair, he too would have gone into the melting pot at a more rapid rate than two millions of mulattoes now testify.

The press this week carries this bit of information:

> Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, director of Science Service, has forecast the day when chemist may be able to control the color and complexion of human beings.
>
> He supports his statements by citing chemical achievements as causing a fish to grow a third eye in the middle of the head by the addition of a little magnesium chloride to the water in which the fish lives.
>
> "It is already apparent," he said, "that the forms of all creatures from the microbe to man are determined by certain chemical compounds in extremely minute amounts. This may put it in the power of the chemist to control the size and shape of plants of animals, to fix the number and location of their branches and leaves, or legs and eyes, to modify color or complexion and to determine or alter sex."

Imagine Atlanta, Georgia and Houston, Texas waking up one morning and finding the black belt changed into a WHITE BELT. Imagine also the feeling of ten million other folk who would wake up one morning and suddenly find themselves in the possession of clean schools in the place of shanties, and the open seseme to sanitary neighborhoods, comfortable railway accommodations, the right to vote, the right to a jury trial and to serve on juries, the privilege to act as a free human being without ever hesitating to think of the racial element.

Imagine all these things happening, and you realize the possibilities of science in the next century.

Negroes are making undeniable progress. One evidence of it is that their taste in the selection of clothes improves year by year. When men and women eschew over-tones and acquire dignity, they have arrived.

Race Problem – 1925.

United States.

Kelly Miller Says

The Negro student in pursuit of modern literature and art must carry with him constantly an interpreting key, which will quickly enable him to separate the flesh from the spirit. Afro-American

The Ku Klux Klan is but the logical philosophy of those who glorify in the flesh and bow down and worship at the shrine of color. Science and pure thought transcend these externalities and appeal to the universal human mind and understanding. 2-1-23

There is urgent need of a new philosophy of Negro education. Science, pure knowledge and spiritual longings of the soul are not revealed by flesh and blood.

The Guggenheim Foundation

The fortune makers of the country are now to a remarkable degree devoting their fortunes to educational purposes. It is also noteworthy that those who suddenly acquire great wealth are more apt to foster social advancement than those who inherit large fortune.

But recently we have witnessed the munificent philanthropies of Hershey who contributed sixty million dollars for the education of white orphans in the State of Pennsylvania, the forty million Dukes Foundation for educational and social uplift work in North Carolina, and fifty million benefactions of Mr. Eastman of Kodak fame.

Now comes the Guggenheim Foundation of three million dollars to enlarge the opportunity of foreign study on part of deserving American youth.

Of these four recent philanthropists, only one, Mr. Hershey, limits his benefactions by boundaries of race. The others are disposed to apply their philanthropy to the points of greatest need and greatest service without regard to racial or credal limitations.

Big Fortunes And Philanthrophy

The rapid rise of the swollen fortunes of Americans is made bearable by virtue of the liberal use to which many of them are put. Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Carnegie, the wealthiest men of their day and time, are noted for the greatest donations to public uses of any two individuals in the history of the human race.

Here again we have the example of those who have earned their fortune as contrasted with those who have had them handed down to them.

In this connection, one can hardly help anamadverting to the unique case of Henry Ford, who violates all of the rules which guide the ordinary man and surpasses them all. He is indeed the Napoleon Bonaparte of industry. He has some where announced that he has no intention of giving his goods to the poor as a mere philanthropy; but rather intends to benefit the man who needs by furnishing him with a cheap necessary article and by giving him as wide opportunity for work and at as high rate of wages as possible.

No Race Distinction

In following out this purpose Mr. Ford makes little or no race distinction. In all of his plants and plans he allows for the proper proportion of Negro workmen whom he gives an equal chance with the rest. But in spite of Mr. Fords' philosophy, his fortune accumulates faster than he can dispose of it.

No one envies his primacy in the industrial world, nor thinks of restraining him with the leveling hand of the law. And yet we cannot help wondering what he will ultimately do with his vast fortune, which, in spite of himself, accumulates faster than he can dispose of it.

Will he be able to absorb it all in enlargement of his works? or will he be compelled to give it away for riddance from the mere bother of it? Should he ever reach this conclusion, we may reasonably expect that he will devote it to some useful purpose and provide for those who can benefit by it to best advantage without the narrow restrictions of race and color.

Gives Three Million

But to return to the Guggenheim Foundation, John Simon Guggenheim, Ex-Senator from Colorado, is a member of a large family which has earned untold fortune out of the mineral resources of the Western States, Mexico and Alaska.

His preliminary gift of three million dollars is for the purpose of broadening the horizon of American fellowship and research by enabling worthy students of approved genius of talent to prosecute their research in the different countries which offer the most inviting field in the line of their specialty.

It is especially provided in the terms of the gift that the fellowships will be open to men and women, married or unmarried, of every race, color and creed. This is indeed a worthy rebuke to the narrow intolerant spirit which is abroad in the land today.

World Views Needed

Sometime ago I ventured the suggestion that the time was ripe for the establishment of foreign scholarships by which colored men of talent and promise might be enabled to persecute their study and research in the various countries and nations. We need a world perspective and point of view. The Negro is the only suppressed group in the world that is not looking about the world for suggestions and solution by comparison. We are afflicted with ingrowing pains. We think that our domestic difficulties must be solved domestically without reference to what is taking place in other points of the globe.

We need especially to come in closer touch and sympathetic understanding with the non-white peoples and nations in all parts of the world. The Guggenheim Foundation may be wisely utilized to this end.

South America And Africa

Negro students of race contact and relationship who show ability to study and interpret the situation in such form as to merit attention and encouragement may thus be enabled to pursue their work in South America, Asia and Africa, and to proclaim the results in such form as to serve the world in the solution of the world's greatest problem.

I suggested that our colleges might unite in the establishment of these foreign fellowships. But it now appears that existing foundations might well be utilized in this direction 'till our own colleges and universities are strong enough to undertake the task in a systematic way.

Negro On The Screen

There is undoubtedly a conspiracy on part of the movie world to paint the Negro as a coward. In every situation of danger and peril, the black man is portrayed as a craven running and trembling at every shadow of danger, while the white man stands cooly by or runs to the rescue with bravery and calm.

On a dozen occasions, I have witnessed such craven exhibitions on the screen. To my utter disgust and dismay, the Negro spectators always extract great mirth from such exhibitions.

The popular Negro mind, at times and places, especially at the movies, seems shallow beyond comprehension. The laugh is always loudest when the Negro character is held up in some servile or despicable role.

The mere appearance of a non white face is a signal of high hilariousness of the Negro crowd which takes delight seemingly in the damnation of its own type. I doubt whether any other people in the world would allow any other people to exploit its type for ridicule and jest without firm and emphatic protest. But the poor Negro joins in and leads the crowd at the humiliation and chagrin of his own kind.

Jews Protest

The Jews will never forgive Shakespear for the caricature of his race in Shylock. A strong protest was made to Noah Webster of dictionary fame by the Hebrew peoples because he used the term "to jew" as a verb indicating the practice of that race in quickly shifting from one price to another, to ensnare the guileless gentile purchaser.

This term, by the way, does not appear in the later editions. I once heard Mr. D. W. Griffin, of "The Birth of a Nation" fame, say that the movie artist was no longer allowed to make his villian a Jew, an Irishman or an Italian, and was therefore compelled to fall back on the Negro.

Now if the race is in a defenseless position that it cannot help itself, surely it should not voluntarily join in to help its traducers villify and traduce it.

Art is very subtle in its insinuations. It enters into our gentle musings and steals away our self respect, ere we are aware.

Negro No Coward

In practice, the Negro usually proves to be the hero; but on the stage he is made the coward. By a slight exercise of memory any one of my readers can readily recall half a dozen instances where the Negro gained great distinction for feats of bravery and daring by white men who witnessed and rewarded it.

We read in the press dispatches of the week that a Negro elevator boy in New York, by sticking to his car through fire and smoke was instrumental in saving the life of forty inmates. How does this story taken from life compare with the portrayal of the black man ever prone to run and hide from danger?

The bravery of the Negro in battle is widely acknowledged and extolled. And yet if one notices the great painting of Perry crossing lake at the battle of Lake Erie, the sole Negro in the boat is represented as trembling in every pore.

Maintain Self Respect

The non white peoples must be ever on the alert, less their self-respect be taken away through the beguilement of Aryan art. Dr. E. W. Blyden was perhaps the ablest thinker who has yet treated the Negro problem. He urges that the education of Negro youth should center about ancient rather than modern literature for the reason that in modern culture the color consciousness is so acute as to be made manifest in every feature. This is not true in the great literatures of Greece and Judea, where the spirit rises sublimely over the flesh. Shakespeare, for example, is of the flesh fleshly. Even in Othello, is constantly reminded of his clime, color and degree.

The Negro student in pursuit of modern literature and art must carry with him constantly an interpreting key, which will quickly enable him to separate the flesh from the spirit. The Ku Klux Klan is but the logical philosophy of those who glorify the flesh, and bow down and worship at the shrine of color. Science and pure thought transcend these externalities and appeal to the universal human mind and understanding.

There is urgent need of a new philosophy of Negro education. Science, pure knowledge, and spiritual longings of the soul are not revealed by flesh and blood.

High Cost of Keeping the Negro Inferior

By John C. Wright

Vice-President, The Daytona-Cookman Collegiate Institute, Daytona, Florida

THE South has definitely committed itself to the task of keeping the Negro in his place. That place, by all accepted teaching and belief, is and must be for all time, an inferior one. Every now and then we are brought face to face with the tremendous cost of keeping alive this illusion, so dear to the heart of the Bourbon South. By some figures recently published we learn that two-thirds of Florida's prison population is Negro. Of the 2,477 prisoners in the county prison camp, State prison farm, and State prison road camps in Florida, 1,082 are Negroes, 675 are white.

By these figures there hangs many a tale. To the superficial observer they prove exactly what the average white Floridian and white Southerner desire to establish: that the Negro is naturally trifling, dishonest, low, and vicious. To the deeper student of social conditions, they tell in no mistakable terms, who pays for keeping the "nigger" in his place. If we grant that the whites, with their superior educational, recreational, housing, and economic advantages are superior to the Negro, were the Negro given similar advantages, his quota in the prison population would be cut in half, and fifty per cent of the tremendous cost of maintaining the State's penal institutions could be diverted into more constructive channels.

A large percentage of the Negroes in Florida's penal institutions are there to-day because of injustice, discrimination in the courts, and inability to secure proper legal aid. They come out hardened, brutalized, hating the society at whose hands they have suffered. They mingle in their community and spread the disease of bitterness among hundreds of others. To keep them inferior, they must be huddled in segregated ghettos without drainage, light, pavements, or modern sanitary conveniences. They must be denied justice and the right to make a decent living. They must be insulted and bullied and mobbed, discriminated against in public places and denied access to parks and recreational centers. In dollars and cents the cost of this system is tremendous to the commonwealth which sponsors it. In the effect upon those who put it into practice, the price is too high to be paid in this generation. It must be paid by the children unto the third and fourth generation.

THE-DIGEST

By Floyd J. Calvin

Copyright, 1924, by Pittsburgh Courier Pub. Co.

CHANGES

DR. DU BOIS tells us, speaking of the Crisis, that "We have assumed, with the spring—something of a new dress and a certain renewal of spirit."

Coming from 69 Fifth avenue this statement is both epoch-making and revolutionary. The Negro world is accustomed to accepting as final any decree that emanates from "where Fourteenth street crosses the avenue." Or rather the Negro world has been taught to accept as the criterion of WHAT IS, the smallest words of wisdom that are wafted out from a certain Almighty Tower. Or better still (and more truthfully speaking), for a long time an attempt has been made to make the Negro world look upon as the very essence of WHAT ISN'T, any program or policy promulgated without the sanction or o. k. of the acknowledged "Best Minds."

We say Dr. Du Bois' declaration is both revolutionary and epoch-making. It is revolutionary in that it is admitted that "The Crisis is going to be more frankly critical of the Negro group. * * * It purposes hereafter to examine from time to time judicially the extraordinary number of very human faults among us—both those common to mankind and those born of our extraordinary history and experiences." It is epoch-making in that "There is no longer need of a monthly newspaper for colored folk. Colored weeklies have arisen with an efficiency and scope in news-gathering that was not dreamed of in 1910."

Well, believe it or not, there it is. Here are the leaders of the race, telling the race that the progress of the race has made the leadership change its tactics, has made it face about and humbly seek to give the race what it demands, rather than continue to hand out such crumbs as "the leaders" think the race ought to have. We submit that this is the most important victory the race has won since Emancipation—the forcing of its leaders to consider the people whom they are supposed to serve and represent, in their calculations and plans for that race's development. We reiterate here out oft-expressed conviction, the people do not exist for the leaders, but the leaders for the people. The people, even Negro people, if you please, should not be dominated by their leaders, but guided gently, more after the taste of the people than the leaders themselves.

There is one fatal note in Dr. Du Bois' new policy. He says:

"We shall stress as never before political independence. No longer must Negroes be born into the Republican party. If they vote the Republican ticket or any other ticket it must be because the candidates of that party in any given election make the best promises for the future and show the best record in the past. Above all we shall urge all Negroes, male and female, to register and vote and to study political ethics and machinery."

With the first and last sentences we are in perfect accord; but on the middle ground we disagree. We do not disagree because we would deny Dr. Du Bois the right to do, say or teach anything he wants to do, say or teach, but we disagree because we know that particular attitude will be fatal to the larger cause which he represents. Since the campaign last fall it ought to be clear that any future inter-meddling in national or partisan politics will finally wreck the whole program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The very nature of a political fray is too bitter for an otherwise impartial work of so broad a usefulness to become entangled in.

The Crisis and the N. A. A. C. P. might become enduring institutions if the present chiefs use common sense and keep them free from "entangling (political) alliances," but otherwise, due to the increased intelligence and growing independence of those whom they profess to serve, if they don't heed these danger signals and keep to the middle of the road, the works are likely to perish with the builders—if not before.

BEN DAVIS of the Atlanta Independent must have been present in the cranium when the editor of the Chicago Defender vs. Dr. McKenzie. Where is the sense of this statement:

"It is true, as the Chicago Defender states, that the white men of the South defy and approach our women. But it is true that Negro men in the north mix with the white women of the slums and dives, and the white men of the north mix with the Negro women of the slums and dives, and in each case neither the Negro nor white men are of the best mind and thought of the north."

Aside from the first sentence being a blank untruth, the remainder of the quotation reflects even less

Can it be a coincidence when it is considered that two and three generations ago these people were jungle dwellers, savages, idol worshippers, uncivilized and untrained, as much to the unbounded credit of the negro that he sought and reached the higher goal as it is a tribute to the sagacity and kindness of the white people. These things I saw and others.

Every one, comments, the Greenville (S. C.) Daily News, especially every one who knows anything about it, knows this is true. Columbia, S. C., has no more of a race problem, "either physically or psychologically, than New York. Boston has had much more trouble with the problem recently than has Greenville, South Carolina. So far as the South is concerned, the race problem is settled."

THE "RACE PROBLEM."

A New York newspaper man, after working for a while on an Atlanta paper, said this upon leaving the Georgia city:

With amazement I looked at the racial problem. Where were those lynchings that terrible oppression of the colored race? It was not to be seen. How white man has treated black man with a paternal kindness and helpfulness [illegible] schools, colleges, [illegible] organizations of the ne-

High Cost of Keeping the Negro In Interior

By John C. Wright

Vice-President, The Daytona-Cookman Collegiate Institute, Daytona, Florida

THE-DIGEST

By Floyd J. Calvin

Copyright, 1924, by Pittsburgh Courier Pub. Co.

THE South has dentitely committed itself to the task of keeping the Negro in his place. That place, by all accepted teaching and belief, is and must be for all time, an inferior one. Every now and then we are brought face to face with the tremendous cost of keeping alive this illusion, so dear to the heart of the Bourbon South. By some figures recently published we learn that two-thirds of Florida's prison population is Negro. Of the 2,477 prisoners in the county prison camp, State prison farm, and State prison road camps in Florida, 1,082 are Negroes, 675 are white.

By these figures there hangs many a tale. To the superficial observer they prove exactly what the average white Floridian and white Southerner desire to establish: that the Negro is naturally trifling, dishonest, low, and vicious. To the deeper student of social conditions, they tell in no mistakable terms, who pays for keeping the "nigger" in his place. If we grant that the whites, with their superior educational, recreational, housing, and economic advantages are superior to the Negro, were the Negro given similar advantages, his quota in the prison population would be cut in half, and fifty per cent of the tremendous cost of maintaining the State's penal institutions could be diverted into more constructive channels.

A large percentage of the Negroes in Florida's penal institutions are there to-day because of injustice, discrimination in the courts, and inability to secure proper legal aid. They come out hardened, brutalized, hating society at whose hands they have suffered. They mingle in their community and spread the disease of bitterness among hundreds of others. To keep them inferior, they must be huddled in segregated ghettos without drainage, light, pavements, or modern sanitary conveniences. They must be denied justice and the right to make a decent living. They must be insulted and bullied and mobbed discriminated against in public places and denied access to parks and recreational centers. In dollars and cents the cost of this system is tremendous to the commonwealth which sponsors it. In the effect upon those who put it into practice, the price is too high to be paid in this generation. It must be paid by the children unto the third and fourth generation.

CHANGES

DR. DU BOIS tells us, speaking of the Crisis, that "We have assumed, with the spring—something of a new dress and a certain renewal of spirit."

Coming from 69 Fifth avenue this statement is both epoch-making and revolutionary. The Negro world is accustomed to accepting as final any decree that emanates from "where Fourteenth street crosses the avenue." Or rather the Negro world has been taught to accept as the criterion of WHAT IS, the smallest words of wisdom that are wafted out from a certain Almighty Tower. Or better still (and more truthfully speaking), for a long time an attempt has been made to make the Negro world look upon as the very essence of WHAT ISN'T, any program or policy promulgated without the sanction or o. k. of the "Best Minds."

We say Dr. Du Bois' declaration is both revolutionary and epoch-making. It is revolutionary in that it is admitted that "The Crisis is going to be more frankly critical of the Negro group. * * * It purposes hereafter to examine from time to time judicially the extraordinary number of very human faults among us—both those common to mankind and those ficiency and scope in news-gathering that experiences." It is epoch-tory the race has won since Emancipation—the forcing of its leaders to consider the people whom they ple. The people, even Negro people, if you be dominated by their leaders, but guided taste of the people than the leaders themselves.

anything he wants to do, say or teach, but we disagree because we know that particular attitude will be fatal to the larger cause which he represents. Since the campaign last fall it ought to be clear that any future inter-meddling in national or partisan politics will finally wreck the whole program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The very nature of a political fray is too bitter for an otherwise impartial work of so broad a usefulness to become entangled in.

The Crisis and the N. A. A. C. P. might become enduring institutions if the present chiefs use common sense and keep them free from "entangling (political) alliances," but otherwise, due to the increased intelligence and growing independence of those whom they profess to serve, if they don't heed these danger signals and keep to the middle of the road, the works are likely to perish with the builders—if not before.

There is one fatal note in Dr. Du Bois' new policy. He says:

"We shall stress as never before political independence. No longer must Negroes be born into the Republican party. If they vote the Republican ticket or any other ticket it must be because the candidates of that party in any given election make the best promises for the future and show the best record in the past. Above all we shall urge all Negroes, male and female, to register and vote and to study political ethics and machinery."

With the first and last sentences we are in perfect accord; but on the middle ground we disagree. We do not disagree because we would deny Dr. Du Bois the right to do, say or teach

---

BEN DAVIS of the Atlanta Independent must have been absent in the cranium when he wrote that editorial on "The Chicago Defender vs. Dr. McKenzie." Where is the sense of this statement:

"It is not true, as the Chicago Defender states, that the white men of the South defy and approach our women. But it is true that Negro men in the north mix with the white women of the slums and dives, and the white men of the north mix with the Negro women of the slums and dives, and in each case neither the Negro nor white men are of the best mind and thought of the north."

Aside from the first sentence being a blank untruth the remainder of the quotation reflects even less credit on the editor who penned the lines. Can it be possible that even Ben Davis has his hat in his hand

THE "RACE PROBLEM."

A New York newspaper man, after working for a while on an Atlanta paper, said this upon leaving the Georgia city:

With amazement I looked at the racial problem. Where were those lynchings, that terrible oppression of the colored race? It was not to be seen. The white man has treated his black brother with a paternal kindness and helpfulness in most instances. The schools, colleges, theaters, organizations of the negro are a constant marvel. When it is considered that two and three generations ago these people were jungle dwellers, savages, idol worshippers, uncivilized and untutored. It is as much to the unbounded credit of the negro that he sought and reached the higher goal as it is a tribute to the sagacity and kindness of the white people. These things I saw and others.

Every one, comments, the Greenville (S. C.) Daily News, especially every one who knows anything about it, knows this is true. Columbia, S. C., has no more of a race problem, "either physically or psychologically, than New York. Boston has had much more trouble with the problem recently than has Greenville, South Carolina. So far as the South is concerned, the race problem is settled."

Race Problem—1925

United States.

WHY THEY MOVE

DURING the year Negroes, in various parts of the country have sought to improve their living conditions by moving into more sanitary and better constructed houses and, in more sanitary and better regulated districts. It so happens that the better residential districts are those in which the whites are in the majority. Consequently when a Negro family moves into the more desirable areas of our cities, he finds himself living among white people.

There has been a lot of claptrap sputtered by both whites and Negroes concerning these miniature migrations. The whites have said that such Negroes were pushing in where they are not wanted. Many Negroes say that such Negroes are "trying to get away from their people." Both are fundamentally wrong as a little primary reasoning and observation will show.

All migrations are motivated by the desire to improve one's condition. At least the migrants feel that to go elsewhere will work a betterment of their lot. The phenomenon of individuals, groups of individuals or races moving from arid lands to lands that are fertile; from places where all the game has been killed to localities where game is plentiful; the going from obscure places to the crossroads where one could meet people, learn news of the outside world and engage in commerce, is a phenomenon akin to that of people of any race moving from the slums to the best kept sections of the city.

This changing of residence is not prompted by desire to be with any other race, but is simply the following of the urge to live better, to live in greater security, amid greater cleanliness and wholesomeness.

This is the only equitable manner of looking at the moving of Negroes into white neighborhoods. It is the only equitable way of looking at the moving of any minority group or race into the areas inhabited by the more progressive, powerful, and wealthy majority.

It is impossible to check such movements as this. The very persons who raise objection are the ones most responsible for the movement. They have set the example and have said to the horde behind that such striving is proper in any democracy. Therefore the so-called backward races take the leaders of civilization at their word and move out where the streets are clean, where the houses are modern, where there is adequate police and fire protection, where people stay at home and attend to their own business, where hooch dens and brothels are not tolerated; in a word where all things are the best that any city affords.

This movement of peoples from the worst to the best sections is tolerated so long as the newcomers are not Negroes. When the Negroes come the mob arises and along with it come riots, insult and murder. This will continue and the only defense against it is to "Fear God And Take Your Own Part"

UNITED ACTION DEMAND OF THE TIMES!

Newspaper dispatches from all sections of the country indicate that the American Negro is facing one of the most stubborn and formidable fights in the history of the race in America, and, unless the black man unites his forces and presents a solid front against the infernal and insidious attack of this hideous, hydra-headed monster, Racial Prejudice, he will be denied and robbed of every vestige of his political, civil and economic rights and warranties within the next decade or two.

The black man who can not read the signs of the times and give the proper interpretation thereto, is thrice doomed already; for it is a trite aphorism applicable to our predicament, just as true today as when originally uttered, that "he would be free, himself must strike the first blow."

The segregation menace is bobbing up with painful regularity in different sections of the country, and a determined effort seems afoot to even prescribe the metes and habitations of the black race in this reputed "land of the free and home of the brave."

To further their program of restricted residential districts, these foes to orderly government and traducers of democracy, are resorting to violence and terrorism in their maddened and frenzied attempt to intimidate and frighten the colored man who dares to invade their "lily-white" domain.

While these proponents of segregation are raising huge sums of money to vigorously prosecute their cause, and are employing bomb-throwers, vandals and anarchists in the execution of their heathenish and hellish program, most of our people are sitting supinely by and trusting solely and wholly in the "good white folks and the Lord;" or holding mass-meetings and passing empty and meaningless resolutions, deploring this and denouncing that, but all breaking for the door when the suggestion is made that a fund be raised to employ able legal counsel and fight the matter out through the courts of the land.

OUR CHIEF STOCK IN TRADE, EVEN UNTIL THIS GOOD DAY, SEEMS TO BE LOQUACITY, AND THAT AT THE "BIG GATE;" FOR VERY FEW WILL TALK OUT LOUD AT THE PROPER TIME AND BACK UP THEIR TALK WITH COIN OF THE REALM AND CONCERTED ACTION FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED.

The black man has a peculiarly odd sense of reasoning, always figuring that what is happening to some other member of his racial group will never become his lot; and that Mr. So and So, his "good white friend," has assured him that he (this individual black man) is an exceptional Negro and that no harm will ever befall him—not as long as he "stays in his place."

Whenever a colored editor or speaker begins to advise Negroes to unite and stick together for their own best interests and welfare, the advice is more or less misinterpreted and misunderstood, often intentionally; many claiming that the Negroes are being advised to "rise up against the whites," and many black men are guilty of circulating such stuff among the white people.

The Informer—in suggesting that the Negroes of America, and particularly the South, must organize their forces and meet the challenge hurled at them and theirs by the arch-enemy of Americanism and democracy, Race Prejudice,—DOES NOT MEAN TO CONVEY THE IDEA THAT NEGROES SHOULD RESORT TO VIOLENCE AND CIVIL INSURRECTION TO ATTAIN THE DESIRED ENDS, but that they should pool their resources, subordinate their personal and petty interests, envies and jealousies, and all work together, orderly and peacefully, for justice, equality and a fair and square deal.

All forms of injustices and inequalities are manifest in this country, with the black man as their main object and chief victim, among which are lynching, disfranchisement, segregation, "jim-crowism," proscription and a double standard of citizeznship.

IF THE BLACK MAN EVER BECOMES AN ENTITY IN THE LIFE OF THIS COUNTRY; IF HE IS TO BE TREATED AND

REGARDED AS OTHER RACES IN OUR HETEROGENEOUS POPULATION, AND BE ACCORDED ALL THE RIGHTS AND PREROGATIVES WARRANTED AND GUARANTEED HIM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THIS COUNTRY, HE MUST AWAKE FROM HIS RIP VAN WINKLE SNOOZE AND DO SOMETHING FOR HIMSELF!

We have operated too much along the individualistic line, often employing the tactics of the ostrich (burying our heads in the sand and not beholding the attacking elements or forces, as if such procedure removed the danger or altered the situation), and we have fooled nobody but ourselves on one hand, while on the other hand we have not gotten very far in securing and maintaining our inalienable and sacred rights and privileges.

When legislation and measures are proposed and passed that are inimical and hostile to other racial groups in this country, they will raise big sums of money to defeat both the measure and its proponent or proponents; but with us we begin to engage in our favorite pastime, singing our national anthem, and bewailing "our sad and bitter lot," but doing nothing tangible or concrete to seek redress from such evils and ills.

THE NEGRO, BOTH OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH, MUST SOONER OR LATER COME INTO A REALIZATION OF THE FACT THAT HIS INTERESTS ARE MUTUAL, AND THAT NEITHER THE LIFE NOR PROPERTY OF ANY MEMBER OF THE RACE IS SAFE OR SECURE AS LONG AS WE ARE VICTIMS OF COLORPHOBIA AND ITS VARIOUS RAMIFICATIONS.

The second emancipation of the race must be effected by the race, for while Lincoln's emancipation proclamation took us out of slavery, it failed to take slavery and its imprints out of us.

To put over this or any other program the race must develop and select its own leadership, and cease submitting meekly and docilely to a superimposed leadership, which, so often, will sell the race's birthright for a mess of porridge.

THE PATHWAY TO COMPLETE EMANCIPATION FROM THE INJUSTICES AND INEQUALITIES OF OUR DAY AND TIME IS NOT STREWN WITH SWEET-SCENTED FLOWERS, NOR IS IT FREE FROM RUTS, BAD BRIDGES AND DANGEROUS CURVES; AND ONLY THE RACE WITH RED BLOOD, STOUT HEART AND IRON NERVE CAN EVER HOPE TO NEGOTIATE THIS ROAD AND REACH ITS DESTINATION. SELAH!

TUT! TUT! PROFESSOR SCARBOROUGH

"The more I visit the congested parts of cities like Cleveland Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York, the more I am convinced tha he best place for the average black man, if he is a farmer, and if he s in any degree successful as such, is in the farming districts of the South. It is a well known fact that wherever black people gathe n large racial groups, prejudice is intensified and the solution of he color problem is indeed more difficult and is longer deferred," vrites Prof. W. S. Scarborough, formerly of the Southland and presi- lent of Wilberforce University, in "Current History Magazine." This sounds not unlike Germany's warning to the good ship Lusi- ania, and its subsequent demolition by the barbaric nation.

First, speaking of the "average black man, if he is a farmer," s like saying "the average white man is a baseball player, should stay in the baseball district." There are thousands and thousands of black farmers, but, according to the U. S. Census Bureau, which probably has fair means of studying population and occupations, he average black man, like the average white man, is not a farmer. Those of his ranks who pursue that laudable employment should decide what their modus operandi should be upon a specialized basis. But the black man as a black man, and without any designation other than his citizenship, ought to move to and fro, just as he sees fit.

There is no reason why he should turn farmer just to escape the congested rigors of New York and Chicago. Even the average Jew is not a pawnbroker, and it would not be common sense to have him change his trade and retreat to the streets of Jerusalem.

The fact is that if other Americans can thrive in Cleveland, Chicago or New York, congested or otherwise, just so should the American black man expect to thrive in those points, and the citizens of the Nation and its State and Federal governments should rush to his aid in bringing about a pleasant transition. If geography, history, and arithmetic books were more plentifully distributed among the black schools of the Southland, its race output would know more of Cleveland and Chicago and be better prepared to aid intelligent people in ridding the country of the highly-magnetized color problem, which Prof. Scarborough seeks to transform to balloon size.

Let black people go where they will, and, as a Cabinet official said last spring, let each section of the country bear its just burden in preparing the black man to meet the calls of necessity by training him and educating him in American ways and institutions. Let the shoemaker stick to his last, but do not try to place a ball and chain about the ankles of the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker. Tut, tut, Professor Scarborough, such advice becomes under northern skies.

Race Problem — 1925.
United States.

. Y. EVENING NEWS
APRIL 5, 1925

Dr. DuBois Tells How Differences Between Harlem Colored and Whites Can Be Solved

The overcrowded condition of the colored quarter of Harlem, and the resulting expansion of this section, have brought to the surface several differences of opinion between colored and white residents of Upper Manhattan.

According to Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, 606 St., Nicholas Ave., colored author and publicist and Director of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, there is only one solution of existing difficulties.

In an interview given to the Home News Dr. Du Bois made it clear that if these difficulties are to disappear the colored residents of Harlem must be treated by their white fellow-citizens as individuals and not as a mass.

Dr. Du Bois has spent many years studying conditions among his people and in working for their betterment. He is a graduate of Fisk University in Tennessee, and was given the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Harvard. He also studied at Berlin University.

From 1896 until 1910 he was Professor of History and Economics at Atlanta University, and since then has been editor of The Crisis, a colored publication. He is the author of half a dozen volumes and the editor of a series of "Studies of the Negro Problem."

At Peace Conference

Dr. Du Bois attended the Versailles Peace Conference, to unite the colored race in all parts of the world. He has visited many parts of Africa.

In discussing the local situation, he said, against "mass" treatment:

"To do otherwise than treat the Negro as an individual instead as a mass, is to destroy all hope of justice and harmony from the very beginning. To talk about undesirable Negroes 'invading' white territory, and not to draw the clear distinction which exists between the better class of colored people and the others is to perpetuate the conflict."

In discussing various problems which confront Harlem today, Dr. Du Bois dwelt on this point at considerable length.

"At the bottom of the whole matter is race. This I recognize. But how are people to overcome race prejudice unless they become aware of the fact that the great body of Negroes is no different from any other collection of human beings?

"There are desirable Negroes, and there are those who are less desirable. Some day there will be fewer of the latter than there perhaps are now. Education will spread and they will be raised to a higher cultural level. But in the meantime it is nothing short of rank stupidity to talk about 'the Negro problem' and not to differentiate between types of Negroes, those coming from different parts of the United States; those with various grades of education, and those of differing moral qualities."

The overcrowded condition of the Negro section of Harlem has been arousing considerable comment of late, not only among local residents but also throughout the country.

In a recent number of Survey-Graphic an article was published purporting to describe living conditions in the colored quarter. This article told of a system of housing and rent charges which made it necessary to have two shifts using an apartment, one at night and one during the day.

According to Dr. Du Bois, however, the statements made in the article are an exaggeration.

"I know Harlem conditions. I live there. And I know that while one can find occasional examples of the sort of thing mentioned, it is not nearly so prevalent as the article would lead one to suppose."

Du Bois, who is one of the foremost leaders of the colored race throughout the world, takes a firm stand against race segregation. Until recently the colored people of Harlem have been segregated between Lenox Ave. and Eighth Ave., and between 125th St. and 145th St. In a number of instances, apartments outside this district which were formerly inhabited by white tenants have been turned over to colored people. When this has happened the colored families have been forced to pay rents often double or three times the rents formerly paid by the white tenants. Dr. Du Bois, characterizes this as "bribery" for the privilege of moving into a white neighborhood.

"As long as the white residents will get panicky every time they think a colored family is going to move into the street, the colored people will have to resort to this type of bribery in order to get a roof over their heads."

"White residents," he went on, "complain of property losses when a colored person moves into a street, and blame the race. This is obviously unjust. If only the white property-owner would not be so frightened at what he calls a 'menace,' there would be no reason for the drop in property values."

Du Bois went on to point out that in certain sections of Brooklyn there are many streets in which reside one or two colored families.

"These families moved in long

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

ago," he said, "before anybody began talking about a colored menace. And none of the white residents on the streets were frightened. They moved in and proved themselves to be decent, respectable citizens. There was no hurried exodus of whites, and no consequent drop in property values.

"If property owners of upper Manhattan could take this same sane attitude, and not be so frightened by the prospect of a respectable colored tenant, they would not sustain the losses which they do at present."

A number of community and property-owners' associations in upper Manhattan have recently attempted to solve the Harlem over-crowding problem by pointing out to the colored people that it is to their own disadvantage to move into a white apartment.

These associations have indicated that it was only because they tried to get into a white district that they were forced to pay exorbitant rentals. One of these groups is planning an appeal to the colored landlords and property owners, of whom there are many in Harlem, to build up Harlem itself so that it does not become necessary to move out into a white section.

There are some vacant lots south of the Polo Grounds and in adjacent territory where new buildings could be constructed.

Dr. Du Bois admitted the value of this suggestion, but he went on to remark that "this is only another form of segregation propaganda. What is behind it all is that they are still worrying about that menace.

"There are a number of wealthy colored landlords in Harlem," he continued, "but the quarter is owned largely by people of limited means who could not go into apartment house building on any large scale.

"Furthermore, the banks up until the present have been very unfriendly about loans and other assistance to colored builders and investors. It is true that they are now beginning to be a bit more generous, but there is still room for improvement in this direction."

One important recent change in the attitude toward the colored residents of Harlem was commented on by Dr. Du Bois. Originally a determined fight was made to keep the colored folk out of Harlem. Today, he remarked everybody is beginning to be anxious to protect the colored man there, and to help build up Harlem so that he will stay there instead of spreading to other sections.

As an example of this, Dr. Du Bois indicated the recent improvements made in St. Nicholas Park. Dr. Du Bois himself lives directly above the Park, and in the past few years has often written to the city officials that the Park was in a very disorderly condition because of neglect.

"For a long time I received no attention," he said, "and I began to feel that if the Park was to become any more of an eyesore I would have to move away. But now some improvements have been made. Apparently it is the beginning of a movement to make Harlem more attractive to the colored man in order to keep him there."

According to Dr. Du Bois, the colored people of New York, in spite of their many difficulties, are better off than the colored in many other large cities. He compared them to their fellows in Chicago, and said that particularly in politics, the Negro is a much more important factor in New York than in the western metropolis.

"The propaganda spread broadcast by various Southern newspapers concerning conditions in the colored Northern cities," Dr. Du Bois said, is not at all true. "The colored are leaving the South in great numbers. No colored person who can possibly afford to come to New York or Chicago stays in the Southern states.

One influence to which Dr. Du Bois gives a great deal of credit for improving the colored people of Harlem is the work of the colored clergy.

"The colored churches," Dr. Du Bois said, "are, more than any other churches, social organizations. Their music is admittedly fine, their religion sincere. Many of the Harlem churches are extremely wealthy. Through the church organizations there are established contact points for all movements seeking to aid the colored citizen of New York."

"If anyone can better himself by trying, the colored man will do so.

He must cease to be worried about a non-existent Negro menace. The Negro menaces no one. If only the white man can learn to treat each Negro on his own merits instead of being frightened by malicious propaganda, and lumping the whole race together as undesirable, every difficulty will solve itself.

"One Negro cannot be judged by another any more than one white man can be judged by another. Each one should be taken on his own merits."

N. Y. PRONX HOME NEWS
APRIL 12, 1925

Magazine Article Discusses Color Line in Harlem. Lowering Rents and Many Reforms

Is there a color line in Harlem?

In an article in the current issue of the Harlem Magazine, official publication of the Harlem Board of Commerce, 290 Lenox Ave., under the heading of "The Color Line in Harlem," the question of whether a color line does really exist in the section is discussed with considerable equanimity, by Lloyd P. Hooper.

Hooper charges that certain newspapers in reviewing an article in The Survey Graphic, have given the erroneous impression that Harlem is entirely a colored community.

The inference in the article is apparently, that a color line does exist in Harlem and that the boundary is 135th St., for it reads: "It is conceded that the section north of 125th St., west of Fifth Ave. to Eighth Ave. and St. Nicholas Ave., and up to 145th St., is densely populated by colored people. That territory is, indeed, respected as a colored 'possession,' as it were. But it is only a small fraction of Greater Harlem."

The inference seems to be that while the part of Harlem referred to as "this territory" is a colored possession the remainder should be respected as a white possession. Further on the article says "In our community the colored man has always recognized that 125th St. is the southern boundary line of his estate and that to stray away from that point was, in fact, straying away from his own preference and his folk."

Greedy Landlords

The article in the Harlem Magazine apparently bears no prejudice toward the colored race, nor does it criticise the colored man for moving into sections below 125th St. Rather it expresses sympathy for him. It says: "That there have been several attempts to open up this territory (below 125th St.) to him in the recent past which were not due to the colored man's desire to be there but rather to the avariciousness of greedy landlords and realtors who have hood-winked him into paying exorbitant rents for what was represented as exclusiveness."

Hooper then charges that the removal of the colored people into lower Harlem was accompanied by a "terrific raise in rents" and an attempt to convert the dwellings into "overstuffed tenements."

Erroneous Impression

"The Survey Graphic's Harlem edition, broadcasting the erroneous impression that all Harlem belongs to the colored man, it is feared will cause renewed activity on the part of the unscrupulous ones (landlords) who 'would sell their souls for a mess of potage'," Hooper says in his article, "and it is for this reason that the West Harlem Property Owners' Association is being revived.

"Again," he adds, "the association is counting upon the support of the colored people themselves because, as before, it will see that the colored people who are victimized will get a square deal."

To sum it up it appears that the article is an appeal, both to property owners and colored people to aid "in preserving the identity of the non-colored section and in accomplishing many needed reforms such as lowering rents and eliminating health, fire, and tenement house violations."

"THE LIGHT OF THE SOUTH" is the caption of an editorial in The News Scimitar of Memphis, Tenn., of a recent issue. They had reference to an editorial that received the high award and was given the Pulitzer prize for the best editorial of the year. It was produced by The News and Courier of Charleston, S. C. This editorial was not generally read in these parts, as the Charleston paper has little or no circulation in Middle Tennessee.

Nashville Globe

We are not familiar with the contents of the brilliant editorial that won first honor, but we do know conditions in the South and we know that since we live in the South we are like The News and Courier, we are willing to admit our shortcomings and confess our wrongs. We do not get indignant at a neighbor of ours and a friend of ours who tells us of our shortcomings; as we are taught in the Bible that a true friend will tell you of your faults, others of your good, and we feel, not like The News Scimitar, that we have belittled, but rather that one of our neighbors and friends in writing about our condition here in the South, had the nerve to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. 5-22-25

An editorial in the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier recently was awarded the Pulitzer prize as the best of the year.

The editorial was entitled "The Plight of the South," and the situation was pictured as most desperate.

It was written on the day of the November election, before the result of the election could possibly be known, it said, but as a matter of fact everyone knew the result of the election as well the day before election as the day after.

It declared that "we are in a sad plight politically;" it declared that the South has no progress and no leadership, and that the situation is perilous.

A note of despair without a single ray of hope may appeal to some as the year's best editorial, but it impresses us as being unfair and unjust to the South. It may be the idea of the North that it accurately describes the situation, but it does not conform to the opinion of the South or to the facts.

But suppose the facts are as stated. Does that make so gloomy a plight? Who would go back to the old days when the South was a political power sectionally and as a bloc in the nation?

We would not sacrifice the traditions of the South or any of its glorious memories, but in our judgment we have an infinitely greater South today than we have ever had in its history.

We are short on statesmen, but we are long on business men. We have no great poets, but we have men who can write a beautiful check.

In the old days the South was indolent. There is no denying that. It was agricultural. It was non-progressive. It was all right. Its boundary was as clearly defined as the boundary of a European nation.

Today the name South is no longer descriptive. South is a point on the compass. It is a direction and not a state of mind.

The South is enjoying an unprecedented prosperity. Its industrial development has been phenomenal. It is growing apace. There has been nothing like it in history.

The South possesses, or has natural advantages today that it did not possess a century ago. Look at the development of water power and the great oil industry. Witness the diversification and the replenishment of the fertility of the soil.

The old South that our neighbor laments was a country of culture, of song and of chivalry, it was a country of slave labor, of ignorance and illiteracy. There were the chivalrous and cultured few and the ignorant and illiterate many.

We had political issues in the old days because the principal activity of the South was politics. If we have a lower order of political activity today we have a corresponding increase in business genius.

For every politician who promised to do things there is a quiet person actually doing things.

N. Y. PRONX HOME NEWS
APRIL 12, 1925

Magazine Article Discusses Color Line in Harlem. Lowering Rents and Many Reforms

Is there a color line in Harlem?

In an article in the current issue of the Harlem Magazine, official publication of the Harlem Board of Commerce, 290 Lenox Ave., under the heading of "The Color Line in Harlem," the question of whether a color line does really exist in the section is discussed with considerable equanimity, by Lloyd P. Hooper.

Hooper charges that certain newspapers in reviewing an article in The Survey Graphic, have given the erroneous impression that Harlem is entirely a colored community.

The inference in the article is apparently, that a color line does exist in Harlem and that the boundary is 125th St., for it reads: "It is conceded that the section north of 125th St., west of Fifth Ave. to Eighth Ave. and St. Nicholas Ave., and up to 145th St., is densely populated by colored people. That territory is, indeed, respected as a colored 'possession,' as it were. But it is only a small fraction of Greater Harlem."

The inference seems to be that while the part of Harlem referred to as "this territory" is a colored possession the remainder should be respected as a white possession. Further on the article says "In our community the colored man has always recognized that 125th St. is the southern boundary line of his estate and that to stray away from that point was, in fact, straying away from his own preference and his folk."

Greedy Landlords

The article in the Harlem Magazine apparently bears no prejudice toward the colored race, nor does it criticise the colored man for moving into sections below 125th St. Rather it expresses sympathy for him. It says: "That there have been several attempts to open up this territory (below 125th St.) to him in the recent past which were not due to the colored man's desire to be there but rather to the avariciousness of greedy landlords and realtors who have hood-winked him into paying exorbitant rents for what was represented as exclusiveness."

Hooper then charges that the removal of the colored people into lower Harlem was accompanied by a "terrific raise in rents" and an attempt to convert the dwellings into "overstuffed tenements."

Erroneous Impression

"The Survey Graphic's Harlem edition, broadcasting the erroneous impression that all Harlem belongs to the colored man, it is feared will cause renewed activity on the part of the unscrupulous ones (landlords) who 'would sell their souls for a mess of potage'," Hooper says in his article, "and it is for this reason that the West Harlem Property Owners' Association is being revived.

"Again," he adds, "the association is counting upon the support of the colored people themselves because, as before, it will see that the colored people who are victimized will get a square deal."

To sum it up it appears that the article is an appeal, both to property owners and colored people to aid "in preserving the identity of the non-colored section and in accomplishing many needed reforms such as lowering rents and eliminating health, fire, and tenement house violations."

"THE LIGHT OF THE SOUTH" is the caption of an editorial in The News Scimitar, Memphis, Tenn., of a recent issue. They had reference to an editorial that received the high award and was given the Pulitzer prize for the best editorial of the year. It was produced by The News and Courier of Charleston, S. C. This editorial was not generally read in these parts, as the Charleston paper has little or no circulation in Middle Tennessee.

Nashville Globe

We are not familiar with the contents of the brilliant editorial that won first honor, but we do know conditions in the South and we know that since we live in the South we are like The News and Courier, we are willing to admit our shortcomings and confess our wrongs. We do not get indignant at a neighbor of ours and a friend of ours who tells us of our shortcomings; as we are taught in the Bible that a true friend will tell you of your faults, others of your good, and we feel, not like The News Scimitar, that we have belittled, but rather that one of our neighbors and friends in writing about our condition here in the South, had the nerve to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. 5-22-25

An editorial in the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier recently was awarded the Pulitzer prize as the best of the year.

The editorial was entitled "The Plight of the South," and the situation was pictured as most desperate.

It was written on the day of the November election, before the result of the election could possibly be known, it said, but as a matter of fact everyone knew the result of the election as well the day before election as the day after.

It declared that "we are in a sad plight politically;" it declared that the South has no program and no leadership, and that the situation is perilous.

A note of despair without a single ray of hope may appeal to some as the year's best editorial, but it impresses us as being unfair and unjust to the South. It may be the idea of the North that it accurately depicts the situation, but it does not conform to the opinion of the south or to the facts.

But suppose the facts are as stated. Does that make so gloomy a night? Who would go back to the old days when the South was a political power sectionally and as a bloc in the nation?

We would not sacrifice the traditions of the South or any of its glorious records but in our judgment we have an infinitely greater South today than we have ever had in its history.

We are short on statesmen, but we are long on business men. We have no great poets, but we have men who can write a beautiful check.

In the old days the South was indolent. There is no denying that. It was agricultural. It was non-progressive. It was an entity. Its boundary was as clearly defined as the boundary of a European nation.

Today the name south is no longer descriptive. South is a point on the compass. It is a direction and not a state of mind.

The South is enjoying an unprecedented prosperity. Its industrial development has been phenomenal. It is growing apace. There has been nothing like it in history.

The South possesses unnatural advantages today that it did not possess a decade ago. Look at the development of water power and the great oil industry. Witness the diversification of the products of the fertility of the soil.

The old South that our neighbor laments was a country of culture, of leisure and of chivalry. It was a country of slave labor, of ignorance and illiteracy. There were the chivalrous and cultured few and the dependent and illiterate many.

We could not afford to go back to the old days because the principal activity of the South was politics. If we have a lower order of political ability we have a corresponding increase in business genius.

For every spellbinder who promised to do things there is a quiet person actually doing things.

Race Problem – 1925.
United States.

A SEPARATE STATE FOR BLACKS

"IT would be better if the Negroes had a prosperous state of their own; but that would take a miracle to bring about," says the Editor of the Chicago Tribune in his explosions of August 11, 1925, upon the luminous subject of Russian Sovietism, which, concludes the Editor, "If spread seriously through the American Negro population, might materialize into an attempt on the part of the Negroes to deprive the whites of their property and their government. What pathetic and terrible nonsense!"

The Windy City Editor is quite correct in resorting to the word "Nonsense;" only he did not give it wide enough play in his platitudinous editorial. There is nothing in the Good Book which indicates that Negroes crave the "corner" of white man's property or government; or, for that matter, of the white man's Heaven or Hell. The latter of which, we opine, will be available to all qualified applicants upon the basis of share and share alike.

Pacific Defender

We recall another white advocate of separate state for black people who tried to interest us in such a project. He prescribed some cactus and alfalfa land in the southwestern U. S. A., and when we told him that inasmuch as we came from the "wicked" but wealthy State of New York—an area which we might be willing to consider in case the separate state idea became a reality, he said, like the Tribune Editor, that it would take a miracle to bring it about—that is the allotment of New York, or Pennsylvania, or New Jersey, or Illinois, for that matter.

9-3-25

Separate state advocates, and each and every one of them, believe just as the Tribune Editor believes, that the government and the country belong to the white man. (Their theory is something like the legal theory of "finding." The "finding" of property takes title against everybody but the "OWNER.") The Indians and others who at one time were monarchs of all they surveyed over here, including the district where the Chicago Tribune now abides and dashes off "funny" editorials, have been thrown into the discard, and only one hundred per centers (whatever they are) can swell their breasts and sing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." (What pathetic and terrible nonsense!)

Los Angeles California

What a tragedy it would be if all "Americans" were boiled down to the nth degree, their alloy knocked off, and their substance left remaining. If this were done, or, to go a step further, if the Chicago Tribune were dependable for make-up and sales, upon one hundred per centers only, we wonder how long it (The Tribune) would last.

No, No, Mr. Editor: America is the world experiment of national Godliness where poet and peasant may dwell in peace and harmony and love. The twinship of Americans, despite race or color, is the one thing by which we know that man was made in the image of God; and unless there is a separate state hereafter, we need no separate state here; for even if we miss seeing God here, we don't want to miss seeing Him hereafter. Do you Mr. Editor?

Another Highway Outrage Alleged In Walton County

Editor Constitution: I am a life-time subscriber and reader of your paper. Like many other subscribers, I usually read almost every word in nearly every issue, but never give public expression to views or impressions. This time I am moved to try to say something, and I trust that you will be kind enough to give publicity to it.

The Constitution

I have read about the various methods employed by some of our prohibition enforcement officers, and have my own son has been the innocent, though outraged victim, in an occurrence happening near Jersey, Ga., Walton county.

8-12-25
Atlanta, Ga.

On last Tuesday night about 11 o'clock, one of my sons, who is in his twenty-second year, was returning over the Monroe-Jersey, Ga., road from an appointment with his girl friend. Reaching a point about one-half mile from the town of Jersey, he was accosted by what he at that time thought was a bunch of highwaymen. These men rushed out from the roadside with lights, and my son, fearful for his life, sped straight ahead. In a moment he had run upon an obstruction, and in less time than that he had three punctured tires, a badly sprung front axle, a jarred and bent steering gear, a broken light, a broken brake-band, part of the dust pan knocked loose, and car badly shaken up otherwise. Fortunately, my son was not hurt physically. After the wreck he got out to examine his damage, and then was revealed the manner of obstruction. This obstruction consisted of heavy two-by-eight timbers braced together and very densely spiked with 20 or 40 penny nails. There were at least three cross sections of these placed across the road.

After my boy had gotten out four men rushed up, ordered him to stand aside while they searched his car. He told these men who he was—a name known to some of them for years—and remonstrated with them. He asked their authority to blockade a public highway in any such manner, suggested their liability for damages to innocent parties, etc., insisting that he was going to see to it that they repaired his damaged car. But after a few such remarks, the marshal, with brandished pistol made him get in the wrecked car and drive off, my son telling him that he did not want to drive on flat tires, notwithstanding.

When my son reached Jersey he got in touch with the mayor and told him what had happened. The mayor was very prompt to express regret and promised that the proper restitution of repairs on the car would be made. Meantime, my son called me to tell what had happened and to ask that I send after him in my other car. When two of his brothers drove up they all went down to the place of the scene to look for a light off the other car and the men were still there. This gave opportunity for new questioning on the part of my boys, and new threats on the part of the would-be officials—the marshal and his three assistants—to drive the boys off in the second car. In response to inquiry as to authority this time, they said that they were not responsible for anything that happened there that night, and that they held written instructions from their solicitor general.

The attitude of these rough-neck officials has hurt me immeasurably. Suppose my boy had been seriously hurt or killed in the wreck. The latter damage could not have been repaired. Conditions have arrived at a pretty pass when such men as these are entrusted with the enforcement of such an important matter as the prohibition law. My boys say they smelled liquor on the breaths of these men that night. I ask the question, as a law-abiding citizen, will Georgia, this fair state of ours, the state which I love and cherish above all others, let officials whether state, county or town pull such low-down stuff on her public highways? Law properly administered is supposed to mete out justice, and I don't believe that there is any sanction any place in our laws to uphold such tactics as those mentioned above.

I am not making any criticism of the good people of Walton county nor those of the little town of Jersey. They are as good a people as the state affords. The mayor of the town treated my son with the utmost courtesy and consideration, and assurances have been given my son that he would not be subjected to such indignity again. I do not say that occurrences of this nature are so prevalent, but to have happened one time is once too many. I have written this to show what has happened.

JOSEPH B. ELLINGTON.
Oxford, Ga., August 3, 1925.

WELL, WHO CARES?

(Columbus Enquirer-Sun.)

John Holder, fired by the governor after two audits shown to be guilty of gross incompetency, borrowing state funds for personal use, wasting Georgia's money for expenses and hiring newspaper men to write favorable articles, had all his actions officially O. K.'d by the state senate. The verdict amounted to saying to Holder, "Go and sin some more." Who cares?

Atlanta, Ga.

8-27-25
Independent

John Brown, commissioner of oiliculture, backed by the president of the senate and a group of patriotic, public-spirited senators, killed the distillation bill which carried with it the reduction of the number of oil inspectors from 186 to 6 and a consequent saving of $100,000 a year to the state. The state will lose $200,000 if the system is scotched at the next session of the legislature. If the same number of oil inspectors hold jobs the state will have lost a million dollars in ten years. But the number will probably be increased and the state will lose more. Who cares?

Georgia stands at the bottom of the list of states with a per capita expenditure of $5.34 for education. The state legislature spent most of its time swapping votes on local bills, and scheming to save the scalps of Holder and Brown. So Georgia stil stands at the bottom of the list in educational expenditure and at the top in illiteracy. Who cares?

The chid welfare code was rejected by a legislature composed largely of men whose minds are still adolescent and whose interest in our future citizens is nil. What if children cannot help themselves or that they are the victims of conditions which only legal action can cure? What if the turnover in youthful criminals is increasing? Who cares?

H. J. Fullbright, tax commissioner, finding that the duties of his office could be attended to by the revenue department, resigns. Gov. Walker appoints his former campaign manager, James H. Dozier, to succeed Fullbright. Dozier's term of office is six years and he will receive about $25,000 of the taxpayers' money. Who cares?

Claude West, thief and forger got away with $140,000 of the state of Georgia's money. He was sentenced to five years in the penitentiary, and was pardoned last week after serving four years. "Mule" Hicks, an ignorant 17-year-old Negro, stole a mule worth less than $100. He was sentenced to serve 20 years at hard labor. After serving 12 years he was still in the chaingang, and as a result of his treatment attempted to escape. He was convicted of murder and sentenced to hang although not a witness saw the killing. "Mule" is a Negro. Who cares?

Crosby Williams deliberately shot down Horace Flanders, editor of the Soperton (Ga.) News. Following the charge of Judge Eschol Graham, the jury convicted the would-be assassin of a misdemeanor. Williams was sentenced to one year at the state farm. He was pardoned at the end of nine months, both the solicitor general and the judge signing the petition for clemency. W. E. Boatwright editor of the Swainsboro Forest Blade, wrote an editorial in which he attacked the judge and the jury. This was after the case was out of court and Williams was out of jail. Judge Graham cited the editor to show cause why he should not be adjudged in contempt of court. Perhaps we are wrong in our belief that there is in existence an ancient, out-of-date document, called the constitution, which says something about freedom of speech and liberty of the press. Who cares?

Yes, indeed, who cares?

Why should anybody care?

Isn't everything all for the best?

For didn't that justily noted fundamentalist, Pippa, say, long ago "God's in His heaven, all's right with the world"?

At least Robert Browning quoted her as expressing that sentiment. So she must have said it; and it must be true, all earthly evidence to the contrary notwithstanding.

HISTORY BOOK CALLED UNFAIR TO SOUTH

Suit to Be Heard Monday on Injunction Petition Against School Board.

The question of whether Gordy's history of the United States shall be taught in the Atlanta public schools will be determined Monday when a hearing is to be had before Judge John D. Humphries, in Superior Court on petition for injunction brought by John Ashley Jones, Atlanta insurance agent, who set out that he is acting under authority of the State of Georgia and that state's counsel will prosecute the case.

The injunction petition was directed against the Atlanta Board of Education to prevent the teaching of the history in the city schools on the ground that it is not fair to the South. The book, it was pointed out, already has been adopted by the board as a textbook.

The bill charged that this history "ignores the glorious achievements of the Southern people, but glorifies and magnifies the achievements of the former enemies of our state and country."

The petition was brought through Attorney General George M. Napier and Assistant Attorney General T. R. Gress.

Judge Humphries declined to grant a temporary injunction, and set the case for a hearing next Monday.

White America Would Suit Writer

Richmond, Va.—Virginians have again entered into the pastime of bemoaning the fate of their country because indications on every side point to it becoming a "melting pot" and thereby bringing about a "mongrel" race. Since the enactment of their "race integrity law" which they did out of dire abhorrence to a club in St. Paul, Minn., all of whose members are black men with white wives, their fight has been on to separate the two races in a desperate attempt to avert the awful catastrophe of allowing the two to mix. "For," says one Virginia writer, "these two races must live wholly together or wholly apart."

Most recent of the writings is one "Let My People Go," a pamphlet by Major Ernest Sevier Cox and dedicated to a Garveyite who is too much endeared to his cause to allow the mention of his name. The book, as explained by a reviewer in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, is but a clarification of "White America," Major Cox's other work. It is evident, from the present outlook, that Major Cox will spend his entire life in the endeavor of attempting to accomplish the enormous task of "race separation."

The review in the Times-Dispatch in part is as follows:

"WHITE AMERICA," "BLACK AFRICA" ONLY SOLUTION

"It should be noted that Major Cox approaches the race problem from the standpoint of biology; he expressly avoids race prejudice and the cherishing of racial animosity. He thinks that the black race is as much entitled to preserve its integrity of blood as the white, that the blending of blacks and whites injures the former as much as it does the latter. In other words, Major Cox looks on races as different, not as superior and inferior. The mingling of white and black blood destroys two strong races in order to produce a half-breed stock of a weak strain. Major Cox would prevent this by sending the Negroes back to Africa and leaving only whites in America.

"The author has no wish to do any injustice to the blacks; on the contrary, he would do them full justice. He thinks that their condition in Africa would be far better than in America. Africa should be expressly preserved as the black man's domain and should not be encroached upon by whites. Here the Negroes should have every opportunity to develop a civilization of their own instead of remaining in America and imitating white civilization."

Throughout the pamphlet the major scores with his weapons of sarcasm and ridicule the "mongrel" race which has already grown up because of the amalgamation of whites and blacks, and which he blames for the downfall of Marcus Garvey. He combats various arguments against deportation to Africa which these "mongrels" are supposed to have offered and calls down the fire of the gods upon the anti-Garveyites and all their ilk. The author claims that a few hundred "mongrels" stand in the way of millions who would follow Garvey.

COALITION AGAINST RACE AMALGAMATION

With Georgia enlisted in the fight on race amalgamation and overtures being made to other southern states, it looks as though history is repeating itself, compared to what took place before the Civil war. Perhaps it is not long before there will be another confederacy against miscegenation with headquarters at Richmond, as in the days of '61, and perhaps another war may result.

At any rate the pamphlet is being sent out to "the blacks who wish to keep the black race black and the whites who wish to keep the white race white" in the hope of an alliance against "the blacks who wish to mix with the whites and the whites who wish to mix with the blacks." It's from Virginia, arch enemy of miscegenation.

Pastor Scores Race Hatred

Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 23.—(By The Associated Negro Press)—"Only patient and presistent application of Christian principles can solve the race problem in America," it was declared Friday night by the Rev. Dr. Charles R. Erdman, Princeton, before the Afro-American Presbyterian Council.

"It is the duty of every individual to strive for a higher moral, intellectual and spiritual development for himself and his race," he asserted.

HON. JOHN POWELL, OF ANGLO-SAXON CLUBS OF AMERICA, TO SPEAK AT LIBERTY HALL OCTOBER 28

Will Speak on "The Ideals of Two Races," and Give the Viewpoint of a White Man Honest Enough to Tell the Truth

Hon. John Powell, of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America, will be the chief speaker at a monster mass meeting to be held at Liberty Hall, 138th Street, New York City, on the 28th inst. under the auspices of the New York Division.

Mr. Powell needs little introduction. A noted sociologist and one of the greatest thinkers and leaders in the country, he is also America's foremost pianist, and has recently attracted outstanding attention on the part of the Negro race by his outspoken endorsement of the aims and objects of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Mr. Powell is a real friend of the Negro. He and the organization, of which he is a leader, believe in preserving race purity. He believes that the white race should remain pure. By the same token he appreciates the effort of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to instil race love and pride into the Negro.

Mr. Powell is esteemed by followers of the Association because he is among the few who tell the Negro the truth, casting lying cant and hypocrisy to the winds, and has the courage to lend his assistance to the Back-to-Africa program at a time when certain white Americans are founding "rubber empire" in Africa.

It is safe to say that Liberty Hall will be filled to the doors on the occasion of Mr. Powell's appearance. Mr. Powell's subject will be "The Ideal of Two Races."

A splendid program has been arranged in his honor, and officers of the Executive Council of the U. N. I. A. will be present and address the gathering. A fee of 50 cents admission will be charged.

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

DENVER COLO. POST
JUNE 25, 1925

RACIAL HATRED TO PLUNGE U. S. INTO WARFARE, DIPLOMAT WARNS

Bigoted Assertion of Nordic 'Supremacy' Must Spur Latin-American Nations to Retaliate, Says Founder of Negro Welfare Group.

(By GILBERT COSULICH.)

Wars greater and more hideous than the world has ever seen will result from a persistence in the belief in race cleavage, shared by many persons in the United States.

That was the declaration Wednesday afternoon of Charles Edward Russell, author and veteran diplomat, on his arrival in Denver to take part in the conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which opened Wednesday night. Russell and W. E. Walling organized the association sixteen years ago.

"Whenever the state department following that most dangerous idea of Nordic or Anglo-Saxon domination kicks Mexico in the face, instantly the government of Argentina openly lines up for Mexico against the United States," declared Russell. "The other countries of South America follow suit in effect. And thus there results a caveman division that will bring on greater and more terrible wars than the world has ever before seen.

TOLERANCE IS ONLY SAFE PLAN.

"The only policy of safety on this earth is the policy dictated by truth, decency and professed religion, which recognizes that everywhere under the sun all people are members of one big family and should stop eternally snarling at each other's heels."

For the last six years, there has been a strange recrudescence of the conception of life on the planet entertained by the aborigines—that of every man living in a cave from which he projects his head only to throw a stone hatchet at the man in the next cave, the former diplomat continued.

"It is strange that in the twentieth century such notions of race differentiation should prevail," Russell said. "I have traveled in every country on the globe, from the arctic to the antarctic, and I have found that men are essentially alike. The physical differences are due to climate and the sun and the wind. Mental differences are due to institutions.

"But these differences are all superficial. Inside, men are alike. There is no such thing as a racial, essential, inherited difference.

"You remember those lines of Shylock's:

"'If you tickle us, do we not laugh; if you prick us, do we not bleed; if you poison us, do we not die; and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?'

HATRED ALWAYS IS SEED OF WAR.

"What is the result of this narrow attitude? More wars, for hatreds breed wars."

Russell said he was not alluding to the Negroes, since they were not belligerent.

"I am referring to that division that cleavage between the Anglo-Saxons and the Latins—between the peoples of northern Europe and of southern Europe," he explained.

"There is a belief, only too common, that the world should be governed by persons who are pineapple blonds, and that those who have more than the pineapple pigment in their skins should not only be excluded from the government but should have their necks trodden upon by the blonds.

"There is danger in all efforts to divide the world into Nordics and Sudics. There is peril in saying that the holy and blessed Nordics are the approved children of the Heavenly Father, and that the miserable Sudics were created—if they were created at all—to black the boots of the Nordics.

"Such a doctrine is not a step backward. It is a leap backward—backward into the jungle!"

Russell was a member of the special diplomatic mission sent to Russia by the United States in 1917, was commissioner to Great Britain for the United States committee on public information in 1918, and was a member of the president's industrial commission in 1919. His home is in New York city.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

NEW YORK TIMES, J. U. GILBERT

JUL 16 1925

The South's Rebirth

Judge Robert W. Winston's "Rebirth of the Southern States," in the July Current History, is more than the story of the South's marvelous material development since the Civil War and the establishment of its firm educational foundations. It is the story of the death and burial of Southern sectionalism and the birth of a South ambitious and determined to be an integral part of the Union. And, running through the narrative, is Judge Winston's uncompromising repudiation of the South's traditional conception of slavery and the Southern conviction that Northern hypocrisy and jealousy were responsible for the North's opposition to slavery; the article is more than anything else a discussion of the Negro problem, and one that is frank, tolerant, aimed only at the welfare of both races brought together here in this democracy with a curse upon white and black.

The new South, says Judge Winston, has come to understand that slavery was the moral and political wrong that Robert E. Lee declared it to be. Slavery destroyed Southern commerce, lowered the price of Southern land, divided the American church, set brother against brother, destroyed the Whig Party, gave birth to the Republican Party, caused three wars, the last of which drenched the whole country in fratricidal blood and sowed the seeds for political wrongs inflicted upon a prostrate section by Congress under the domination of Stevens, Wade and Sumner.

The Old South's leaders were so busy defending slavery as ordained of God and supported by the Federal Constitution that they had no time to build roads, schoolhouses and factories, says Judge Winston. Slavery became an obsession, the Southern people persecuted, isolated and peculiar, and all industries except agriculture and a few scattered factories languished.

Today Judge Winston sees Southern hatred of the North, born of Reconstruction, not of the war, dying. Northerners and Southerners are becoming once more brethren. The exodus of the colored people into Northern territory has made the race problem national, not sectional. The South has learned that it is for the best interests of whites and blacks that the colored people should not be massed in a few States.

But Judge Winston sees no rightful solution of the race question short of finding a country for the colored people where they will enjoy full civil and political rights, and they would be glad to call home because it would be their own in reality as well as in name. For Judge Winston makes no bones of saying that it is inevitable that in the South the Negro shall be denied complete political and civil rights, unless both races are to be destroyed to form a mongrel race. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been nullified and will be, he says, through the invoking of a higher law of race preservation.

This advice from the North Carolina jurist, about a home land for Negroes, is the counsel given to the country by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Clay, Webster, Lincoln, Grant and Lee. It is advice that has never been taken seriously by any considerable number of Americans, white or black. Whether it ever will be is an issue on the knees of the gods. Theoretically it is splendid; whether it can be practised is another question.

THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

By THADDEUS ROLAND

(This is a paper prepared for and delivered at one of the meetings of the Clionian Literary Society.—Editor.)

I shall attempt to show the part that the negro has played in the social and economical life of America during three different periods; the period just before their emancipation, the period just after their emancipation, and now.

From 1790 until 1860, though the number of negro freemen increased from 35,000 to half a million, the great majority of negroes were still slaves. The small per cent that were free were not true representatives of their race because most of them had secured their freedom by some special show of intelligence, although some few were given their freedom by some special show of intelligence, although some few were given their liberty because their owners did not believe in slavery. Since slaves were so much more numerous in this period shall describe the life of the typical slave.

With the exception of a few house servants there were practically no slaves in the North because the climatical and agricultural conditions of the South were more suited to them than those of the North. These slaves in the South lived almost entirely on large plantations where they assisted in the production of cotton and other crops on a large scale. Then the typical American slave just before their emancipation lived in the South on a large plantation so I will describe the life on this plantation.

There has been much misunderstanding about the slave question in America. In the ages before ours, no moral responsibility was felt in the treatment of slaves. Slaves were termed as property, and owners treated them with no more respect than beast. When finally a consciousness of the wrong of this system was awakened, many large and respectable slave-holders realized themselves victims of a system of social life from which they would gladly have escaped but could find no satisfactory means; so they did the next best thing. They changed the former cruel method of slavery into humane feudalism and herein lies the misunderstanding. The North naturally thought the South practiced the old system of slavery, while in reality an entirely new system was in use. I do not say this in defense of slavery but in defense of the Southern slaveholder.

Everyone has a mental picture of the plantation life in hte South; the love and respect which the slaves and the masters had for each other; the big house; "Marse," a gallant gentleman; "Mistus" a beeautiful lady; the young "Marses" and "Misuses"; and the negro mammy. But the economical life on these plantations is not sowellknown. Everything was homemade and home raised. The community plan was used and the master owned everything. The plantation was practically independent of the outside world. The work was hard ond the hours long. The negro quarters were cramped and barely comfortable and were certainly not the sort in which high moral life could be taught; but, still, these were generally better than those which the negroes have provided for themselves since freedom.

With the exception of a few radicals no one will attempt to defend slavery; yet it is also difficult to understand the philosopher who does nothing but censure it, and sees nothing that is god resulting from it. Even Booker T. Washington, who is never an apologetic for negro slavery, says:

"God made the Southern white man do business with the negro as no one else had ever done."

This period of slavery was suddenly brought to an end by the emancipation of the negroes. We will now see in what respects, if any, they are better off with their new freedom than they were in slavery.

At the close of the war both the southern white and the new negro freemen found themselves in a state of poverty. The ex-master returned from the war to find his slave property gone, his farm and other industries in a state of collapse and the whole industrial and economical system upon which he had depended for years, entirely disorganized and no way to build it back up.

The life of the negro was suddenly changed from that of a slave, looking to his master for aid and instructiveness for every step he took, to a freeman with the full franchise and all the rights which the white man enjoyed.

To the negroes, freedom meant freedom from work. So instead of going to work to earn their living and making themselves worthy of freedom, they flocked to the towns and cities and depended on the government to fed them and were deceived by such promises as "forty acres and a mule."

These groups were easily excited and led by the "carpet baggers" and leaders of their own race. These unscrupulous leaders poisoned the friendship and the confidence that the negroes had for their former owners who really understood the negroes and knew better than anyone else their needs.

Instead of encouraging the negro to get busy and establish themselves firmly, socially and economically, and gradually working themselves up, they were encouraged to take an active part in politics of which they knew nothing and cared less. Here is what Booker T. Washington says about it:

"The weak point, to my mind, in the reconstruction period, was that no strong force was brought to bear in the direction of preparing the negro to become an intelligent, reliable citizen and voter. The main effort seemed to have been in the direction of controlling his vote for the time being, regardless of future interests. I hardly believe that any race of people with similar preparation and similar surroundings would have acted more wisely than, or very different from, the way the negro acted during the period of reconstruction. I do not believe that the negro was much at fault for entering so largely into politics, and for the mistakes that were made in too many cases, as were the unscrupulous leaders who got the negroes confidence, and controlled his vote, to further their own ends, regardless, in many cases, of the permanent welfare of the negro.

Another evil which was the result of this period is well summed up by Washington: "This business contace with the Southern white man and the industrial training received on the plantation, put the negro, at the close of the war, into possession of all common and skilled labor of the South. For nearly twenty years after the war, except in one or two cases the value of the industrial training given by the negroes' former owners on the plantations and elsewhere was overlooked. Negroes men and women were educated in literature, mathematics, and the sciences with no thought of what had taken place on these plantations for two and one-half centuries. After twenty years those who were trained as mechanics, etc., during slavery, began to disappear by death; and gradually we woke to the fact that we had no one to take their places. We had scores of young men learned in Greek; but few in carpentry or mechanical or architectural drawing. We have trained many in Latin; but almost none as engineers, bridge-builders, and machinists. Numbers were taken from the farm and educated but were educated in everything else except agriculture. Hence they had no sympathy with farm life and did not return to it."

So we see that the negro was little better off during the reconstruction days than when he was in slavery because he was given his freedom so suddenly that he did not know what to do with it. He was like a child with a sum of money to spend at his pleasure; he wasted it because he was ignorant in the way of handling it and did not know how to get the most out of it.

This period did not have an abrupt end like the period of slavery, but the northern whites gradually awoke to the fact that they were not employing the correct method to best benefit the negroes. They saw that the negro race would be better off if the average ignorant negro did not have the franchise. So most of the abuses of the reconstruction days were corrected by the end of twenty years, but there is still felt a little of the enemity which originated back in the reconstruction between the whites and blacks.

Now let us see what the negro's present social and economical position is. The best way to do this is to see what his progress has been during his sixty years of freedom. The question, is "Have the American negroes progressed materially and morally since emancipation," is generally answered in the affirmative. But a considerable body of men could still be found in 1910, mainly the Southern whites, who hold that the condition of the race was worse than it was in the days of slavery. Probably all competent students would admit that the race has defferentiated since 1865; that the distance separating the highest and most learned from the poorest and most ignorant is greater. The highest are far better off than formerly, and the lowest are perhaps a little worse off than in slavery This means that the race has produced a few notable leaders such as Boker T. Washington, but it has also produced a group that has remained at the very bottom of society intellectually, socially and morally. But taking the race as a whole the negro has progressed in wealth and education, but from a moral standpoint they are worse off.

Te negroes in the United States now own about $300,000,000 worth of property which is equal to about $34.00 each. If illiteracy continues to disappear at the present rate there will be none by the middle of the century. Therefore it is apparent that the negro has progressed in wealth and education. But the number of negro prisoners to the 100,000 population has grown considerably since their emancipation. That the discipline of the negro slaves was handled by their masters and not the court possibly accounts for this.

As I have said before there have been a small number of leaders but these, almost without exception have been of mixed blood and the qualities which have made them leaders are derived certainly in part and perhaps mainly from their white ancestry.

The hatred between the white and black race is not as intense as it was some years ago. The number of lynchings are noticeably diminishing and we are approaching nearer and nearer to Washington's words when he reached the climax of one of his noted speeches as he held out his right with fingers outstretched and said, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

Race Problem—1925
United States.

MR. JULIAN HUXLEY AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AMERICA

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—I am one of those who believe that the future of civilization will in a great measure depend upon a cordial understanding and feeling between this country and America. The more we can understand America's problems, and the more we can take a hopeful view of them the better. I sent Mr. Huxley's article on the Negro Problem, published in the *Spectator*, to my friend, Dr. G. P. Phenix, Vice-Principal of Hampton College, in Virginia, an institution which has in residence about 1,000 Negroes and Indians—principally the former, and asked for his comments on it. This is what he says:—

"You ask if Julian Huxley is anywhere near the truth. He is as far from the truth as he would have been from America if he had stayed at home. *Who's Who* says that Julian Huxley is a grandson of the great Thomas, and that he taught Zoology in Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, for several years, 1912-1916, I believe. Texas is a very large State. It is larger than all Europe west of the Ural Mountains, and large as it is, it is only a part of the 'South.' A book on China, which I read some time ago, stated that China is so large that almost anything one could say about it might be true somewhere, but untrue elsewhere. So it is with the South and the Negro in our country, and while it would be futile to deny that there are some Negroes who are very primitive, who like bright colours, who like to 'dress up,' who are childlike in their intellects, and even feeble-minded, the picture he draws is not only not true, but it is so far from the truth as to be silly . . . Mr. Huxley quotes Professor Gregory, of the University of Glasgow, thereby adding more folly to his article. The professor came to this country during the past summer to attend the meeting of the British Association in Toronto. I saw him at the time and told him that his prediction that our South-eastern States would eventually attract immigrants from Southern Europe, and that these would mix with the Negroes, producing for these States a dark-skinned race, might conceivably come to pass, but that at present there was nothing on the horizon to make it seem probable. The papers in this country were inclined to take his address humorously. The *New York Times* commented editorially on the address. It said in substance that the difficulties of solving the race question in America seemed to vary inversely as the distance, and Professor Gregory lived a long way off . . .

In the meantime the Negro is acquiring land and other wealth and education. Probably no large group of people in history has ever advanced so far in sixty years out of slavery as the American Negro. The White people of the South still control education, and they are doing more and more for the Negro every year. In North Carolina, ten years ago, they were spending $250,000 on Public Schools for the Negro. Last year they spent over $4,000,000. A few weeks ago I saw a Negro High School in Savannah, Georgia, which cost $500,000. A few days after that I saw a new High School building in Baltimore which had cost $1,500,000. Our American cities do not build High Schools for the feeble-minded, nor would they do it for any group of people unless they felt it paid. Mr. Huxley says "there are no well-authenticated cases of pure blacks rising to any eminence." Dr. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee, is a pure Negro, and is probably the ablest Negro in this country. I have known him well for twenty years. He is not only able for a Negro, he would be regarded as an able man if his skin were white instead of black.

Mr. Huxley speaks of the great migration of Negroes to the North, and says that Mexicans are coming to take their places. It is true that many Negroes have moved north, but the other part of his statement is not true. In Texas, along the Mexican border, there is doubtless more or less crossing and re-crossing, but for the South as a whole there is no truth in it. I was in the far South six weeks this last fall, and I not only never saw a Mexican, but I had never heard that they were coming in to replace the Negro until I read this article.—I am, Sir, &c.,

EDWIN HEATH
(Retired Clergyman).

NEW YORK CITY JOURNAL
APRIL 8, 1925

Author Would Move Many Times Rather Than Give Up Friends

Bercovici Family Resents Criticism of Color, Creed and Occupation of Guests at Their Parties.

By JULIA McCARTHY.

Stone walls do not a prison make unless they belong to an apartment house. In these huge city structures a man's "house" is his castle less often than it is his cell. Especially if he is a great author like Konrad Bercovici, and his friends are of the type envious neighbors have in mind when they hint, "you must meet such interesting people!"

And, oh! The people you would meet at Konrad and Naomi Bercovici's flat! All kinds. All interesting. Their infinite variety, however, which neither custom nor collars could stale, which neither time nor West Indian hallboys, nor superintendents could wither, somehow caused unrest among the non-literary neighbors of the Bercovicis.

And that is why the Bercovicis—gypsies who say they don't mind migration—have bought a house. Parties, after all, are as stimulating to any open-minded author as royalties. And No. 95 Riverside Drive is not approached with fear and trembling by either the Bercovici himself or by any friends whom he may wish to bring home from his wanderings without first telephoning so that his wife may get out the extra silver the magazine ads say you should have for such emergencies.

KNOW NO FORMALITY.

"We make no dates. Our parties just crystallize," Naomi Bercovici explained to-day. And the wife of the author is certainly not the least interesting of the people you will meet in their home. She thinks that it may be the ever-varying personnel of their parties that annoyed their former landlords and neighbors but declares she would move many times before giving up their friends.

"We like human beings. Simple, fine people with vision. What really interests us is the work people do, not the details of their private lives.

"Bercovici does not like dull people. He passes too many of them in his wanderings."

Konrad Bercovici, well-known writer and Rumanian gypsy, and his wife, Naomi, originally from Russia, and who founded the first "rational school" for children in New York City, are catholic in their choice of acquaintances.

The average dull party, planned carefully for a certain date, with Mrs. Whosis to be seated at table next Mr. So-and-So, is the last thing in the world this author craves, his wife says. These casual carnivals of his own rather resemble a world court, where you are apt to find a representative of any race, color or creed.

TYPES THEY LIKE.

"Paul Robeson, the negro singer, comes to see us," Mrs. Bercovici told us. "He played the 'Emperor Jones' after Charles Gilpin and was much better. He has all the good qualities. He is frank, intelligent, broad, good. His wife, a chemist, left her work to become his manager—he is so..so..well you know how artists are sometimes. Then Walter White comes to see us, too. He wrote 'Fire and Flame,' that great negro novel. Mrs. Cristovoleanu, a Rumanian who knows her country's lovely folk songs, came to sing to us one night.

"A good singer or a good writer—and there are good ones among women lately, exceedingly good—that is what we like. I am very severe about literature," says Mrs. Bercovivi, who admits being—like the wife of "Merton of the Movies," his "best pal and severest critic."

But there is another feature of the parties. Not like the circus, which says, "come and bring the children." The children are already on hand, four of them, Hyperion, Gorky, Rada and Mirel Bercovivi.

WHAT CHILDREN DO.

"The children come to the parties. Anything, any subject, is discussed in their hearing," said Mrs Bercovivi.

"Hyperion, who is twenty-one, works for the Wachelta. He does not understand Jewish, but merely gets stories for them. Gorky, nineteen, is studying to be a farmer. He is home now on his vacation from the farm where he works at Athol, Mass. Rada, seventeen, is studying to be a singer. This is Mirel, seven, who says she loves her papa better than she loves me. That is all right. I do not object. It is quite natural. It is also better to tell the truth.

"She does not know yet what she wants to do—except love her papa. I do not believe in this 'early' thing of starting off at something. I don't like the idea of doing one's utmost in early youth. I leave it all to their own talents.

"Bercovici is a real paterfamilias. He does truly love his family and his home. He is a real gypsy, who feels he is nothing without his family all about him.

"We are proud of him. He has been compared to Anatole France."

Their wanderings about the city together were mentioned by Mrs Bercovivi.

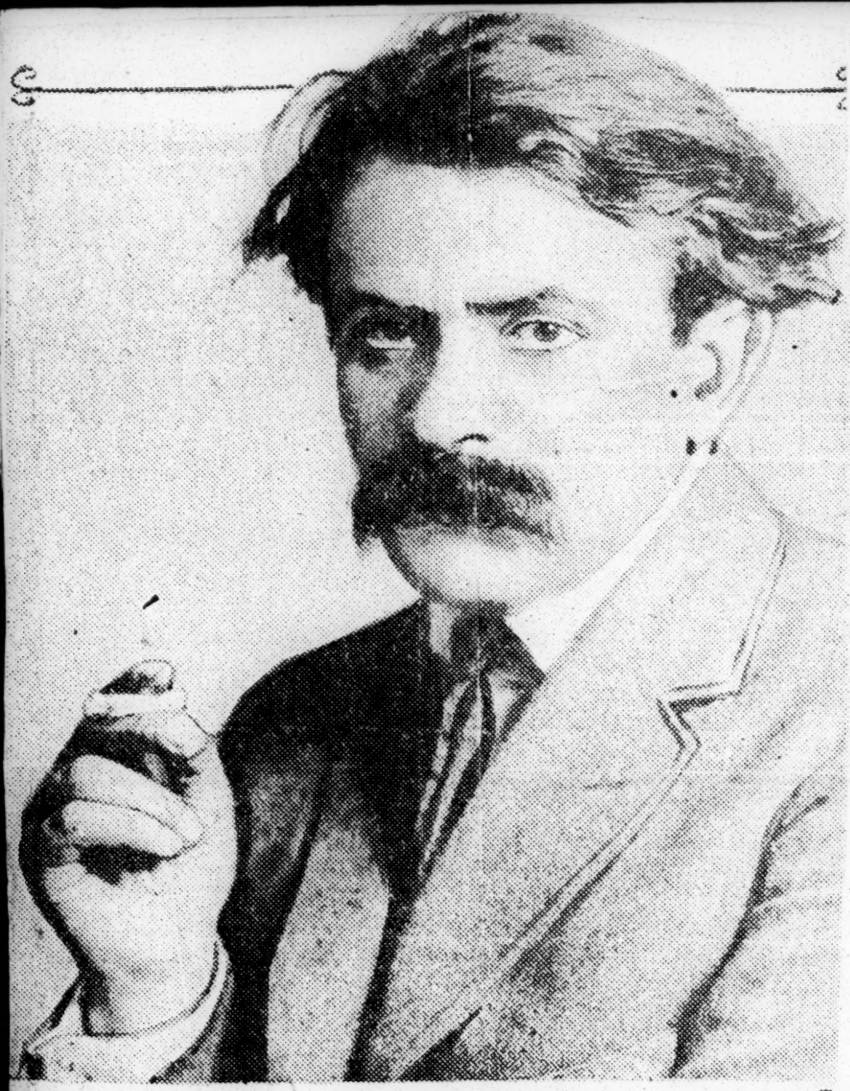
"We love to walk together across old Brooklyn Bridge, which spreads out like a bird over the river. We love the East Side. I think it is a privilege to live there. But I love the Hudson River so much, too—so there I am. I can't leave it."

NO ARTIFICIAL STIMULANTS.

Whatever the objection of former neighbors to the color, nationality and aspect of the Bercovivis friends, it cannot be charged that any stimulants other than singing and conversation are offered guests.

"We have no liquor in our house. It is not right to have it where there are children growing up," says the author's wife. Mrs. Bercovivi also points out in reply to people who find writing neighbors less objectionable than singing ones:

"Practising is not agreeable. Real singing is. But you do not have to hear a writer practising. When you condemn a singer practising, remember that it would be terrible, too, if everything a writer scribbled were to be made public."



KONRAD BERCOVICI.

COLUMBUS O. JOURNAL
APRIL 5, 1925

PROFESSOR H. A. MILLER of the department of sociology, Ohio State University, will deliver a series of five addresses on different aspects of the race problem, and the results of inter-racial meetings, beginning tomorrow and ending Friday, at Second Baptist Church. The meetings begin at 7:45 p. m.

MINNEAPOLIS MINN. JOURNAL
APRIL 15, 1925

ONE OF OUR RACIAL PROBLEMS

To the Editor of The Journal:

Whether he be white or black, Mr. McAdams' letter on the Negro problem in answer to my own is well worthy of note, although I wish to disillusion him on several points. I feel that my letter went a step farther than most white men are willing to go, thereby disclosing my own attitude, which is not at all contrary to the Negro's interest, nor the white man's.

The alternatives mentioned in my letter are not my "suggestions," as Mr. McAdams states, but are solutions which have been publicly discussed before. The whites do not fear the blacks, and the question is political—and commercial in some aspects.

If all the people in the world were all they should be according to the Bible, I feel we would have no racial problems. Since we are not, the brotherhood of man, and religion, while offering a theoretical solution, do not offer a practical one. Therefore I did not mention it in my first article. The United States constitution recognizes no religion in particular, and many religions and no little irreligion find a haven under our flag. The Negro was enslaved because of "man's inhumanity to man"—a lack of brotherhood—and it is illogical to assume that the future will be different from the past in that respect. With the education of the Negro, I feel the breech between the races will widen rather than narrow.

If both races are as pro-American as they claim, perhaps intermarriage is not as impractical as it might seem, and religion and brotherhood could do much to further it. Deportation is not impossible, and might cover a period of years and in its milder phase might easily partake of the nature of the return of the Jews to Palestine. It might be a blessing to the Negro in more ways than one. Families need not be split asunder if they are transplanted bodily to their new home. Whether it would be "disastrous" would depend on the Negro himself and on the good offices of the United States.

My letters are not written to promote discord but to discuss the question to mutual advantage. Understanding hearts can do much to settle it and a friendly exchange of views can do no harm.

Minneapolis, April 23. —Roy Samuel Belter.

NORTH AND SOUTH AND THE NEGRO

Editor The Advertiser:

I attach a clipping from the Jamestown, N. Y., Evening Journal, commenting on the editorial page about the attitude of the Buffalo Express on the relationship of whites and blacks in the South. There is a great deal of truth in this.

Within the past few years a great many negroes have moved into this city, and they are beginning to be quite a problem. Until a few years ago there was a small number of negroes here who had lived here for several generations, and they resent the arrival of those who have come in the past few years.

Jamestown is a city of 50,000 population, located in the south end of Chautauqua county, on the shores of Chautauqua Lake, and is what might be termed the heart of the old abolitionist sentiment. I have heard people condemn the South of what they called unjust treatment of negroes, and almost in the same breath bitterly denounce the arrival of Southern negroes. A negro who gets into police court in this city will seldom find a white friend who will help him, and negroes appear in court nearly every morning.

And so our friends in the North are learning that the South is not such a monster after all, in its dealings with negroes, and that the Southern white man and Southern negro are real good friends.

LUTHER D. FULLER.

Jamestown, N. Y., May 19, 1925.

(INCLOSURE)

"The Buffalo Express which has negrophobia developed to the nth degree comments on the fund which the people of Tennessee are raising for the negro who saved so many people from drowning when a steamer was wrecked in the Mississippi river, asks will Tennessee treat negroes better generally hereafter. The easiest answr to that question is the general statement that Tennessee treats negroes a good deal better than Buffalo, or, for that matter, any other northern community. Given the same problems that confront the Southern people, the Northern cities would give the Express the same cause for complaint that is contained in its frequent criticisms of the South."

NEGRO LEADERSHIP MUST NOT FAIL

From K. C. Call

The comment we have received on our editorial of last week which discussed the failure of the Negro curator of Lincoln University to defend it from the politicians is all that we could ask. On every hand we are commended. Nothing like this has ever before come under our observation. Generally when a Negro has played the traitor to his race's interest, there have been defenders who inspite of facts, have felt that as friends, they owed it to him to whitewash his actions.

We have had two new race attitudes in this matter of Lincoln University. The first was the outburst of indignation that the curators newly appointed by Gov. Baker, were paying his political debts with the positions and funds of that school. The protests, and the delegations that stormed Jefferson City exceeded anything ever in our experience. And this universal condemnation of a Negro leader who fails his race, is also beyond our experience. They both go to prove that a new Negro has arrived.

There has never been any justification for excusing a leader who is not true to our cause. No matter in what relations he appears for us, it is a double advantage for him to be true, because he helps himself and he helps us. With a Negro it is not like a white man. Benedict Arnold could enjoy the best England had to give to one who served her. But a Negro rich, poor or what not, is a Negro still. His fortune and ours here in America are bound up together. C. G. Williams, curator of Lincoln University, doing the behest of the destroyers of that school's usefulness, is still a Negro who must undergo every limitation the rest of us suffer. It is that fact which makes treachery on the part of Negro leadership so utterly vile, and so beyond understanding. Failure to serve us well, weakens us and does not help him. If the smiles of whites are so dear to his heart, or the pressing need of the price of abandoning us is so great, it is our great misfortune that he was in the place where only a strong man should have been. But strong or weak, the Negroes of Missouri condemn him, and for the first time in our observation are a unit in making known their determination to brand as unfaithful C. G. Williams, who put our interests below any other.

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF THE RACE PROBLEM

Editor's Note—The American Sociological Society which includes most of the leading sociologists in the country as well as the professors of sociology in the chief universities in the country, wrote its members some months ago asking what projects they wished to suggest for presentation at their annual meeting. Two hundred replied and out of the two hundred subjects offered ten were selected. One "Th Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem was offered by Prof. Monroe N. Work of the Research Department of Tuskegee Institute and editor of the Negro Year Book. It was among the ten selected and is produced below.

The American Sociological Society which includes most of the leading socologists in the country, wrote its members some months ago asking what projects they wished to suggest for presentation at their annual meeting. Two hundred replied and out of the 200 subjects offered ten were selected. One 'The Aspects and Tendencies of the Race' Problems' was offered by Prof. Monroe N. Work, of the research department of Tuskegee Institute and editor of the Negro Year Book. It was among the ten subjected and is reproduced below.

* * *

The third primary aspect of the problem is riots. The thirteen years, 1912-24 have been notable for the number of race riots which have occurred. Some of these riots were the most serious which have taken place in the history of the nation.

Some of the immediate causes of the riots were: the migration of Negroes; an intensified housing situation; exaggerated reports concerning crime by Negroes; the state of the public mind with reference to the Negro and his place; the disposition of Negroes not to recede from what they considered a just position; another probable cause was that almost without exception the widespread presentation of the Negro in moving pictures was either as a buffoon or as a criminal.

The fourth primary aspect of the problem is the notable growth of race consciousness which has taken place since 1912. Chief among the causes of this growth are:

1. The general rapid economic and educational progress of the group.
2. The World War conditions.
3. The contacts which Negroes throughout the world have established in recent years with each other.

Manifestations of this race consciousness are a growing race pride; increasing race solidarity and an increasing effort of the group to gain for itself those rights and privileges which are its due; the development of race literature, including hymns and poems which are national in their expression.

The fifth primary aspect of the problem is the increase in the efforts for the betterment of race relations.

There were first joint conferences of whites and Negroes on race relations where face to face they talked to and not about each other.

A second factor is the presentation of facts rather than expressions of opinion. Among the chief agencies for the general dessemination of these facts were the Negro Year Book, first published in 1912; The Southern Publicity Committee and the Hampton Institute Press Service, and the growth and development of the Negro newspapers and well as their recognition and use by the students of the race problem.

The third factor is the growth of inter-racial co-operation. Whites and Negroes worked together in the World War period. The result of their working together in the World War activities brought them into a more helpful relationship. Out of the spirit of the war co-operation, the after war inter-ractial co-operation developed. In November, 1918, the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, was formed and an organized state Inter-racial Committee of whites and Negroes in most of the southern states and local inter-racial committees in some 800 counties in the South.

The fourth important factor has been the changed attitude and the activities of the church with respect to race relations. Some two years ago, the Federal Council of Churches established a commission on race relations which is carrying on an active campaign to assist in improving race relations; an important feature of this activity is the annual observance of race relation Sunday, at which time an effort is made to have sermons on race relations preached in pulpits throughout the nation.

The fifth important feature is the increasing tendency of white women's organizations in the South to work for the betterment of Negroes and to bring about co-operation of white and Negro women.

A sixth feature is the striking growth of efforts to study the problem. There are the Phelps-Stokes Fund fellowships for the study of Negroes at the Universities of Virginia and Georgia; the Y. M. C. A. Study Courses on the Negro in white colleges of the South, the establishing in 1915 of the Association for the study of Negro life and history and the publishing of the Negro Journal of Negro History the increasing number of courses on the Negro and on race relations in universities and colleges. In 1922 the study of the Negro was made the home missions study subject for mission classes in the churches of the country. This greatly stimulated the writing of books on the study of the Negro with the result that in the three years, 1922-1924, there have been 22 race relations study books published, 5 of which are for juveniles, and 17 for adults.

The Tendencies of the Race Problem in the United States since 1912 appears to be as follows:

1. There is a tendency for the more acute and constant points of race friction to shift from rural districts to urban centres.

2. The general advance of the Negro has tended (one) to change their status, (two) to change their outlook, and (three) to bring them into contact with the white group in a greater number of ways.

3. These newer contacts with the white group tend more and more to be contacts with the progress, the intelligence of the Negro group.

4. These newer and more numerous contacts in some instances tend to create conflict situations which turn primarily not upon the ignorance, the backwardness of the Negro group, but upon its progressiveness, its intelligence. The agitation, and friction now going on as to where Negroes shall live in cities, centers about the efforts of progressive intelligent members of the group to secure better places in which to live.

5. There is a growing tendency particularly in the South to endeavor to handle the problems of race relations by whites and Negroes coming together on a basis of co-operation and working together for the best interests of both races. The general advantage of this method is that representatives of both groups may meet face to face and outline policies which are of mutual benefit to each of the groups and to the whole comunity.

Dr. Monroe N. Work Proves We Are Still Climbing

Dr. Monroe N. Work, compiler of the Negro Year Book, in a recent release, proves beyond a reasonable doubt that during the past two years the Negroes of this country have made phenomenal progress. In the article which follows he has attempted to analyze the various lines along which we have made the most outstanding accomplishments.

— Editor.

By Dr. Monroe Work

There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years Negroes have entered industry in a large way. The 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000,000, which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is over $40,000,000. The past 13 years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. That is, in the past 13 years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

Health

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past 13 years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1912 the death rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; a decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of five years in the life expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policyholders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was: For males, 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years; for females, 46.10 years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics.

Politics

The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity were:

1. The tendency to develop independence in politics.
2. There is an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket
3. Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro votes. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Demrocratic and Third Party National campaign committees.
4. There is an increase in the num

Votes

5. A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.
6. A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.
7. A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic ticket the maintenance of the so-called white primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of the secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past 13 years During this period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country In addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there are now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were 13 years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

Lynching

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A Federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past 13 years a notable decrease in the number of

ber of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were eight Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915 two Negro members of State Legislatures; in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance to note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.

Segregation

In the period, 1912-1924 the number of cities in the southern states passed segregation laws.

1. From then to 1917 a preme Court declared the segrega-
2. In 1917 the United States Su-tion:
3. Since 1917, two new devices have been evolved for legalizing segrega-

(a) By zoning ordinances.
(b) By property owners contract.
4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.
5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF RACE PROBLEM 1912-24

(By Monroe N. Work, For Associated Negro Press)

Editor's Note—The American Sociological Society which includes most of the leading sociologist in the chief universities of the country, wrote its members some months ago asking what projects they wished to suggest for presentation at their annual meeting. Two hundred replied and out of the two hundred subjects offered ten were selected. One "The Aspects and Tendencies of The Race Problem' was offered by Prof. Monroe N. Work of the research department of Tuskegee Institute and Editor of the Negro Year Book. It was among the ten selected and is reproduced below.

In the limited space at my disposal, I can give only some of the more important results of the study of "Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem" in the past thirteen years, I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem.

There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. The 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000,000, which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is $40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. The improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes completed college courses. In the period, 1912-1924 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1912 the death rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; A decrease for the period of 31.5.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of five years in the life expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was; for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years; for females, 46.10 years.

In 1910 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity:

1. The tendency to develop independence in politics.
2. There is an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket.
3. Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro votes. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Democratic and Third Party National campaign committees.
4. There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were eight Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915, two Negro members of State Legislatures; in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance to note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.
5. A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.
6. A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.
7. A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic ticket, the maintenance of the so-called white primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of these secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past thirteen years. During this period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country. In addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A Federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924, there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number of 1177 for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number 2137 for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1. The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border southern state passed segregation laws.
2. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.
3. Since 1917, two new devices have been evolved for the legalizing segregation:
   (a) By zoning ordinances.
   (b) By property owners contract.
4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.
5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

The Fourteenth Amendment

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Again the question of the Fourteenth Amendment appears. This time its validity is attacked. In a suit started in the United States District Court in New Orleans an effort is being made to oust a Negro from the office of the Controller of Customs, which position he obtained by appointment from President Coolidge. The complainants in seeking to remove the Negro from office allege that the Fourteenth Amendment is invalid, and hence "a person of African blood and descent" cannot hold office under the United States government, for he is not a citizen. Furthermore, it is claimed that the authors of the amendment had conspired to put it into effect.

After the close of the Civil War a bill was passed in Congress which was designed to restore representation in Congress to such Southern States as ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. The chances for ratification were slight in the Southern States, not because the amendment required a guaranty of citizenship and equality of rights for the freedmen and repudiated the Southern debt but chiefly because it denied to Southern participants in the war the privilege of holding office.

As was expected, every one of the seceded States except

should be followed with close attention.

EMANUEL ROSENFELD

New York, November 1

addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A Federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924, there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number of 1177 for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number 2137 for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1. The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border southern state passed segregation laws.
2. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.
3. Since 1917, two new devices have been evolved for the legalizing segregation:
   (a) By zoning ordinances.
   (b) By property owners contract.
4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.
5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

The Fourteenth Amendment

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Again the question of the Fourteenth Amendment appears. This time its validity is attacked. In a suit started in the United States District Court in New Orleans an effort is being made to oust a Negro from the office of the Controller of Customs, which position he obtained by appointment from President Coolidge. The complainants in seeking to remove the Negro from office allege that the Fourteenth Amendment is invalid, and hence "a person of African blood and descent" cannot hold office under the United States government, for he is not a citizen. Furthermore, it is claimed that the authors of the amendment had conspired to put it into effect.

After the close of the Civil War a bill was passed in Congress which was designed to restore representation in Congress to such Southern States as ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. The chances for ratification were slight in the Southern States, not because the amendment required a guaranty of citizenship and equality of rights for the freedmen and repudiated the Southern debt but chiefly because it denied to Southern participants in the war the privilege of holding office.

As was expected, every one of the seceded States except

should be followed with close attention.

EMANUEL ROSENFELD

New York, November 1

(a) By zoning ordinances.
(b) By property owners contract.
4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.
5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF RACE PROBLEM 1912-24

(By Monroe N. Work, For Associated Negro Press)

Editor's Note—The American Sociological Society which includes most of the leading sociologist in the chief universities of the country, wrote its members some months ago asking what projects they wished to suggest for presentation at their annual meeting. Two hundred replied and out of the two hundred subjects offered ten were selected. One "The Aspects and Tendencies of The Race Problem' was offered by Prof. Monroe N. Work of the research department of Tuskegee Institute and Editor of the Negro Year Book. It was among the ten selected and is reproduced below.

In the limited space at my disposal, I can give only some of the more important results of the study of "Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem" in the past thirteen years, I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem.

There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. The 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000,000, which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is $40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. The improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes completed college courses. In the period, 1912-1924 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1912 the death rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand; A decrease for the period of 31.5.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of five years in the life expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was; for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years; for females, 46.10 years.

In 1910 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity:

1. The tendency to develop independence in politics.

2. There is an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket.

3. Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro votes. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Democratic and Third Party National campaign committees.

4. There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were eight Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915, two Negro members of State Legislatures; in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance to note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.

5. A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.

6. A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.

7. A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic ticket, the maintenance of the so-called white primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of these secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past thirteen years. During this period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country. In addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A Federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924, there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number of 1177 for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number 2137 for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1. The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border southern state passed segregation laws.

2. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.

3. Since 1917, two new devices have been evolved for the legalizing segregation:

(a) By zoning ordinances.

(b) By property owners contract.

4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.

5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

The Fourteenth Amendment

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Again the question of the Fourteenth Amendment appears. This time its validity is attacked. In a suit started in the United States District Court in New Orleans an effort is being made to oust a Negro from the office of the Controller of Customs, which position he obtained by appointment from President Coolidge. The complainants in seeking to remove the Negro from office allege that the Fourteenth Amendment is invalid, and hence "a person of African blood and descent" cannot hold office under the United States government, for he is not a citizen. Furthermore, it is claimed that the authors of the amendment had conspired to put it into effect.

After the close of the Civil War a bill was passed in Congress which was designed to restore representation in Congress to such Southern States as ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. This argument The chances for ratification were slight in the Southern States, not because the amendment required a guaranty of citizenship and equality of rights for the freedmen and repudiated the Southern debt but chiefly because it denied to Southern participants in the war the privilege of holding office.

As was expected, every one of the seceded States except

addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching.

There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A Federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924, there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number of 1177 for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number 2137 for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1. The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border southern state passed segregation laws.

2. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.

3. Since 1917, two new devices have been evolved for the legalizing segregation:

(a) By zoning ordinances.

(b) By property owners contract.

4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.

5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods, have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

The Fourteenth Amendment

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Again the question of the Fourteenth Amendment appears. This time its validity is attacked. In a suit started in the United States District Court in New Orleans an effort is being made to oust a Negro from the office of the Controller of Customs, which position he obtained by appointment from President Coolidge. The complainants in seeking to remove the Negro from office allege that the Fourteenth Amendment is invalid, and hence "a person of African blood and descent" cannot hold office under the United States government, for he is not a citizen. Furthermore, it is claimed that the authors of the amendment had conspired to put it into effect.

After the close of the Civil War a bill was passed in Congress which was designed to restore representation in Congress to such Southern States as ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. This argument The chances for ratification were slight in the Southern States, not because the amendment required a guaranty of citizenship and equality of rights for the freedmen and repudiated the Southern debt but chiefly because it denied to Southern participants in the war the privilege of holding office.

As was expected, every one of the seceded States except

should be followed with close attention.
New York. November 1

Emanuel Rosenfeld

Race Problem—1925 I.
United States.

SLAVERY ABOLISHMENT ON TWO CONTINENTS

North America abolished slavery during the year of 1865, while South America freed her slaves in 1888.

Yet South America shows on discrimination at the polls—

While North America encourages disfranchisement in many states.

The crack trains of South America are engineered by black and white men—

While in North America our highest railway men are porters.

CHRISTIANS, WHAT KIND?

Out in the city of Chicago, which name has become almost synonymous with crime, some persons bent upon mischief and crime blew up a Negro Baptist church. The building was ruined and the congregation put to the expense of rebuilding a house in which to worship God, the Father of ALL MANKIND.

One is sorely tried when one seeks to explain the conduct of human beings living in a Christian country like this professes to be. It irritates one's finer senses to be confronted with arson committed by CHRISTIANS upon an innocent dwelling which could neither betray the criminals nor resist the attack. What had the dwelling to do with the imaginary offense with which the criminals evidently charged the members of the ill-fated church? All the more dastardly seems the bombing when we reflect that the criminals who set the torch might have gone to the faces of the membership in session, and there breathed out their grievances like men, if men they were. To sneak into the dark and bomb a building as an expression of hatred is just too degraded an act to be catalogued as a crime. It is lower than crime. Our language is too imperfect to lend itself to a proper description of the act.

But what of the country that offers opportunity to such a class of criminals? What is wrong with our government, national and state, that such persons can commit such a crime and remain at large and unpunished? It seems to us that criminals in these United States are masters of the system of government we employ. The only opportunity the citizen has against the criminal is to become a better criminal in self defense. When we broadcast to the world that this is a Christian nation, we ought to say what kind.

THOUGHT HE WAS STILL IN DIXIE LAND

Court Ignores Pleas of "Home Folks"

Ft. Wayne, Ind., Sept. 25.—Hiram Altman (white), a native of Georgia and formerly employed by the Nickel Plate railroad of this city as a detective, was sentenced to serve six months on the state penal farm and fined the sum of $500 for flogging and shooting Hazel Harris in the yards of the Nickel Plate company on the night of May 11.

Harris, a young man of 23 years, came to Ft. Wayne from Buffalo, N. Y., May 11, in search of work, and, with a white man, was found in a boxcar in the Nickel Plate yards. Harris claims that he was invited by a nightwatchman to spend the night there. Soon two detectives came, and Alfred Swick of Indiana took the white man, while Altman, the Georgian, took Harris into custody.

The white hobo was quickly dispatched to jail, while Altman sent Swick for a heavy board from a nearby wood pile so he could "teach the nigger something." By forcing the man to lie in a gulley face down at the point of his pistol Altman had little trouble in controlling him. Harris was flogged unmercifully, and when he tried to get up, Altman deliberately shot him in the hip.

Altman Confesses Crime

Altman, when brought up for a preliminary trial, made a full confession of the flogging case and declared that it was no more than the "nigger deserved." He was confident that the courts would not mete out punishment for his crime, justifiable in the light of Harris' race.

At the trial before Judge Sol. A. Wood, Altman said he just wanted to teach the "nigger" a lesson. Dr. W. H. Connor, president of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., testified that he visited Harris at the hospital and that he found welts from his neck to his hips. William L. Briggs, prominent attorney, assisted in the prosecution.

Georgian's Petition Refused

A petition, signed by several county officers of Worth county, Georgia, and other prominent citizens, was presented to Judge Wood in the hope of getting sentence suspended.

Attorney Briggs made remarks to the court as follows: "This petition signed by men of Georgia when a Colored man is the injured party should have no weight or affect, in that this man might have committed the same offense in Georgia and still have a good reputation for peace and quietude."

The judge took the same view and said that he would not suspend the sentence and that the act was one of brutality and one which the state of Indiana will not tolerate without punishment.

Harris, who came from Buffalo, N. Y., as a material witness, has returned to his home. The arrest was made by Sergeant Frank McCray and evidence procured by him and Patrolman Arthur Williams.

COLUMBIA, S. C., STATE
JUL 7 - 1925

"Abolitionist" Favors Segregation

It's a long, long lane that has no turning. Also and similarly it may take the lifetime of a generation and more to bring fulfilment of a prediction, but nevertheless though the waiting be long the prophets may enjoy their victories. Especially is this so when the fulfilment of the prophecies is to the confusion of those who have dealt in a combination of self-righteousness, intolerance, and sometimes bitter antagonism, toward the tribe of the prophets.

Fifty years ago the South said of the North: "Wait till their contacts with the brother in black are closer." Forty, thirty years ago, watchful waiting was again cautioned. Meantime, however, there were few Negroes in

the North, and the North persistently insisted it knew conditions here better than Southern whites, who were pictured as harsh and cruel people. What inhuman conduct to have separate railway coaches for Negroes! Attempts at segregation of any character were subject for grave concern all up across the Potomac. The Force Bill was tried and a large Northern element would have gladly adopted any measure by which the Negroes might dominate the politics of the Southern states. Yet, singular to say, they do not rise in their might and protest against white and armed aliens in Haiti taking from those Negroes the independence they themselves won.

But about twenty years ago, even back in New England, some one would arise in meeting and allow the South had her problems and might be better qualified to solve them. And as year followed year, the groups advocating interference in the South—composed mostly of political hypocrites—suffered losses of followers. Meantime the Southern Negro had introduced himself in great numbers to his Northern white brothers. New York has become the largest "Negro City" in the world. "Contacts in force" have been established, and now comes the fulfilment of the South's prophecy. Hear the change of tune:

To the Editor of The World:

It is an error to assume that segregation is an evil for the colored race. Rather should the Negroes welcome it, as it affords them an opportunity to demonstrate their power to stand alone and their capacity to function alone and unaided in all life's activities equally with the white man. The Negro only degenerates by his contact with the white race. Alone, he can fight against the evil influence of those who undermine his character and morality in order to have him under their sway. ABOLITIONIST.

New York, June 27.

Who in this region may read that and restrain laughter! "Abolitionist"—and who now is not an abolitionist—still attempts to conceal his motives under a cl[illegible] of unselfishness and benevole[illegible] the experienced eye detects the [illegible]ud. "Abolitionist" was mortal fo[illegible]d of his brother in black when said brother abided on the far distant Southern horizon. He would have there clothed him—at the South's expense—in fine linen and set him up to rule his former masters. But it is quite different when the once distant cloud sweeps up to Gotham, and the brother in black is at "Abolitionist's" elbow. He would now bar him off by himself to shuffle and scuffle for himself.

And "Abolitionist" would do that on the hypocritical and false plea that the Negro does best by himself. Where has he done it? Compare the fine and prosperous Negroes of the upper classes in Columbia with the best the Black Border can show after sixty years "by themselves!" "Abolitionist" would build a 50 foot wall around the Negro section of Harlem to hold them in, so they may escape pernicious contacts with the whites and bring their own civilization to beautiful flower and fruit; but "Abolitionist" does not raise his voice against American marines invading the paradise (?) created by segregated Negroes in their own West Indian republic, and taking over direction of the government those Negroes established and have been conducting for more than a hundred years, until said Negroes repay a loan made them by American bankers!

Yes, the South's prophecy is fulfilled.

BOSTON MASS. TRANSCRIPT
SEPTEMBER 12, 1925

IS EDUCATION SOLUTION OF RACE PROBLEM?

American Missionary Association, After Eighty Years, Believes It Is

BIENNIAL REPORT ISSUED

National Council of Congregational Churches to Consider Problem

The American Missionary Association, after eighty years of endeavor, says that education is the solution of the race problem. Its biennial report on this subject, to be made to the National Council of Congregational Churches, follows in part:

Deer Sur;
I wants git more education. Ise bin teaching skule—they aint nothin in it—pleez can you git me chance go skule.
we aint got no munny my mammy she is hard workin womin plez do
Respec.

The above letter received by one of the secretaries of the American Missionary Association tells the need of higher education among the negroes better than pages of description. Here is a young girl out in the back woods of Georgia who has been teaching in one of the schools for colored folks but she is not prepared nor are competent teachers to be found. The South has schools for the colored children but it does not allow the whites to teach these public schools and has no schools of higher education open to colored. This is the situation that confronts the South and which the American Missionary Association has been trying to meet for eighty years.

Can Negroes Be Educated?

The question can Negroes be educated is continually being brought before the American people. Of course every one knows that there are educated Negroes but are these exceptions and not the usual run of colored folks? And if they are educatable what sort of education ought they to have? Theodore Roosevelt early held to the position that where Negroes were educated their education ought to be mainly industrial. The following conversation is on record showing Mr. Roosevelt's change of mind. In conversation with Dr. Butterick, Secretary of the General Education Board, Mr. Roosevelt once said, "I believe in giving the Negro eight grades of school and then industrial education."

"Yes," replied Dr. Butterick, "that is good, but who is to teach the eight grades?"

"That's so," said Mr. Roosevelt. "If you are to have eight grades you must have twelve grades to train teachers for the eight."

"Yes," Dr. Butterick said, "but if you are to have twelve grades who will teach the twelve?"

Roosevelt, slapping his leg, exclaimed, "by George there is no end to this, is there?"

To which Dr. Butterick replied, "No, sir, no more end to it than there is to the education of the white boys and girls."

A few years ago there were no public schools for negroes. Today they are to be found in all the Southern States. The great migration of colored workmen from Southern plantations to Northern industrial centers influenced largely by the educational opportunities offered in the North, has made it plain that if the South is to retain its laborers, it must provide better schools for their children. The economic argument is exceedingly convincing.

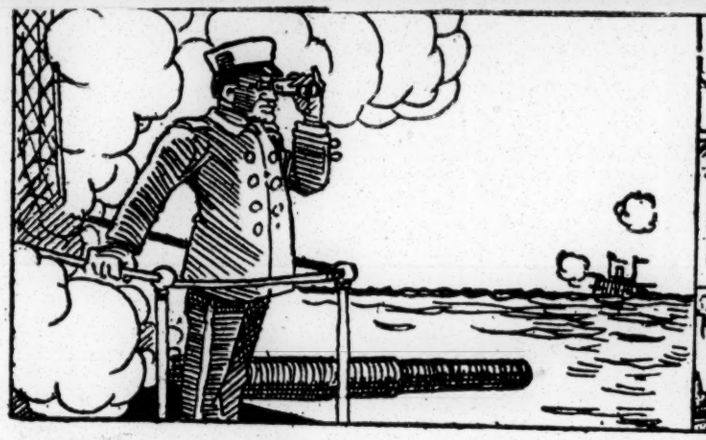
But many schools means many teachers and since, according to law, no white person may teach a negro public school, it has become necessary to find a multitude of colored teachers. In attempting to do this, school boards have been forced for lack of trained teachers to appoint those who were utterly untrained and unfit for the task. The training of leaders for the colored people is the greatest task to which the American Missionary Association is addressing itself. Dr. George L. Cady, in speaking of the work undertaken by the association to educate leaders, says: "When the refugees began to flock from the slave cabins to the shelter of the Federal Armies, the question which confronted the Government was whether or not these slaves could be armed and whether they would fight like men. This question was answered by the undoubted loyalty on every battlefield where they were tried. Then the Negroes had a song which has died out of the memories of this generation, and it was set to martial music that thrilled every emancipated man. The song ran as follows:

They look like men,
They look like men,
They look like men of war;
All armed and dressed in uniform,
They look like men of war.

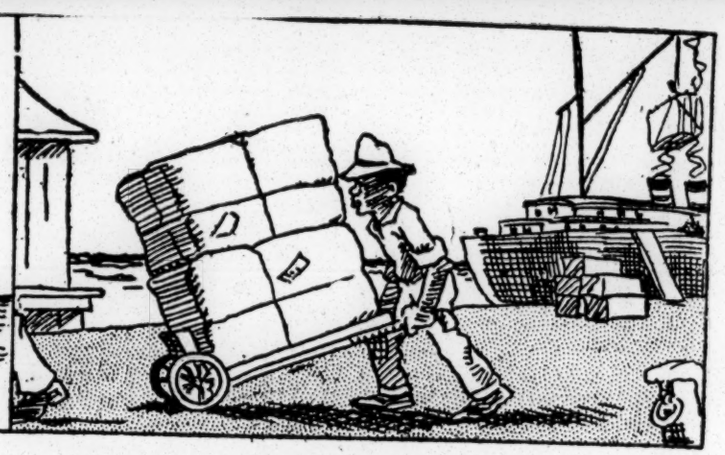
The First School for Field Men

John C. Calhoun did question if they were men. The North and South alike questioned if they were soldiers and, to this day, there are unnumbered thousands who question if they can respond to a higher education.

On Sept. 17, 1861, the Association opened the first school for freed men in America.



Black captains on South American battleships are no curiosities—



While in North America our naval activities are confined principally to stevedore jobs.

Dining cars in South America cater to everyone—

While Jim Crow cars serve as our diners in certain sections of North America.

Race Problem - 1925.

United States.

Lewis Tappan, the treasurer of the association—the man who guaranteed any balance for the purchase of "Sarah" auctioned in Freedom by Henry Ward Beecher, and immortalized in that beautiful statue beside Plymouth Church, Brooklyn—wrote General Butler, after he had coined that phrase "contraband of war" for the slave fugitives from the South, asking if the association could not help. About eighteen hundred of them had gathered at Hampton and, with the approval of General Butler, the first meeting was held in the old home of ex-President Tyler. A school was then opened on the spot where, two hundred and forty-one years before, the first slave ship disembarked its human cargo on the American continent. It was the first school of that long line of educational institutions which were to follow "lifting the veil of ignorance from the face of the Negro race," so wonderfully pictured in that statue of Booker Washington, at Tuskegee. This was the beginning and from that grew Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute.

Then followed the founding of that long list of schools which may be said to be the greatest adventure in brotherhood of America. The white soldiers in the barracks at Nashville, Tenn., marched out, and the black men and women whom they had freed marched in, and Fisk University began its splendid career. Then came Atlanta and Talladega in the very heart of the Black Belt, and Straight in romantic New Orleans with its tens of thousands of colored people of much-mingled blood. Tougaloo took its place in the history of Mississippi on an old slave plantation, and Tillotson in the heart of Texas. Scores of other little institutions dotted the whole of the South—many of them temporary, but some of them to become permanent contributions to the solution of this vexing problem.

The South is coming on educationally. The results of the work of the association and kindred organizations have convinced the South that the negro is educated, and that ignorance is not an asset anywhere, at any time, or among any people. The preservation of the South depends not on the continual submergence, but the uplifting of all its citizenship. The migration from the South to the North had driven home to the white man the fact that if he will keep his greatest asset in the South, the negro must be provided with justice in the courts and education for his children.

Civic Club Hears of Negro's Gifts

The Civic Club of New York City recently gave an evening to the discussion of the Negro's gifts to America. The meeting arose as a consequence of the "Harlem Number," published as the March issue of the Survey Graphic Magazine.

Speakers at the meeting were Prof. Alain Locke, of Howard University, who planned and worked on the "Harlem Number" of the Survey Graphic; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis; James Weldon Johnson and Walter White, secretary and assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Konrad Bercovici, author and lecturer, and Miss Elise Johnson McDougald, assistant principal of Public School 89, in Harlem.

Prof. Locke spoke of the youth movement in the Negro race and its spiritual and cultural significance. Dr. Du Bois censured the historians' conspiracy to deny the Negro credit for his share in America's upbuilding. Mr. Johnson spoke of the bad moral effect upon the nation that comes of oppressing a minority group and said the race problem involves "saving black America's body and white America's soul." Konrad Bercovici gave his impressions of Harlem life and ridiculed "Nordic" pretensions to superiority. Miss McDougald told of her work among colored mothers and children. Mr. White discussed the effects of race prejudice on white and colored people.

A packed auditorium applauded the addresses. The Civic Club is the outstanding liberal club of New York City, and a meeting of this sort held there is expected to have far-reaching effects.

"TIME" MAGAZINE LOSES WHITE SOUTHERN SUBSCRIBER

He Obected to Negroes Being Called "Mister."

"Time" Magazine, Lakeside Ave. and West Third St., Cleveland, O., has lost one white southern subscriber. This white southerner, Barlow Henderson of Aiken, S. C, wrote the editor a letter objecting to the printing of "Mr." before the name of Negroes. Henderson inquired whether "glorification" of the Negro is an accepted policy of the magazine, and says its use of "Mr." has assumed almost nauseating proportions.

To which the Editor of Time replied that the magazine would continue to employ the title "Mr." in reference to men who lacked other titles.

The episode brought a letter from Walter White, Assistant Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., saying: "Do not worry about losing Mr. Henderson's subscription. You will gain many more readers by your courage and your decency than you will lose. Certainly I will do everything in my power to induce more intelligent readers to subscribe to Time because of your reply to Mr. Henderson."

THE NEGRO AND THE NATION

White America Arraigned as Delinquent in Her Duty to the Colored Race in Failing to Note Their Progress and Lumping Them as All Alike

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In a recent conversation with a negro, a lawyer of distinction, owner and editor of one of the foremost negro newspapers of the nation, he said in substance:

"Among our group there are those who, justly, we believe, bring mental indictment against the rank and file of white Americans for the offense of regarding all negroes as one, and only one, class."

He referred to a "popular" song of some years back, entitled "All Coons Look Alike to Me," as expressing the prevailing attitude of white people generally toward the colored race as a whole.

He called attention to the fact that support from negro voters is eagerly sought by the political parties at election times; that because negroes today own property in the United States approaching two billions of dollars in value, their tax returns to nation, State and municipality are no mean consideration; that when war is declared the negro is drafted to bear arms the same as is the white man; that as a source of labor supply, both in the South and the North, he is vital, if not essential, to the nation's life and progress; and, that while in all these the negro is readily accepted, even sought as an integral part of our national program, any other real consideration of him is obtained under protest and against the odds.

He observed that there are notable exceptions to the rule, referring to a large number of distinguished white people who not only have contributed millions of dollars toward negro education and other means of inter-racial understanding and adjustment, and whose hearts are in the cause of genuine human brotherhood. And, contended this man, aside from the phases above mentioned, and excepting the comparatively few white persons who think in terms of human brotherhood relative to the negro, the white race in the United States does not take the colored people into any sort of serious consideration.

The majority of us will not admit that such attitude is willful on our part, but rather that we just have not considered it at all. We go along, choosing our associates, attending to our own affairs, making our own programs, working and playing as occasion provides, but neither individuality nor collectively do we regard the negro as a part or parcel of our related existence. So far as our vital present or our expected future are concerned, the negro as a race or as an individual does not exist.

While rightly contending that no other race in history has made the substantial progress within a half century that the negro has done in the United States since the Civil War, advanced thinkers among negroes do not claim that the race as a whole has risen to the plane of equal consideration and merit, in every sense placing it upon a parity with the white race. But they do claim that solely because of the accident of pigment it is not fair for the white people to place all negroes in the same class, thereby rendering it impossible for those who have won their spurs to wear them.

The threadbare phrase, "race problem," no longer carries force with the popular mind. The average negro is tired of it because he is regarded as the sole factor in it, and the average white man cares not about it one way or the other unless it bobs up locally and interferes with his personal affairs.

But there is a race problem today, more vital than ever before. In this time of shifting scenes and changing opinions, so tremendously affecting every phase of life, inter-racial understanding and adjustment are essential to the future safety and progress of civilization. World-wide in its scope, in the United States it applies mainly to the relationships between the white man and the colored man. And, in order to understand it and solve it, we must come out from under the shadows of sentiment and prejudice and view the situation under the searchlight of facts.

At the end of the Civil War the negro was poor and ignorant, with all the odds against him. He had been freed from the shackles of slavery. It was up to him to make his own way, the first and only possible thing immediately open to him being the chance to earn by physical toil a little food for his inside and a few rags to cover his outside.

He had cause to hate the white people who had enslaved him, but he did not hate them. Strangely, he held no grudge against his former masters, but in freedom was as loyal as in bondage he had been subservient. This attitude of the oppressed toward the oppressor is unparalelled in history. And, it has already gained a reward, for today the negro has no better friends in the world than are the majority of white people in the South.

Because of the negro's desire to please the white people, to meet every demand made of him by the white man, and to become more and more like him in every possible way, the negro's progress, as it were, has been a series of hurdle-jumps with the white man from time to time fixing the heights to be scaled.

First we said, "You are ignorant—learn something." As best he could, the negro began to enlighten himself and ever since has kept it up with amazing success.

Next we said, "You are filthy and immoral—clean up and be decent." The negro jumped that hurdle, and is conspicuously making good, despite the turpitude of many white men who have contributed to his moral delinquency.

Again, we said, "You are poor—get yourself some property." That was a high jump, but he did not fail. His economic success has been far beyond anything his progenitors ever hoped for, and much greater than the white people ever expected, increasing in tremendous ratio with each passing year.

But what of it? After all this, what next? Are we of the white race going to look upon those negroes who have so signally achieved—those who have done everything we have asked and more than we expected—as we look upon trained dogs in the circus? After those dogs have jumped through the hoops, and have performed all their feats, they are still dogs—only dogs.

Shall we still regard the thousands of negroes who have become such splendid

personages and have done such fine things as "coons" and say "they all look alike to us"? Are we, who refuse to admit that we are narrow-minded, going to remain so blinded by prejudice that we will not look at facts? Are we going to nullify the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God by refusing to recognize the brotherhood of man?

The time is here when thinking people of the white race should inform themselves as to the personnel of the colored race in America and sponsor a movement looking to the negro's new freedom in the full exercise and enjoyment of his constitutional rights as a citizen of the Republic he serves and of which he is a part.

By such movement two splendid ends would be gained, viz., those who have attained would experience the satisfaction of just recognition, and others would have additional incentive to strive more diligently; while no lazy, unworthy and indifferent negro could complain at such procedure. In fact, such would be the unwritten law of estimates and recognition among all people, regardless of color.

Until we of white America shall have informed ourselves about black America, and until we shall have properly recognized those among negroes whose achievement parallels the best of our own, we should not proclaim before the world that this nation stands upon the basic claim that "All men are created free and equal." JOHN LOUIS HILL.

New York, Oct. 6, 1925.

BRIDGEPORT CONN. STAR
SEPTEMBER 14, 1925

Continuation of Nordic Supremacy.

Speaking for the thousand million dark-skinned inhabitants of the earth, Rev. William Y. Bell, an American negro, said at Stockholm, "We are determined and set, under God, to puncture the bubble of Nordic superiority."

There can be no question that, for the first time in human history, this cry of the dark against the pretensions of the white is an organized and practical determination.

Once it was a mere protest; now it is a crusade.

The riots in China; the defiance of Japan; the nationalistic movements in India, Turkey, Egypt and the Philippines; the uprisings in the Sudan and the Riff, all are conscious parts of a united movement.

The great war did more than upset Europe. It knocked the white man off his pedestal all over the world. It aroused the black, the brown and the yellow peoples against the white foreigners, and the brunet whites against the blonds.

If Nordic supremacy is to continue, it must be by the achievements of the Nordic, not by the passive acquiescence of the remainder of humanity in the mere assertion of his claims.

As to the "superiority" of one race over another, not much is yet definitely known.

But one thing is certain. No difference of race is so great as the differences of individuals in all races.

The gap between the brightest and the dullest white man, or the brightest and dullest negro, is incomparably wider than any ascertainable difference between whites and negroes generally.

If the white race is "superior" to the black, in mental capacity, it is not because an able white man is more intelligent than an able negro, or a stupid negro more stupid than a stupid white man, but because there is a larger proportion of one or the other in the two races.

FASTENING CRIMES UPON THE NEGRO!

That the Negro has proven and is proving a mighty convenient scape-goat for the white criminals of America, has been evidenced quite a bit recently in different sections of the country.

In making this assertion The Informer does not want to be misunderstood as contending that we do not have the criminal and vicious element within our racial group (for such a contention would be both false and absurd); but this paper is tired and sick of white criminals and white daily newspapers fastening every heinous and brutal crime upon the usual "big, black, burly Negro."

Houston Informer

Since The Informer has an established policy of never going off half-cocked and indulging in glittering generalities, we will be pardoned if we mention a few of the recent crimes attached to Negroes that later proved to be false and a hoax. 9-19-25

On the front page of last week's issue of The Informer there appeared a news story from Washington, D. C., telling of a criminal outrage upon a white girl and the customary hunt by the posse for the usual "burly, black brute;" how the girl placed the alleged criminal attack at the door of the colored race and then finally broke down and confessed that her white sweetheart was the "black brute" and then made a plea that he be exonerated of the crime, if crime it really was.

Houston, Texas

When the little white girl in New Jersey was first reported as being kidnapped from her home, the newspapers of the country flashed the story on their front pages with glaring headlines and

aanging theirs on to our racial group, and such practices not only work a hardship upon some individual member of our race, but reflect discreditably upon the race collectively; for when the truth is known about the color of the perpetrator of such crimes, these same daily newspapers seldom mention the fact that the criminal was a white man and not the "usual big, black, burly Negro."

It seems to be the American habit to associate all crime with the colored race, which practice originated in the South and is now fastly enveloping the entire country, particularly those communities where colored citizens reside in any appreciable numbers.

The police and constabulary officers and white daily newspapers can do much to discourage and discountenance this practice of fastening all crimes upon the colored race, if they would only make an impartial and unbiased investigation before giving credence and circulation to these wild and haseless charges.

Right here in Texas, last week, we had another cast of a white man charging a crime to two Negroes, claiming that the colored men hi-jacked and shot him on a highway near Waco; but police officers at Arlington, a town between Dallas and Fort Worth, wired Waco officials that the said white man was shot while prowling around some chicken coops near Arlington, and thus the white pseudo-chicken thief was arrested and carried back to the place of his crime.

These three incidents transpired within the last two weeks, in different sections of the country, and they merely go to show how easy it has been and is for white men to commit crimes and then fasten their criminal deeds upon some Negro; with the result that some innocent Negro often pays a penalty for some offense he never committed and knew nothing about until he read about it in the white newspapers.

The vicious and criminal element of our race pulls off enough stunts and crimes without men and newspapers of other races

personages and have done such fine things as "coons" and say "they all look alike to us"? Are we, who refuse to admit that we are narrow-minded, going to remain so blinded by prejudice that we will not look at facts? Are we going to nullify the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God by refusing to recognize the brotherhood of man?

The time is here when thinking people of the white race should inform themselves as to the personnel of the colored race in America and sponsor a movement looking to the negro's new freedom in the full exercise and enjoyment of his constitutional rights as a citizen of the Republic he serves and of which he is a part.

By such movement two splendid ends would be gained, viz., those who have attained would experience the satisfaction of just recognition, and others would have additional incentive to strive more diligently; while no lazy, unworthy and indifferent negro could complain at such procedure. In fact, such would be the unwritten law of estimates and recognition among all people, regardless of color.

Until we of white America shall have informed ourselves about black America, and until we shall have properly recognized those among negroes whose achievement parallels the best of our own, we should not proclaim before the world that this nation stands upon the basic claim that "All men are created free and equal." JOHN LOUIS HILL.

New York, Oct. 6, 1925.

BRIDGEPORT CONN. STAR
SEPTEMBER 14, 1925

Continuation of Nordic Supremacy.

Speaking for the thousand million dark-skinned inhabitants of the earth, Rev. William Y. Bell, an American negro, said at Stockholm, "We are determined and set, under God, to puncture the bubble of Nordic superiority."

There can be no question that, for the first time in human history, this cry of the dark against the pretensions of the white is an organized and practical determination.

Once it was a mere protest; now it is a crusade.

The riots in China; the defiance of Japan; the nationalistic movements in India, Turkey, Egypt and the Philippines; the uprisings in the Sudan and the Riff, all are conscious parts of a united movement.

The great war did more than upset Europe. It knocked the white man off his pedestal all over the world. It aroused the black, the brown and the yellow peoples against the white foreigners, and the brunet whites against the blonds.

If Nordic supremacy is to continue, it must be by the achievements of the Nordic, not by the passive acquiescence of the remainder of humanity in the mere assertion of his claims.

As to the "superiority" of one race over another, not much is yet definitely known.

But one thing is certain. No difference of race is so great as the differences of individuals in all races.

The gap between the brightest and the dullest white man, or the brightest and dullest negro, is incomparably wider than any ascertainable difference between whites and negroes generally.

If the white race is "superior" to the black, in mental capacity, it is not because an able white man is more intelligent than an able negro, or a stupid negro more stupid than a stupid white man, but because there is a larger proportion of one or the other in the two races.

FASTENING CRIMES UPON THE NEGRO!

That the Negro has proven and is proving a mighty convenient scape-goat for the white criminals of America, has been evidenced quite a bit recently in different sections of the country.

In making this assertion The Informer does not want to be misunderstood as contending that we do not have the criminal and vicious element within our racial group (for such a contention would be both false and absurd); but this paper is tired and sick of white criminals and white daily newspapers fastening every heinous and brutal crime upon the usual "big, black, burly Negro."

Houston Informer

Since The Informer has an established policy of never going off half-cocked and indulging in glittering generalities, we will be pardoned if we mention a few of the recent crimes attached to Negroes that later proved to be false and a hoax. 9-19-25

On the front page of last week's issue of The Informer there appeared a news story from Washington, D. C., telling of a criminal outrage upon a white girl and the customary hunt by the posse for the usual "burly, black brute;" how the girl placed the alleged criminal attack at the door of the colored race and then finally broke down and confessed that her white sweetheart was the "black brute" and then made a plea that he be exonerated of the crime, if crime it really was.

Houston, Texas

When the little white girl in New Jersey was first reported as being kidnapped from her home, the newspapers of the country flashed the story on their front pages with glaring headlines and placed the act at the hand of the "usual Negro;" but later events disclosed the fact that even the Negro chauffeur accused of the crime had been slain by the white moron and imbecile who subsequently admitted to the police officers that he slew both the white child and colored taxi driver.

Right here in Texas, last week, we had another cast of a white man charging a crime to two Negroes, claiming that the colored men hi-jacked and shot him on a highway near Waco; but police officers at Arlington, a town between Dallas and Fort Worth wired Waco officials that the said white man was shot while prowling around some chicken coops near Arlington, and thus the white pseudo-chicken thief was arrested and carried back to the place of his crime.

These three incidents transpired within the last two weeks, in different sections of the country, and they merely go to show how easy it has been and is for white men to commit crimes and then fasten their criminal deeds upon some Negro; with the result that some innocent Negro often pays a penalty for some offense he never committed and knew nothing about until he read about it in the white newspapers.

The vicious and criminal element of our race pulls off enough stunts and crimes without men and newspapers of other races

Race Problem—1925.

United States

Negroes in New York.

Not only every leader, but also every member of the colored race in the southern states, will do well to read the plain statement of fact about conditions surrounding that race in New York as presented by Winthrop D. Lane in the Survey Graphic. The straightforward and graphic pictureing of the impositions practiced upon those of colored skin in the greatest city of the country was reproduced in Sunday's Commercial Appeal, and a study of it is recommended to all persons of African descent who make their homes south of the Mason and Dixon line.

Commercial Appeal 3-10-25

With facts and figures it is proven that the colored brother in New York is consistently gouged and imposed upon. He has to pay from 40 to 60 per cent higher rent than the white man does for exactly the same kind of an apartment. These higher rents are made possible because of the shortage of homes for the fast growing colored population of America's largest city. The white people of Harlem, where the greater part of New York's colored population is located, resent the invasion and try to curb it by the imposition of unjust rentals. But the colored man must live somewhere and he has to agree to pay the high rent even though he is unable to do so and must eventually become involved in the courts.

But rent gouging is only one of the many impositions placed upon the colored population of the great metropolis. Whether it be food clothes or any of the other necessities of life that the colored man desires to purchase, he is charged one and one-half or twice more than the white man has to pay for the same thing. Not only that, but also is the colored purchaser given inferior quality, the merchants contending that anything is good enough for the negro trade. Wherever persons of colored skin turn they find that they are consistently gouged and otherwise imposed upon by the substitution of inferior goods.

The passion of the colored man for gambling is catered to by a variety of sharpers who are making big money from numerous lottery games similar to policy. Those who play such games have not one chance in a million to win anything, but the colored folks continue to throw their money away in the hope that they will get back enough to pay their expenses. It is a hand-to-mouth existence for the colored residents of New York with expenses constantly running ahead of income.

The picture as presented in the Survey Graphic is indeed a distressing one. Its truth is guaranteed by the use of names in connection with the incidents. And no more effective warning could be issued against the rainbow chasing that has been indulged in by the colored people of the south for a number of years. The supposed bag of gold that has lured so many to the north when reached is found to contain only debts, evictions and imminent bankruptcy. The colored brother is much better off in the south than anywnere else in the country.

GOUGING NEGROES NOW HARLEM INDOOR SPORT

Robbery Is Fondest Thing Harlem Landlords Are Of.

"NEGRO HEAVEN" FAILS

Poison Hootch, Policy Games and High Rents Are Onliest Things Harlem's 200,000 Settlers Have Nothing Else But.

(Harlem is "Negro heaven" in New York and has become the largest negro settlement of the north. Negroes mistreated and gouged in other sections of the metropolis have segregated themselves in Harlem. Their illusions have been shattered, however, and the following vivid picture of negro life in Harlem, showing how the negroes are gouged for every cent they can be made to pay, is one of the strongest lessons ever drawn of the distress which confronts the negro when he leaves the land of cotton. It was written for the Survey Graphic and is reproduced in the New York World News Service by permission of that magazine.)

BY WINTHROP D. LANE.

NEW YORK, March 7.—An unkempt negro woman, with hair gray-ing, shoulders rounded and eyes rimmed with thick glasses, reads a newspaper on subway car in New York City. Her skirt is in rags, one toe shows through a shoe, an elbow pushes the lining of her sleeve into sight; perhaps she has just left her mop and pail in some down-town office building. Turning the pages hastily, she seems to be hunting for a particular place. At last she stops. Her forefinger runs up and down the columns. She is looking at the financial page. Finding an item she gazes closely at it for a moment and then throws the paper on the seat beside her. She has a dejected look. Apparently she is through with the paper.

Commercial Appeal 3-8-25

She has been looking for "the numbers." The numbers she wanted were the day's totals of bank exchanges and bank balances—announced each day by the clearing house and published by the newspapers. On these she has been gambling. Suppose the exchanges were $793,432,450 and the balances $86,453,624. She is then interested in the number 936 because that is made up of the seventh and eighth digits, reading from the right of the first and the seventh digit of the second. She and many others are playing this game—a species of policy. If she has put her money, which may be only a few pennies, on 936, that day, she wins. Each day she looks forward to discovering what this combination is. It is the bright spot for her.

Doesn't Consider Chances.

The stakes are high if she wins. She reaps 600 times what she wagers. If she wagers a nickel she wins $30; if she wagers a quarter, she wins $150; a deposit of 50 cents will bring her $300. These stakes have lure, they are a king's stakes. They will make her rich for a moment. She does not consider the chances against her. She does not consider that she has never won and that only once did she ever hear of anybody winning. The bare possibility of capturing so much money makes her heart beat faster.

All Harlem is ablaze with "the numbers." Negroes play it everywhere, in tenements, on street corners, in the back of shops. "Bankers" organize it, promote it, encourage it. They send their runners into flats and stores. You give the runner the money you are betting, write your number on a slip of paper and wait. If the number you chose is the number that wins next day, you get your money. Runners round up new business, stake off territory and canvass all the people they can reach. A person living in an apartment house may be the agent for that house. The names of these bankers are known in the neighborhood. One rides around in a $12,000 limousine and has a liveried chauffeur. Minor bankers abound; men and women getting $200 capital, start in "the numbers" business. Recently, it is said, white men have been trying to wrest the control of the game from blacks.

"Always out first with the bank clearing numbers," reads a placard advertising medium in an evening paper in Harlem. Inspiration for lucky numbers it got from every source. People get their numbers from dream books; 15 or 20 cents will buy a dream book, and a dream about any topic listed in it has an appropriate number. Or two people exchange street addresses. "Ah'm going to play it," says one as he takes down the address of the other. They get their numbers from the number of hymns given out in church, from subway officers, from telephone numbers, from dates, from baseball scores, from the prices they pay for purchased articles, from the license tags of passing automobiles.

By combining or rearranging these, or using them unchanged, they tempt fortune.

One trouble is, of course, that they don't always get what they win. Many a banker, finding that large sums have been won from him, avoids payment: his victim has no recourse, since the whole transaction is outside the law. The streets of Harlem are being walked by people looking for those who owe them money won "at the numbers." Fred R. Moore, owner of the New York Age, published a story about one alert banker who skipped to Cuba with $100,000 taken from the negroes of Harlem; it is common to win $12, $18 and $30 and not get it. This is only an aggravation of the extortion. There are ways in which the negro is more deliberately exploited in Harlem. He is subject to being fleeced in rent. This is not a rhetorical flourish. It is a fact. I am not here referring merely to high rents to "what the traffic will bear." I am referring to extortion.

Commercial Appeal 3-9-25

The negro is gouged. Because he is a negro, because he can be taken advantage of, because his racial position makes it possible to gouge him, he is gouged.

Hear John R. Davis, judge in the municipal court in Harlem, who sees colored tenants pass in streams before him, seeking relief: "It is common for colored tenants in Harlem to pay twice as much as white tenants for the same apartments."

Hear Lillian Grant, acting chairman of the mayor's committee on rent profiteering, also White, who looks at the whole city and sees Harlem in the perspective of comparison: "Negroes pay exhorbitant rents. Their situation is terrible."

Let us come to particulars. Sophie Ellerbee is colored tenant worth knowing. She came into court the other day and told the judge that the white family preceding in the apartment into which she had just moved had paid $50 a month; the corporation owning it was asking her to pay $75 now. This increase she thought excessive. Her attorney requested that the owner be brought into court and required to divulge its income, expenses and investment (as it could be compelled to do under the law) and thus to show whether the rent was justified. The jury awarded the Ellerbee woman a $20 reduction from the sum asked. When the verdict was announced the attorney for the owner, who was a negro lawyer, moved to have it set aside.

Negro District Crowded.

"The rent is justified," he said. "The colored district is crowded. These negroes cannot go anywhere else. If they attempt to move into houses formerly occupied by whites they should pay what the landlords ask. It is the law of supply and demand."

The judge, Jacob Panken, flamed at him. Judge Panken has seen many negro tenants come into court with tales similar to that of Sophie Ellerbee, and he said:

"I agree that the verdict should be set aside, but for the purpose of securing a still greater reduction in rent. Your own client has admitted that it is making $10,000 a year on $50,000 investment. That is excessive. This rent is too large. And you, as a negro attorney, ought to be ashamed of yourself. You as a lawyer are helping colored and white landlords to prey on your own."

The National Urban League is an organization of white and negro social workers and others. It is interested in the welfare of the city negroes. The New York branch of the league studied rents paid by both white and colored people in blocks accommodating both in the spring of 1924. "We found that negroes paid from 40 to 60 per cent higher rents than white people did for the same class of apartments," said Mr. Hubert, secretary of the Harlem office.

Let us look for a moment at the growth of this situation. Fifteen years ago Harlem as it is today did not exist; the negro population then was much smaller than it is now. It has grown continuously, swollen by additions from without. As the colored area grew it has pressed against contiguous white territories. Block after block gave away. Stubbornly each block yielded. White people did not want to see their neighborhoods turn black.

This situation is the paradise of the ruthless landlord or rent-charger. If you own an apartment house in Harlem, if you do not live in it, and if you want the largest profits you can get, you will open it to the tenants who are most in need of it. They can go elsewhere—to other parts of the city, to the suburbs, or they can just keep ahead of the negro invasion and move a few blocks away. The negro cannot. He will not be given an apartment elsewhere, he cannot be easily accommodated. He can live only in a limited area and that area grows only bit by bit. He will pay what you ask—or, rather, he will agree to pay what you ask, and then he will pay it if he can.

The profiteering is not all done by white landlords. There are men of both races who have a reputation for fairness. There are negro operators who have performed a public service to their race in addressing themselves to the extreme problem of shelter, but there are negro owners of houses who charge just as high rents as do white owners. Investigation shows that taking advantage of the negro or making money out of them, is not a white monopoly.

Go Without Other Things.

How, it will be asked, do negroes find money to pay these rents? They do it by going without things. They cut down on fun, food and clothing, and stretch what money they have to cover the rent. But they have other tricks. One is the rent party. This is a popular form of diversion in Harlem. It goes by the name of "social parlor." A negro invites friends in for the evening, to dance and have a good time, and charges them 25 cents a couple; that is one way of getting help to meet the monthly rent bill.

Another is to take in lodgers. Lodgers are legion in Harlem. The state housing commission told of one apartment properly accomodating about ten persons that was occupied by 44. Harlem has gone to the extreme of the double shift. One room is not infrequently let out to two people, one of whom occupies it at night and the other during the day.

Now the negro is taken advantage of in other ways. His purse is not his own in many stores. He is overcharged, shortweighted, given inferior goods. This, again, is a manifestation of the northern white man's opinion that the negro can be gulled—and of the undoubted fact that many negroes can be.

The negro buys his food, clothing and other necessaries from another race, though negro clerks are often employed to draw negro trade.

"I've seen a negro woman order a seven pound ham and walk out with one weighing four pounds," said a police captain in the neighborhood. And an educated negro woman adds: "There are not a few negroes who cannot read scales. Others count change slowly. They are hustled out, cheated. I have seen and stopped it a dozen times."

The negro in Harlem, especially the one who has not lived long in the city "falls too readily for practices of some shops selling things on the installment payment and credit," says Judge Davies, already mentioned. "A negro woman goes into a shop in Au-

Harlem Is Hooch Ridden.

Let us now turn to the gentle subject of hooch. Harlem is hooch ridden. The negro has not left Harlem, but these are sold in Harlem. There are so-called 'schlag' shops that make a business of this. The deceit is dignified. Those shops are drug stores. They have small stocks of the booze and the bad stuff. The negro sea

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

Commercial Appeal 3-8-25

GOUGING NEGROES NOW HARLEM INDOOR SPORT

Robbery Is Fondest Thing Harlem Landlords Are Of.

"NEGRO HEAVEN" FAILS

Poison Hootch, Policy Games and High Rents Are Onliest Things Harlem's 200,000 Settlers Have Nothing Else But.

(Harlem is "Negro heaven" in New York and has become the largest negro settlement of the north. Negroes mistreated and gouged in other sections of the metropolis have segregated themselves in Harlem. Their illusions have been shattered, however, and the following vivid picture of negro life in Harlem, showing how the negroes are gouged for every cent they can be made to pay, is one of the strongest lessons ever drawn of the distress which confronts the negro when he leaves the land of cotton. It was written for the Survey Graphic and is reproduced in the New York World News Service by permission of that magazine.)

BY WINTHROP D. LANE.

NEW YORK, March 7.—An unkempt negro woman, with hair gray-rimmed with thick glasses, reads a newspaper on subway car in New York City. Her skirt is in rags, one toe shows through a shoe, an elbow pushes the lining of her sleeve into sight; perhaps she has just left her mop and pail in some down-town office building. Turning the pages hastily, she seems to be hunting for a particular place. At last she stops. Her forefinger runs up and down the columns. She is looking at the financial page. Finding an item she gazes closely at it for a moment and then throws the paper on the seat beside her. She has a dejected look. Apparently she is through with the paper.

She has been looking for "the numbers." The numbers she wanted were the day's totals of bank exchanges and bank balances—announced each day by the clearing house and published by the newspapers. On these she has been gambling. Suppose the exchanges were $793,432,450 and the balances $86,453,624. She is then interested in the number 936 because that is made up of the seventh and eighth digits, reading from the right of the first and the seventh digit of the second. She and many others are playing this game—a species of policy. If she has put her money, which may be only a few pennies, on 936, that day, she wins. Each day she looks forward to discovering what this combination is. It is the bright spot for her.

Doesn't Consider Chances.

The stakes are high if she wins. She reaps 600 times what she wagers. If she wagers a nickel she wins $30; if she wagers a quarter, she wins $150; a deposit of 50 cents will bring her $300. These stakes have lure, they are a king's stakes. They will make her rich for a moment. She does not consider the chances against her. She does not consider that she has never won and that only once did she ever hear of anybody winning. The barc possibility of capturing so much money makes her heart beat faster.

All Harlem is ablaze with "the numbers." Negroes play it everywhere, in tenements, on street corners, in the back of shops. "Bankers" organize it, promote it, encourage it. They send their runners into flats and stores. You give the runner the money you are betting, write your number on a slip of paper and wait. If the number you chose is the number that wins next day, you get your money. Runners round up new business, stake off territory and canvass all the people they can reach. A person living in an apartment house may be the agent for that house. The names of these bankers are known in the neighborhood. One rides around in a $12,000 limousine and has a liveried chauffeur. Minor bankers abound; men and women getting $200 capital, start in "the numbers" business. Recently, it is said, white men have been trying to wrest the control of the game from blacks.

"Always out first with the bank clearing numbers," reads a placard advertising medium in an evening paper in Harlem. Inspiration for lucky numbers it got from every source. People get their numbers from dream books; 15 or 20 cents will buy a dream book, and a dream about any topic listed in it has an appropriate number. Or two people exchange street addresses. "Ah'm going to play it," says one as he takes down the address of the other. They get their numbers from the number of hymns given out in church, from subway officers, from telephone numbers, from dates, from baseball scores, from the prices they pay for purchased articles, from the license tags of passing automobiles.

By combining or rearranging these, or using them unchanged, they tempt fortune.

One trouble is, of course, that they don't always get what they win. Many a banker, finding that large sums have been won from him, avoids payment: his victim has no recourse, since the whole transaction is outside the law. The streets of Harlem are being walked by people looking for those who owe them money won "at the numbers." Fred R. Moore, owner of the New York Age, published a story about one alert banker who skipped to Cuba with $100,000 taken from the negroes of Harlem; it is common to win $12, $18 and $30 and not get it. This is only an aggravation of the extortion. There are ways in which the negro is more deliberately exploited in Harlem. He is subject to being fleeced in rent. This is not rhetorical flourish. It is cold fact. I am not here referring merely to high rents to "what the traffic will bear." I am referring to extortion.

The negro is gouged. Because he is a negro, because he can be taken advantage of, because his racial position makes it possible to gouge him, he is gouged.

Hear John R. Davis, judge in the municipal court in Harlem, who sees colored tenants pass in streams before him, seeking relief: "It is common for colored tenants in Harlem to pay twice as much as white tenants for the same apartments."

Hear Lillian Grant, acting chairman of the mayor's committee on rent profiteering, also White, who looks at the whole city and sees Harlem in the perspective of comparison: "Negroes pay exhorbitant rents. Their situation is terrible."

Let us come to particulars. Sophie Ellerbee is colored tenant knowing. She came into court the other day and told the judge that the white family preceding in the apartment into which she had just moved had paid $50 a month; the corporation owning it was asking her to pay $75 now. This increase she thought excessive. Her attorney requested that the owner be brought into court and required to divulge its income, expenses and investment (as it could be compelled to do under the law) and thus to show whether the rent was justified. The jury awarded the Ellerbee woman a $20 reduction from the sum asked. When the verdict was announced the attorney for the owner, who was a negro lawyer, moved to have it set aside.

Negro District Crowded.

"The rent is justified," he said. "The colored district is crowded. These negroes cannot go anywhere else. If they attempt to move into houses formerly occupied by whites they should pay what the landlords ask. It is the law of supply and demand."

Judge Panken has seen many negro tenants come into court with tales similar to that of Sophie Ellerbee, and he said:

"I agree that the verdict should be set aside, but for the purpose of securing a still greater reduction in rent. Your own client has admitted that it is making $10,000 a year on $50,000 investment. That is excessive. This rent is too large. And you, as a negro attorney, ought to be ashamed of yourself. You as a lawyer are helping colored and white landlords to prey on your own."

The National Urban League is an organization of white and negro social workers and others. It is interested in the welfare of the city negroes. The New York branch of the league studied rents paid by white and colored people in blocks accommodating both in the spring of 1924. "We found that negroes paid from 40 to 60 per cent higher rents than white people did for the same class of apartments," said Mr. Hubert, secretary of the Harlem office.

Let us look for a moment at the growth of this situation. Fifteen years ago Harlem as it is today did not exist; the negro population then was much smaller than it is now. It has grown continuously, swollen by additions from without. As the colored area grew it has pressed against contiguous white territories. Block after block gave away. Stubbornly each block yielded. White people did not want to see their neighborhoods turn black.

This situation is the paradise of the ruthless landlord or rent-charger. If you own an apartment house in Harlem, if you do not live in it, and if you want the largest profits you can get, you will open it to the tenants who are most in need of it. They can go elsewhere—to other parts of the city, to the suburbs, or they can just keep ahead of the negro invasion and move a few blocks away. The negro cannot. He will not be given an apartment elsewhere, he cannot be easily accommodated. He can live only in a limited area and that area grows only bit by bit. He will pay what you ask—or, rather, he will agree to pay what you ask, and then he will pay it if he can.

The profiteering is not all done by white landlords. There are men of both races who have a reputation for fairness. There are negro operators who have performed a public service to their race in addressing themselves to the extreme problem of shelter, but there are negro owners of houses who charge just as high rents as do white owners. Investigation shows that taking advantage of the negro or making money out of them, is not a white monopoly.

Go Without Other Things.

How, it will be asked, do negroes find money to pay these rents? They do it by going without things. They cut down on fun, food and clothing, and stretch what money they have to cover the rent. But they have other tricks. One is the rent party. This is a popular form of diversion in Harlem. It goes by the name of "sociale parlor." A negro invites friends in for the evening, to dance and have a good time, and charges them 25 cents a couple; that is one way of getting help to meet the monthly rent bill. Another is to take in lodgers. Lodgers are legion in Harlem. The state housing commission told of one apartment properly accomodating about ten persons that was occupied by 44. Harlem has gone to the extreme of the double shift. One room is not infrequently let out to two people, one of whom occupies it at night and the other during the day.

Now the negro is taken advantage of in other ways. His purse is not his own in many stores. He is overcharged, shortweighted, given inferior goods. This, again, is a manifestation of the northern white man's opinion that the negro can be gulled—and of the undoubted fact that many negroes can be.

The negro buys his food, clothing and other necessaries from another race, though negro clerks are often employed to draw negro trade.

"I've seen a negro woman order a seven pound ham and walk out with one weighing four pounds," said a police captain in the neighborhood. And an educated negro woman adds: "There are not a few negroes who cannot read scales. Others count change slowly. They are hustled out, cheated. I have seen and stopped it a dozen times."

The negro in Harlem, especially the one who has not lived long in the city "falls too readily for practices of some shops selling things on the installment payment and credit," says Judge Davies, already mentioned. "A negro woman goes into a shop in Au-

Commercial Appeal 3-8-25

Negroes in New York.

Not only every leader, but also every member of the colored race in the southern states, will do well to read the plain statement of fact about conditions surrounding that race in New York as presented by Winthrop D. Lane in the Survey Graphic. The Survey Graphic is indeed a distressingly straightforward and graphic picture of the impositions practiced upon those of colored skin in the greatest city of the country was reproduced in Sunday's Commercial Appeal, and a study of it is recommended to all persons of African descent who make their homes south of the Mason and Dixon line. 3-10-25

With facts and figures it is proven that the colored brother in New York is consistently gouged and imposed upon. He has to pay from 40 to 60 per cent higher rent than the white man does for exactly the same kind of an apartment. These higher rents are made possible because of the shortage of homes for the fast growing colored population of America's largest city. The white people of Harlem, where the greater part of New York's colored population is located, resent the invasion and try to curb it by the imposition of unjust rentals. But the colored man must live somewhere and he has to agree to pay the high rent even though he is unable to do so and must eventually become involved in the courts.

But rent gouging is only one of the many impositions placed upon the colored population of the great metropolis. Whether it be food clothes or any of the other necessities of life that the colored man desires to purchase, he is charged one and one-half or twice more than the white man has to pay for the same thing. Not only that, but also is the colored purchaser given inferior quality, the merchants contending that anything is good enough for the negro trade. Wherever persons of colored skin turn they find that they are consistently gouged and otherwise imposed upon by the substitution of inferior goods.

The passion of the colored man for gambling is catered to by a variety of sharpers who are making big money from numerous lottery games similar to policy. Those who play such games have not one chance in a million to win anything, but the colored folks continue to throw their money away in the hope that they will get back enough to pay their expenses. It is a hand-to-mouth existence for the colored residents of New York with expenses constantly running ahead of income.

The picture as presented in the Survey Graphic is indeed a distressing one. Its truth is guaranteed by the use of names in connection with the incidents. And no more effective warning could be issued against the rainbow chasing that has been indulged in by the colored people of the south for a number of years. The supposed bag of gold that has lured so many to the north when reached is found to contain only debts, evictions and imminent bankruptcy. The colored brother is much better off in the south than anywhere else in the country.

said to me. "He said, 'A friend of mine brought this prescription into my store. I can't fill it. You fill it for me. If he'd been a stranger I'd have given him something. But I don't want to hand out to a friend that stuff we have on our shelves.' He didn't bother much with prescriptions, he confessed. Sometimes he put in substitute ingredients; sometimes he left out something that was called for. 'You leave your label off this and I'll put ours on,' he said."

Dangerous Drug Stores.

The negro pharmacist continued: "Some of these drug stores certainly are fakes. Why, they don't keep enough drugs on hand to fill simple prescriptions. Not long ago I sent three prescriptions out to 15 of them—easy prescriptions; I just wanted to make a little experiment.

"Well, you should have seen the collection that came back. One prescription called for a nerve sedative, a compound of chloral hydrate, tincture canabie and other things. Two druggists put elixir of lactated pepsin—for indigestion—into the prescription, instead of the elixir of triple bromides I called for. And you should have seen those bottles. Some were half choked with gelatinous substances that had no business there; others had sediment. They were every color from yellow to dark brown. Why, those druggists just put in any old thing. Another prescription called for a seven-grain capsule. The capsules that came back weighed all the way from three grains to 10; the average was about four. They couldn't even get the quantity right. Those stores are a crime. 'Anything's good enough for niggers,' say the people who run them."

The negro in Harlem is prey for poorly trained white doctors and for unmistakable quacks. Some of them come to Harlem because they know that here quackery is easy; they fatten on the credulity of the negro, and on his faith in the white man. Many of these doctors are prominent members of the community; a population of 200,000 spreads out before them offering a lucrative field, and they take advantage of it.

"We know some of our white colleagues by their trails," said a negro physician, attached to the out-patient department of Harlem Hospital, to me. He was unwilling to be quoted if the names of these doctors were to be used, and so I have substituted letters for their names.

"There's Dr. X., for instance. He is known by the plasters he leaves behind him. Whenever a patient has a pain, X puts a plaster over it. If you raise the shirt of a patient and find a plaster of moleskin adhesive there you say, 'Oh I see you've been to Dr. X.' He always uses moleskin adhesive.

"Then there's Dr. Y. He uses pills, rotating them by color. "What color did I give you last time?" he asks his patients, and then changes to another. Its easy to follow Dr. Y; just look at the mantelpiece and if his pills are there, you know what your patient has been up against.

"Dr. Z flops down on his knees and prays with his patients. Though white, he knows his negro people, of a certain class of them. He will blare out in fine style his appeals to the Lord to help the treatment he just gave. I guess prayer is often necessary.

"Then there's Dr. A.

"'What' exclaimed Dr. A. 'Read medical books? I haven't read a medical book for ten years. I don't have to read 'em to practice on niggers.'"

They charge some of these negroes pretty high fees, too. The other day a white doctor charged $600 for drawing the water off a patient who had pleurisy—aspirating, it is called. This is ordinarily done by a physician in the course of a routine call. This doctor called it "a major operation" and collected $600. They play on the negro's ignorance of what is being done to him and rob him.

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
MARCH 16, 1925

NEGROES IN HARLEM.

To the Editor of The World:

In The Sunday World, March 1, was an article, "Robbing the Negroes—The New Slavery in Harlem," by Winthrop D. Lane. His description of a Negro woman looking at the financial page of a paper to find if the god of chance had willed her something was the stereotype of the minority.

I admit that not a few Negroes stake their money on the "bankers'" scheme of the "Clearing House" report "numbers" with as much recklessness as do many whites (I work among the latter) and select their numbers in the same superstitious way. But it is a forced practice among Negroes, whereas whites have open to them divers fields of opportunity and have no excuse for such practices.

Negroes are fleeced in rent. Yes, because they move anywhere they can to escape crowding. They would rather pay higher rent than live, as Mr. Lane erroneously stated, "forty-four in an apartment intended for ten." No such condition exists where one person occupies a room during the night while another occupies it during the day, except, perhaps, where there are two pals, one of whom is employed during the day and the other at night. Much the same conditions occur among whites industrially employed.

Negroes' homes for the most part are as cheerful and uncrowded as many of the homes of the more fortunate whites. Many Negroes hold parties in their homes for the purpose of obtaining money to make up the deficiency in wages in order that they may honestly pay their creditors and still have some money left. They do save. Look at the lines in the uptown banking establishments. Negroes crave and obtain as fine wearing apparel, as fine food and as much fun as many well-to-do whites. Take a peep in their homes, at their dinner tables, observe them on the streets.

It is true that Harlem is invaded by quacks. But that is a case for the police and social workers. Many of us have visited quacks downtown until we got wise and found that we did not have to spend carfare but could remain in Harlem and still be quacked.

Bootleggers are numerous in Harlem, which is a reproach to the police. But these bootleggers would be forced out of business if it were not for the downtown patronage. If you would have good Negro citizens, better their environment.

I suggest to Mr. Lane that he select one of the many intelligent Negroes to accompany him on his next material-getting expedition to "Negro Harlem" and visit the homes of the better element and their institutions and places of business. But he must, first of all, be broader minded.

U. G. M.

New York, March 6.

THE CRUX OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The crux of the so called Negro problem is not difficultly peculiar to this problem, but is the common difficulty of securing from those in actual possession of power the justice due to those so situated that they cannot enforce their just claims.

This is the same difficulty that is the crux of the problem between labor and capital, between the small merchant and the powerful trust, between the small nations and the world powers.

There is still enough decency left in people to make them, no matter how strong, try to find a cover for their injustices, and so it would seem that publicity would offer a check that would be at least partly effective. It will, therefore, be important to maintain agencies to watch for movements and legislation that will give cover for oppression, agencies that will publicly lift the cover from such purposes.

However, the only real cure will be affected in the conscience of the individual who makes up the people, for as the individuals so will be the nation, the race, the group.

It would seem that the remedy must come from either the conversion of those de facto in power to standards of real justice, or from the acquiring by the weak of fitness and power to enforce their just claims, or by the powerful being stripped of their power.

That some of these things can be accomplished in a day is a lesson sadly but forcefully taught by the history of the world. Yet this same history teaches that wonderful advances have been obtained in many of these problems by constant and untiring efforts coupled with watchfulness to find and alertness to make the best use of every opportunity that presents itself; and how often an opportunity that seemed small proved to be the pivot on which swung the door that opened up new and unhoped-for progress.

By any one who has studied these difficulties there has not been found any practical means of immediate and complete remedy. Why should not, then, all who have this task at heart set aside the Micawber like attitude of waiting for something big to turn up, and get to work seeking and using every little opportunity to break down prejudice and to build up understanding, good-will and fair play; and, if any words are addressed to truly God-fearing minds, to build up in our own hearts and in others a true love for God and of our neighbor?

MEHLINGERS LEAVE MOB RULED SOUTH

Washington, D. C.—Mrs. Mayme M. White, of 1422 Q Street, northwest, a teacher in the District public schools, has returned from Mehlinger, Mississippi, where she spent five weeks aiding her father, Mr. Ferd Mehlinger, to wind up his mercantile business affairs preparatory to moving away from there. Her father came with her.

Mr. Mehlinger decided to leave Mehlinger, Mississippi, as the result of the killing of his son, James E. Mehlinger, on December 22 last, from ambush, by unknown parties. He disposed of all his personal effects last Thursday at a great sacrifice.

The widow and four little daughters of the late James E. Mehlinger are at Rosedale, Mississippi, with her parents, but arrangements are being made to purchase a home for them in Memphis, where she will be near her sister.

Mr. Mehlinger and his wife, Mrs. Catherine Mehlinger, are making their home for the present with their son, Louis R. Mehlinger, at 2809 Eleventh street, northwest. He contemplates re-establishing himself in business.

BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE
FEBRUARY 23, 1925

EDUCATION WILL SOLVE NEGRO PROBLEM, HOPE

The negro problem is exclusively a problem of the United States, it was declared by Dr. Leon Land, minister of the United Church of Brooklyn, at the Bushwick Forum meeting held yesterday afternoon at the Ridgewood Masonic Temple, 1054 Bushwick Parkway.

Dr. Land said that segregation is no solution of the problem. He suggested education through social contact, through schools and through progressive religious and progressive industrial efforts.

In speaking of the present treatment of the negro, he declared:

"We condemn the negro for lack of culture and at the same time we prevent him from taking advantage of our cultural development."

Since scientists maintain, he said, that there is no such thing as instinctive racial antagonism, but that that antagonism is aroused by training and is therefore artificial and eradicable, there is hope for the final satisfactory settlement of the question.

Acme of Hate.

Some months ago, The American Standard published two letters, one written by a Tennessee woman, the other by a Georgia woman, on the desecration of Stone Mountain, Atlanta, Ga., by the act of carving on its majestic granite surface, the figures of the leaders of the schismatic secession movement in America. Attention was also called to the scheme, hatched by southern politicians, to have the United States Mint [illegible] 5,000,000 fifty cent pieces, stamped with the heads of those whose actions classified them as traitors to our government and constitution.

History can never obliterate the fact, that Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, established close relations with the Vatican. This fact was shown in our columns by the reprinting of letters sent by Davis to the Vatican, through his anti-Christian Jew "secretary of state," Judah P. Benjamin, and his officially appointed ambassador to the pope, A. Dudley Mann. These letters show direct correspondence between Davis, and the pope and his secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli, described by A. Dudley Mann as being "utterly unscrupulous, as to the means which he employs, but no other man could have saved the temporal power of the pope." That Davis and his emissaries were under the influence of Roman Catholicism, and desperately anxious for recognition of the Confederacy by the pope, is shown by these historic documents.

Under God and His Christ, this anti-American, anti-Christian work of memorializing treachery and schism, on Stone Mountain, which is a marvelous natural type of the Rock, Christ, has been languishing, for lack of financial support. Therefore it does not surprise those who know Jesuit methods, that popery has moved her son, Thomas Fortune Ryan, to give $10,000 for this unholy project, and that this contribution is reported to have been made, through the efforts of the "Protestant" representative of the United States Army, General David C. Shanks.

This entire Jesuit-inspired monument to schism and disunity is being arrested by the hand of God. It is plain to see why the needed money is not forthcoming. No American citizen, who is patriotic and awake, will subscribe a cent toward such a purpose, or buy one of the half-dollar pieces, stamped with the heads of traitors.

> We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth. (Paul.—II. Corinthians xiii., 8.)
>
> The voice of the Lord is upon the waters; the God of glory thundereth. David.—Psalm xxix., 4.)—American Standard.

The American Standard is one of the leading Klucker magazines of New York City. It is against Catholics, against Jews, against the League of Nations and delights to denounce Woodrow Wilson. It hates everything and everybody.

It is a pretty low sort of man who at this late day would denounce as traitors those who fought for the Southern Confederacy. Only malevolent morons could do this.

From an artistic standpoint we have always thought that the Stone Mountain project was somewhat chimerical, but it would be a great thing, an inspiration to higher things, if

Confederates from Virginia respected were in an attitude of admiration and reverence

[illegible] opinion.

[illegible] days ago we saw a figure

[illegible] the Capitol at Washington.

[illegible] from all parts of the repub-

[illegible] front of it and it seemed

[illegible] if every one were as we

majority of the American people

Not many days ago

He was taught at no other place than the life of the republic.

West Point that a man's first allegi- Lee followed Virginia, so did Jack- of Lee in the C

ance was to his state. This may son. Other Virginians in the army Travelers from a

have been erroneous doctrine, but cast their fortunes with the Federal stood in from

that doctrine was held to be true by government and, yet, the Federals and to us as if ev

erected. He was loyal to his country during the first seventy-five years Gone another's

Race Problem - 1925
United States.

CHECKING UP

As the year of nineteen twenty-five draws to a close it will be well for us to look at the balance sheet of the black race. The new pact at Locarno, which Germany entered into postpones any alignment that Russia, the far eastern people, and the darker races might make. Thus the challenge of white supremacy has been adroitly avoided and pigeon-holed. The alarm note sounded by William Hohenzollern, former German Kaiser, the plaintive caution cry of David Lloyd George, of England, warning of the insurgency of the duskier groups, the startling revelations of Lothrop Stoddard outlining the rushing surge of color has been heeded and Germany will not aid Russia in awakening the "sleeping giant" to force the arms. The African colonies are still being exploited by the European nations and Liberia, the black Republic, has been taken over by American financiers to check England's rubber monopoly. Haiti and the Philippine Islands are more securely locked under the American straight jacket and no International change looms up eminently. In the United States, proper, there have been twelve recorded lynchings of black people, a pronounced acceleration in discrimination and segregation, a marked declination in national political recognition, and sustained and clever bombardment of propaganda, calculated to perpetuate the slave psychology by popularizing slavery time songs and sentiments in the guise of "Negro Spirituals." These are considered the outstanding liabilities of nineteen twenty-five.

Minor liabilities might be considered the spectaclar debacle of some of our business institutions, such as the Standard Life Insurance Co. and the banking institutions of Brown and Stevens.

On the other side of the ledger, the assets of the black race should be briefly considered. The dogged and stubborn resistance offered by Abd El Krim and the Riffian peoples to the French and Spanish onslaught; the continued innocence of Europe to any abstract colorphobia; the growing intelligence of the black race in America; the accumulation of wealth and property; the expansion of big business as by such concerns as the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co., the National Benefit Co., the order of St. Luke, the Overton Concerns, the Northwestern Life Insurance Co., the Binga Bank, the institutions of Mrs. Malone and Madame Walker; the continued growth of the Liberty Life Insurance Co.; the advance of the Underwriters Mutual and the Pyramid Mutual Companies; the progress shown by the Baptist publishing associations, the Supreme Life and Casualty Company and the growth of the Cab companies, particularly, the Your Cab, the Calumet and the Silver Companies. The fine journalistic efforts of such papers as the Baltimore Afro American, the Chicago Defender, the Pittsburgh Courier, the Philadelphia Tribune, the Norfolk Journal and Guide, the Kansas City Call and the St. Louis Argus. The great Expansions of the fraternal orders The Elks, Masons, Pythians, Woodmen and the Royal Circle of Friends. These incidents of success and progress are our assets.

Roland Hayes is an asset and so is Paul Robeson and the work of Carter Woodson. Locke, Barnes, Schomburg, Cullen, Mackay, Walter White, Dubois, Pickens and Kelly Miller has been substantial.

The year of nineteen twenty-five was not a disaster. The willingness of the white man to give the black a chance in the economic world has been manifested, a sense of fairness has been shown in Michigan, Illinois, New York and in New Jersey Courts. The balance sheet while not remarkable gives no great reason for discouragement and a greater reason for hope and courage.

TROLLEY CAR FLIRTATIONS

Trolley cars to the observant person are a laboratory for the close examination of human nature in cross-section.

A well-rouged girl with a weak face and one of the popular "confessional" magazines boarded an interurban car the other day and seated herself upon one of the long seats in the front of the car.

Two blocks farther on, three 20-year-old boys entered and crowded down upon the seat which the girl was already occupying. At first they stole surreptitious glances at her and then smiled among themselves complacently as though making a silent mental agreement that here was game for fair sport.

As the car sped on they made it more and more evident to the girl that they were "interested." One of them nudged her; another leaned far down and smiled up into her face; another simulated an intense eagerness to discover the content of the story she was reading, and pawing one half the magazine, read aloud several passages.

The girl, who at first appeared unconvincingly annoyed, later smiled with petulant favor upon the three seekers of attention. Her unwillingness to assist in the game was largely assumed. She was distinctly pleased to be sought after even in the boorish, rude and unpardonable manner which was employed.

And the spectators of the play were not aroused or indignant. They smiled indulgently and seemed to be greatly amused over the happening. Every person within watching distance, excepting only two colored passengers, appeared to think the incident funny.

Excepting only two colored passengers. . . . They were considering what the consequences would have been had the situation remained the same with the single change that colored instead of white boys had been substituted. They were considering soberly

what similar situations in the South with a colored girl in place of the white had led to. They were unanimous in the belief that the smiling calm acceptance of the white spectators was mob spirit in so remote a stage of incipiency that it was not recognized as such by the owners of it.

These colored watchers saw the menace in that little drama which the white portion of the audience overlooked completely. They saw through the thinly covering comedy which amused the whites to the tragedy which lurked beneath. Color does indeed make a difference in point of view!

Merry Christmas

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Copyright 1925
The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company
(All Rights Reserved)

DR. GEORGE E. HAYNES, who holds down the lucrative post of Secretary of the Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, says that "Religion, education, trade, industry and the press are the great solvents of race prejudice and antagonism." This is a highly optimistic view that intelligent students of the problem cannot share. Of course, we must ever keep in mind that it is DR. HAYNES' business to present this erroneous point of view, morning, noon and night; but it is not OUR business to swallow it without examination. Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts and of uplifters bearing solutions.

—o—

SOME one has said that "We learn from history that men never learn from history." This is especially true of uplifters and the apostles of service. Let us examine the statement of the Rev. Dr. Haynes. Have religion, education, trade, industry and the press solved the problem of race prejudice and antagonism in the past? If so, when and where? A diligent search of the records will reveal no such solutions in the recent or distant past. History and experience show that religion has intensified race prejudice and antagonism rather than solved it. No one will deny that there is as much or more race prejudice and antagonism in this country than ever before; yet trade, industry and education have been ever on the increase. Does the press fan the fires of race prejudice and antagonism as of yore? But let a Negro be accused of or arrested for some crime, actual or supposed, and note how they handle it.

THESE prejudices and antagonisms are founded on economic conditions. Let 4,000 Negroes enter a town where there were only 400 Negroes before; let them begin to compete with white men—capitalists and proletarians—and you will begin to see an immediate intensification of these prejudices. Any Negro who has seen the effect of the recent migration of Negroes in the North on the white residents cannot help but agree. On the other hand, let 4,000 Negroes leave a town—cease competing in trade and industry with white men—and 400 Negroes remain, and you will see a lessening of these prejudices. For instance, in many towns in the dear old Southland where Negroes have left in large numbers, the whites have granted concessions never before heard or dreamed of in the towns effected. While in the so-called liberal North, the jim crow schools and residential segregation grow by leaps and bounds. And, mind you, this in the very sections of the North where the mass of people have for years and years been blessed with the finest types of public schools and colleges, where there was a previously little intolerance in regard to race, and where religious teaching was supposed to be most liberal. Remember, too, that in the South, where it's almost worth your life not to go to church on Sunday; there the largest number of Negroes of both sexes has been lynched and burned.

—o—

WE might as well get the fact thoroughly into our heads that there is no solution to the race problem. It grows with the increasing proportion of Negroes to white in a given community, and decreases with the lessening of that proporton. Move all of the Negroes out of a community, and presto! the race problem ceases to exist. Move all of the Negroes in America into Africa, and the American Negroes will find more antagonism than they left. Move a large group of Chinese into Canada or a large group of Canadians into China, and you have the same result. Move a gang of Hindus into South Africa or a group of South Africans into India, and immediately you have another race problem. Apostles of Service are ever trying to make people believe that there is a cure for every social ill, whereas the only way to cure the ills of humanity (as some wise Frenchman said) is to exterminate it—a solution none of us wants to try, not even those who claim to be sired by them in the sky by and by.

KEEPING THE NEGRO IN HIS PLACE?

THE following, culled from the October 17th issue of *The Ave Maria*, reminds us of a remark overheard several weeks ago down in Washington. Ahead of us sat a young woman, a Washingtonian, and, we are sorry to admit, one of our faith. We were passing the Dunbar High School, a beautiful building valued at a half million dollars, when the sweet words fell from her lips! "Look at that! Nigger High School! It is a disgrace! Such places teach Niggers to leave their place! And deprive us of our servants!" We did not know whether to laugh over the discomfiture or cry over the unchristian envy.

Says *The Ave Maria*:

The editor of a Negro paper, commenting on a recent news item which told about the maltreatment of a colored citizen, apparently for no reason other than that he was making some worldly progress in the community in which he lived, has this to say:

"The Negro who frequents the slums and the dives, spending his energy and his means in vice, does not offend the white man's sense of the fitness of things nearly as much as the Negro who would raise a well-fed, properly-attired, and fully-educated family. The Negro who is ignorant enough not to manage his own affairs properly, or to guard against exploitation, and who is continually in debt and in a state of dependence, is much less objectionable to the white man than the provident, self-reliant Negro. The Negro who is satisfied to be no more than others say he ought to be, is much more desirable to the self-centred, short-sighted white man than the Negro ambitious to develop and use the best features and faculties of his being."

COOLIDGE ASKS RACE EQUALITY IN MESSAGE

President Tells Congress Negro Is Citizen And Should Be Protected

PUNISHMENT FOR MEMBERS OF MOBS

Coolidge Address Taken As Advocacy Of Federal Anti Lynch Bill

Washington, (Afro Bureau)—The Negro is entitled to "full equality before the law," President Coolidge declared Tuesday in his message to the new Congress.

Three paragraphs in the message deal with "the Negro." One cites the progress of the race and its need of protection from mob violence.

The second urges full protction of the law and deplres the license of one citizen to injure another.

The third paragraph appeals for toleration the Golden Rule and liberty and equality before the law.

This appeal of the President is seen as backing the movement for a federal anti-lynching bill.

The general condition of the United States is one of progress and prosperity, President Coolidge reported.

The principal topics of his message were government economy, the budget, taxation, foreign relations, court of international justice, foreign debts, alien property, immigration, national defense, veterans, agriculture, Muscle Shoals, reclamation, shipping, prohibition, waterway development, water power, the railroads, the outlying possessions, retirement of judges, mothers' aid, civil service, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Negro.

The Negro

That part of his message dealing with the Negro is as follows:

"Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the Negro race. The progress which they have made in all the arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens. But they do still need sympathy, kindness, and helpfulness. They need reassurance that the requirements of the Government and society to deal out to them even-handed justice will me met. They should be protected from all violence and upported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

Protection

"Our country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does not include any license to injure others materially. Physically, morally, to incite revolution, or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society.

Equality

"But it does mean the full right to liberty and equality before the law without distinction of race or creed. This condition can not be granted to others, or enjoyed by ourselves, except by the application of the principle of broadest tolerance. Bigotry is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it. An enlarged freedom can only be secured by the application of the golden rule. No other utterance ever presented such a practical rule of" life.

Tax Reduction

A reduction in taxation is about to be realized, he told Congress, through the next revnue bill, which provides for the reduction of excessive surtaxes and estate tax rates, and the repeal of the gift tax. This bill should reach him prior to March 15, in which event the taxpayer will be given the full benefit of tax reduction next year.

Liberia

Among the nations owing the United States is listed Liberia. It owes a debt of $25,000, not including interest, which those at present in control have undertaken openly to repudiate. This is the smallest debt still pending.

The immigration law, which was one of the causes providing employment for the Negro in northern industrial centers, "is on the whole beneficial."

Race Problem - 1925.

United States
MINNEAPOLIS MINN. JOURNAL
NOVEMBER 22, 1925

Up From Slavery

CLARENCE DARROW told a large Negro audience in Detroit that not alone their race, but other races, notably the white, had come up through slavery. And Mr. DARROW intimated that the process was a necessary preparation for the proper disposal of those late won privileges, freedom and self-government.

Three hundred years ago, he said, every man in Europe was a master or a serf. Which is true. And we may add that the discipline of this virtual slavery established those virtues of industry and craftsmanship that account for modern economy.

It is doubtful whether any savage peoples have ever become civilized, without passing through the experience of slavery. Pride of race and nation forbids recognition of the truth, and human self-conceit deems the individual freeman as worthy of his natural rights of liberty and self-governance. As matter of fact, there are no such natural rights. The condition of liberty and self-governance is historically one much belated and is conferred on such men only as are fit by judgment and self-restraint to maintain it. Slavery has supplied the economic habits through whose exercise a political economy is made possible. Conquest has been the instrument of most of the advances made, as well as of some atrocious extirpations.

As Mr. DARROW suggested and the late BOOKER WASHINGTON asserted, American slavery afforded a certain stock of Africans an opportunity outside their own Dark Continent such as they never could have gained in any other manner. The American Negro, despite his handicaps and hardships here, has his chance here. And he is availing himself fairly well of the heretofore unequalled opportunity.

In the scheme of development slavery as a process has become obsolete, and conquest may be tending to become so, too. But because we see neither of them in the future, does not justify denial of their place and function in the past. They had a very great place and function. Nor is the denial good for us Americans, since it reverses the historical procession in our minds, as ROUSSEAU and JEFFERSON reversed it. Our Founding Fathers did not regain liberty and self-government. They achieved those privileges. So their descendants in every generation must more or less rewin them. Free citizens of a self-governing community cannot rely upon their natural rights to vindicate possession of their political and social heritage. Free citizens, to retain what they find themselves endowed with, must be up and doing, exercising their privileges, keeping their self-governing equipment bright and clean through use.

Otherwise, they may lapse into that more sophisticated phase of slavery which makes them vassals of some master, a foreign overlord, a home dictator.

Changing Race Relations

By H. H. Jones

(Preston News Service.)

AMERICAN history shows that the first effort to absorb the Negro as a slave failed; that the second effort to absorb him as a serf failed, and that the third effort to absorb him as a quasi-citizen also failed.

The nation began its fourth [illegible] World War. Out of grim necessity it opened the doors of industry to colored men and women; it trained colored men as soldiers and sent thousands of them overseas to shoot down the "terrible Huns" of Central Europe, and it assured the race that its members would receive their share of Democracy for which they gave their full measure of BROWN, BLOOD and MATERIALS. At the same time IT CONTINUED TO LYNCH NEGROES, BOMB THEIR HOMES AND OUTRAGE THEIR WOMEN. During this period the Ku Klux Klan was revived; the Pan-American movement was launched; Marcus Garvey came into the limelight; organized labor made friendly overtures to Negro labor; interracial conciliation gained impetus, and the Federal Government by creating the Bureau of Negro Economics made its first attempt to adjust bi-racial relations.

When World War reconstruction set in, Negroes were ordered to forget that they had worked and bled to "make the world safe for Democracy"—they were commanded to resume their former status of pariahs. Thus, because the nation refused to recognize the race's singular and unvarying services in the face of overwhelming prejudice and discrimination, the cleavage between white and colored Americans has become more deep-seated and dangerous. This cleavage finds many Negroes skeptical of the attitude of labor and capital; doubtful of the pretentions of the white Christian church; suspicious of the actions of the reigning political party, and chary of movements launched to increase their educational and social facilities.

Many Negroes have not only grown skeptical of securing justice in America, but are seeking aid elsewhere. Some believeing in the "consciousness of kind" as the basis of securing racial equality are advocating the union of the colored races; others, believing that the Negro will never be permitted to share equally the rights and privileges of American citizenship, are urging the return of the race to Africa; and others, interpreting conditions of the race in terms of the universal class struggle, are seeking alliance with European Socialism and Communism. Negro intellectuals are devoting serious study to the Irish situation, the Gandhi movement in India, the American-Japanese problems and, in short, to every international problem which they think will give them some clues for raising the status of their group in America. And even among Negroes who do not think of race relationships in international terms, there is an insistent demand for constructive relief.

America must approach this new orientation of Negroes in the scientific spirit and with due regard for the moral law. These newer aspects of the "Negro Problem" call for the exercise of statesmanship and social engineering of the highest order. The leadership of both races will need to work out a program in industry that will assure the Negro worker economic equality; they will need to adopt a civic program that will make possible the Negro's equal participation in governmental affairs; they will need to enlarge public educational facilities especially in the South, so that the colored youth may receive adequate training for serving the race and the nation; they will need to build up religious sentiment to the point where the teachings of Christ will actually be applied to the problems of race relations; and, finally, they will need to recognize that the "Negro Problem" is a national problem, and as such requires the setting up of Federal machinery to determine standards necessary to be put into operation to bring about bi-racial good will and co-operation.

Coolidge Bows to South

"Enlightened Society" Lynches, He Is Told

What Does Message Mean?

N. Y. C. WALL STREET JOURNAL
DECEMBER 9, 1925

It were better for the Negro of this country had the president withheld his utterances on the Negro in his message to the 69th congress. To us, it is a bitter pill when we read and attempt to harmonize the following expression taken from the president's message and apply it to the existing conditions and the injustice of discriminatory customs under which we live in this country of ours. The expression is as follows:

"It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. THIS DOES NOT INCLUDE ANY LICENSE (to the Negro) TO INJURE OTHERS MATERIALLY, PHYSICALLY OR MORALLY, TO INCITE REVOLUTION OR VIOLATE THE ESTABLISHED CUSTOMS WHICH HAVE LONG HAD THE SANCTION OF ENLIGHTENED SOCIETY."

Just what the president had in mind is evident and requires no great scholar to see it. Here he is speaking to northern senators and representatives who cherish obedience to law on one hand, and to southern senators and representatives who have always ignored the law and adhered strictly to custom on the other hand. In effect, he says to the South, You may enforce your southern customs which were established by you and which are sanctioned by you, and they must be held as inviolate by the Negro as the laws of the North are to be held by him.

Why place these restrictions upon the Negro alone? Why single him out for these limited and restricted rights and privileges? Why make him the subject and exception when the question of fair and impartial application of the laws is involved? Why permit all other citizens of the country to simply obey the laws of the country and the state and require the Negro to obey and keep inviolate both the laws and the customs? It is plainly seen that the customs, nefarious, brutal and unjust as they are, are not to be lessened nor removed, even by the federal government.

The Negro, according to the message of the president, must not only live under and by the laws of the country and state where he lives, but must not violate or complain of the established customs which have the sanction of enlightened society. Who constitute the enlightened society in this country? In other words, the president simply means that the white man is the established society, and that the customs which we must not violate are the customs of the white man. This, to our mind, is a complete surrender to the southern customs of Jim Crowism, lynching, burning, and of the deprivation of the right to vote, and all other inhuman customs where they exist.

Neither the white race nor any other race, except the Negro race, is enjoined to live under customs created and enforced by another race never to appoint a Negro in the president's cabinet nor any other high office. In simpler words, according to the president's message, it matters not how unjust, if it is a custom, the Negro has not the right to seek to violate it or avoid its application. No other race is so proscribed in the president's message.

Place against and in comparison with the president's expression above quoted section 1 of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States and draw your own conclusions. This section provides that:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

But the president says that the custom is equal to the law because in his message he places established customs on par with the laws of the land. Section 1 of the 15th amendment to the Constitution provides:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

It seems to us then that customs must yield to the law. These amendments were designed solely to destroy customs which were unjust, and we contend that even now where a custom is unjust it ought to be destroyed. That is what the Dyer antilynch bill is aimed at. It seeks to destroy the custom of lynching.

To say the least, we are bitterly disappointed in the use of these expressions in the president's message to the 69th congress.

THE NEGRO

Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the Negro race. The progress which they have made in all the arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens. But they do still need sympathy, kindness, and helpfulness. They need reassurance that the requirements of the government and society to deal out to them even-handed justice will be met. They should be protected from all violence and supported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

Our country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does not include any license to injure others materially, physically, morally, to incite revolution, or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society.

But it does mean the full right to liberty and equality before the law without distinction of race or creed. This condition cannot be granted to others, or enjoyed by ourselves, except by the application of the principle of broadest tolerance. Bigotry is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it. An enlarged freedom can only be secured by the application of the golden rule. No other utterance ever presented such a practical rule of life.

CONCLUSION

It is apparent that we are reaching into an era of great general prosperity. It will continue only so long as we shall use it properly. After all, there is but a fixed quantity of wealth in this country at any fixed time. The only way that we can all secure more of it is to create more. The element of time enters into production. If the people have sufficient moderation and contentment to be willing to improve their condition by the process of enlarging production, eliminating waste, and distributing equitably, a prosperity almost without limit lies before us. If the people are to be dominated by selfishness, seeking immediate riches by nonproductive speculation and by wasteful quarreling over the returns from industry, they will be confronted by the inevitable results of depression and privation. If they will continue industrious and thrifty, contended with fair wages and moderate profits, and the returns which accrue from the development of our natural resources, our prosperity will extend itself indefinitely.

In all your deliberations you should remember that the purpose of legislation is to translate principles into action. It is an effort to have our country be better by doing better. Because the thoughts and ways of people are firmly fixed and not easily changed, the field within which immediate improvement can be secured is very narrow. Legislation can provide opportunity. Whether it is taken advantage of or not depends upon the people themselves. The government of the United States has been created by the people. It is solely responsible to them. It will be most successful if it is conducted solely for their benefit. All its efforts would be of little avail unless they brought more justice, more enlightenment, more happiness and prosperity into the home. This means an opportunity to observe religion, secure education, and earn a living under a reign of law and order. It is the growth and improvement of the material and spiritual life of the nation. We shall not be able to gain these ends merely by our own action. If they come at all, it will be because we have been willing to work in harmony with the abiding purpose of a Divine Providence.

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

FEAR DISASTER IN RACIAL OUTBREAK

Dhan Gopel Mukerji Calls On Youth To Stave Off Clashings.

Challenging the youth of this generation to rescue the world from the imminent danger of disaster that he sees in present racial antagonisms Dham Gopal Mukerji, Hindu poet and philosopher who appeared on the University Lecture course Tuesday night, addressed a brief message to the U. T. student chapel at Jefferson Hall yesterday morning.

The world is looking to its youth in every land, Mr. Mukerji told the collegians, from India to America to place our civilization on a firm basis by a trust of mind for mind around the world, and above all a true reverence for God. His talk was principally about India, and he gave a beautiful and vivid description of night in the Indian jungle.

Mr. Mukerji lectured in Knoxville on "Modernism vs. Mysticism" and proved to be one of the most acceptable numbers on the University course. Dr. Charles Bell Burk who has charge of the lectures, credits Mrs. Calvin M. McClung with the suggestion that resulted in securing the Hindu celebrity for the Knoxville engagement.

Eight Lessons for Modern Students

FIRST, that racial characteristics are largely determined by environment.

SECOND, that race prejudice is an artificial product of the mind, induced by various influences.

THIRD, that in the highest and lowest spheres of thought and activity, all races are alike.

FOURTH, that every human being, no matter what his color, race, faith, or class, has a right to earn the respect of his neighbor and his community, by virtue of *what he himself is.*

FIFTH, that the brotherhood of man will become an established fact as soon as each man determines to live like a brother in his relation to his fellows.

SIXTH, that Christianity has in its *spirit* the solution of class and race problems; but that in its *practice* it is lamentably far from solving them.

SEVENTH, that he who wishes to enter into fellowship with the nation or race with which he lives must free himself from all isolating practices and beliefs.

EIGHTH, that entrance into such a large human relationship has to be "bought with a price" and that it is a price worth paying; for there is no loftier human experience than that of becoming one with all mankind.

—From "*Against the Current*,"
By E. A. Steiner.

CHICAGO ILL CHRS CENTURY
MARCH 12. 1925

America's Race Problem in Its World Relations

THE NEGRO the world around is becoming increasingly self-conscious as an exploited human. There have now been three sessions of the international Pan-African congress, in every one of which this concept has been strengthened. The same watchwords that are being raised by the exploited peoples of Europe and Asia—self-determination, self-expression, self-control—are now being raised among Negroes. Dr. Dubois represents one phase of that agitation in this country; Marcus Garvey another. Both, fortunately, are still more than counter-balanced by Negro leadership of another type. But both must be taken into account. The disturbance at Fisk was, of itself, of but minor importance. But as an indication of sub-surface movements it has deep meaning. Nothing could more clearly show the desperate need for the immediate strengthening and extension of the sort of constructive contribution to the whole issue being made by the commission on interracial cooperation and the commission on race relations of the Federal Council of Churches. Some churches, and some Christian individuals, have already given support to these efforts. What has just happened at Nashville shows how imperative it is that this support be increased many times. The evil has a long head start. Foreign observers have again and again expressed their fear that it has gone so far that it may undermine the foundations of the republic. The outbreak at Fisk should make what have seemed to the majority of Americans mere theoretical forebodings almost too concrete and near at hand. Here again looms a question for which the nation can find a final answer only as it finds the Christian answer.

APR 29 1925

EACH RACE MUST FIX DESTINY, SAYS N. C. NEGRO EDUCATOR

Dr. James E. Shepard, Head of North Carolina College For Negroes, Declares Future Brightest in South—Spoke Before Negro Division of Kentucky Education Association

Dr. James E. Shepard, head of an American negro, and as a member of that race all I ask is that the North Carolina college for negroes, located in this city, a few foreigners who come to this country, days ago, spoke to the negro divi- unable to speak the language, sion of the Kentucky education as- should not be given more rights sociation, and the Daily Times, of than I. Louisville, where he spoke, quotes him in the following article, taken from that paper:

"I am not in favor of the idea of assimilation I believe that each race should work out its own destiny in its own way," Dr. James E. Shepard president of the College of Negroes and of the Negro Teachers' association of North Carolina, declared today. Dr. Shepard before the negro division of the Kentucky education association.

"I may not have any great ancestors," Dr. Shepard continued, "but I can be a great ancestor. I am

"For the future, the problem looks hopeful in the South and bad in the North. In the South there is greater understanding of the frailties and faults which both races have—and they both do have them—than in the North. The love and the feeling which the aristocracy of the South and the old slaves bore for each other cannot be ended in a few generations."

Praise North Carolina

"North Carolina has done more for the negro than any other State in the South," Dr. Shepard continued. "The North Carolina College for Negroes, which was created by the last Legislature, is the only a group of white men and wo- police protection, and he will not men in Georgia, I am fighting for want to buy a home in the best better railroad transportation. It residential district. But, if he has isn't quite fair to expect the negro any money, why should he want to pay the same fare as the white to buy in the slums, where there is man, and to make him ride in an old no light or sanitation, or police protection?"

Education Means Dignity

Dr. Shepard is hopeful for the future of the negro college where negroes can obtain a liberal education in the arts. Recently there was started in Durham, where the school is located, the Negro Finance Corporation, the greatest finance corporation for negroes in the world. "As a member of the Inter-Racial Conference, which was started in Durham, N. C., heavy steel coach. "Give the negro sanitation and ture as the result of better education. "Train a dog or a cat," he

id, "and he will be a better dog
cat. Education will teach the
egro to dignify his work. As
ooker Washington used to say: 'A
rained barber immediately becomes
tonsorial artist.' So with a farmer.
With a knowledge of farming, and
he ability to analyze the soil, he
becomes an agriculturist. Certainly
he is going to make a better citi-
zen."

The decreased number of lynch-
ings was stressed by D. Shepard
as a sign of progress. "Of course,
there should not be any; they are
an outrage," he declared, "but the
smaller number is a good sign. In
the North where they do not have
Jim Crow cars, and segregation
laws, they use the co-operaive plan
of buying homes. That is a sim-
ple means of segregating the negro
to one special district."

"I went to Africa last year," he
went on, "and on one coast I found
negroes talking the English langu-
age and fighting under the English
flak. On the other coast I met
negroes who were talking German
and fighting for Germany. I knew
then that Africa was not my home-
land, and that I was an American.
We are the start of our race, and
we can prepare a great future for
our descendants."

War Is Blamed

Moral conditions among negroes
Dr. Shepard regards as the inevi-
table result of the war.

negroes are great imitators. They
imitate the white man, and some-
times they go him one better," he
smiled. With five or six people
living in one or two rooms, im-
moral conditions are very likely to
follow. Better housing conditions,
which will, of course, follow better
education, will bring about an im-
provement."

North Carolina, Kentucky, Ten
nessee and Virginia are doing good
work for the negro," he explained.
'Particularly North Carolina. There
s much understanding and harmony
there. Why should I want to go
elsewhere? I have always met with
cordial co-operation from the peo-
ple there; the founding of the col-
lege for negroes shows that. It is
a first-class college, and well at-
tended, and the Legislature creat-
ed it on our first request."

Dr. Shepard said he started out
in life with three ambitions, "to be
president of a negro college, to be
the author of a book and to be in
'Who's Who.'" With the publica-
tion this fall of a work of fiction
which he will shortly complete he
has fulfilled all his ambitions. He
holds a Ph. G. degree from Musk-
ingum College in Ohio and honorary
degrees from Selma University in
Alabama, and Howard University in
Washington. He was a delegate
and the only negro speaker to the
World's Sunday-school Convention
in 1907 held in Rome.

DUBOIS SPEAKS

Washington, D. C.—Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis, was the speaker last night at the mass meeting of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held Tuesday evening at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church under the auspices of the Bethel Literary Historical Association. Mrs. Marie Madre Marshall, president.

Dr. DuBois' message, of one and one-half hour duration, described widely to a vast audience French Africa with its four principal cities.

Referring ot the political conditions, Dr. DuBois said, "that the French possessions of territory in Africa is far greater in size than the United States. The population of the natives numbered approximately 22,000,000, and there are only four cantonments, or cities. The cantonments all have black majors. All natives have the right to vote. They have one representative in the French Chamber of Deputies. There is no color bar, but the race problem is exceedingly complicated."

He also outlined the courses of the schools established by the French for the Africans, consisting of normal and industrial training. He declared nothing existed at Hampton or Tuskegee in the nature of industrial training as thorough as that of Dakar.

He scored the citizens of Washington for their laxity in fighting residential segregation. He said "the city of Washington is not alarmed about segregation."

Neval H. Thomas, president of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., introduced the speaker, and also made a short address emulating the Negro in his efforts to gain political freedom, which he said could only be secured by the use of the ballot for all colored citizens.

Survey Graphic's Negro Issue Had Large Sale

NEW YORK, April 9—(K. N. F.)—Speaking about the recent issue of the Survey Graphic, which was devoted exclusively to Negroes, Paul Kellog, the editor, said that the issue enjoyed a great sale and that letters of commendation were received from all parts of the country.

Some Southerners, he said, had written to complain that the magazine was preaching social equality, and one of the adversisers, the Mayflower Hotel of Washington, had canceled its advertisement because the number carried the picture of Rutherford B. Hayes on the cover.

DENIES RACIAL INSULT.

Dr. Plecker to Be Fired on Complaint of Negroes.

RICHMOND, Va., March 31.—Denial that bulletins distributed through his office cast reflections on the negro race, as charged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a letter to Secretary of Labor Davis, was made by Dr. W. A. Plecker in a statement published here today.

The statement of Dr. Plecker, who is registrar of vital statistics of Virginia, said:

"It is untrue that any of the literature I have sent out is insulting of offensive as the propaganda letter sent out by the press bureau of the association relates. The pamphlets have been termed offensive deal with educational and health matters and are designed to be helpful to the negro. But supersensitive persons seem to have found them objectionable. Very well. We shall continue to educate against miscegenation and the mixture of negro blood with the white race in Virginia and elsewhere. If they want to dismiss me, let them go ahead. I suppose they will take the salary away from me, too. The salary is one dollar a year."

The letter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was said to have resulted in Secretary Davis taking steps to have Dr. Pleckler's "nominal appointment" as special agent of the children's bureau revoked.

U. S. LABOR BUREAU DISMISSES PLECKER

Washington, April 17.—The United States department of labor has dismissed from its service Dr. A. W. Plecker, state registrar of vital statistics of Richmond, Va., following [illegible] the Advancement of Colored People [illegible] anti-Negro pamphlets at the expense of the government [illegible] was demanded by James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the association. A letter to the N. A. A. C. P. from Arthur E. Cook, assistant to the secretary of labor, confirms the dismissal.

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR
APRIL 9, 1925

TALKS ON RACE PROBLEM

Magazine Editor Addresses Association in Capital.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois of New York editor of the Crisis Magazine, addressed a membership campaign meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church Tuesday night. Dr. Du Bois spoke on the West African negro problem and its relation to the negro problem of America.

Other speakers were Mrs. Marie Madre Marshall, president of the Bethel Literary Society; Neval H. Thomas, president of the local branch of the Advancement of Colored People; Rev. Charles E. Stewart, pastor of the church; Rev. Walter H. Brooks, Mrs. Coralie F. Cook, Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University, Prof. L. M. Hershaw, Prof. George W. Cook, Garnet C. Wilkinson, John C. Bruce, Re- Robert Brooks and A. S. Pinkett.

A program of music was given by Rev. Charles E. Stewart, Miss Lottie Hunter, Mrs. Louise Pinkett and Mr. Griffith.

THE-DIGEST

By Floyd J. Calvin

Copyright, 1924, by Pittsburgh Courier Pub. Co.

True Signs of Progress

ORDINARILY some great national or racial upheaval discovers the progress of the Negro. It is then that the spotlight of publicity is turned upon him and he is judged either by the standards of slavery or by the years in which he is expected to complete the bleeching process.

The World War developed the happy "escape" that we were good cannon fodder; but it also showed, to the utter chagrin of many, that we have lost our "darky" mannerisms. The great "Migration" proved that we are good industrial workers; but the East St. Louis and Chicago riots demonstrated that we have an undue amount of self assertiveness.

Those were dramatic episodes in our otherwise normal life that provoked incidental discussion about our lump development. It is only we who from day to day, must live and grow that appreciate the slow but steady steps ahead, which taken together loom large against a distant background.

Recent events and developments all over the country serve to confirm the fact that we are not standing still, but are forging steadily ahead. A woman in Trenton, N. J., takes time to write a colored editor about a leader in her community who criticised one of the racial organizations, charging they were a bunch of snobs. The lady tells the editor she thinks it time we should quit such foolishness and pull together more effectively. Here is an exhibition of intelligence and outspokenness from the laymen that augurs well for the future character of our local leadership.

A plot was bared showing how the Ku Klux Klan had planned to murder a Texas editor, but the editor goes calmly on publishing his newspaper with the same vigorous policy. The man's personal courage is worthy of the highest praise—especially in Texas!

Dr. Plecker, the Nordic alarmist of Virginia, is dismissed by the Government for spreading anti-Negro propaganda, upon protest from the N. A. A. C. P. This shows what organization is doing in our behalf.

Harry Wills steadfastly refuses to lose sight of the main issue, but keeps relentlessly after Jack Dempsey himself. Wills is right, and has shown great courage in maintaining his stand in face of hostile and unjust criticism.

Judge Tiernan thought he could get away with "murder" by condoning mob law from the bench in New York state, but he stirred up such a hornet's nest of opposition that his political life is at an end, unless he goes to Virginia to continue it.

Moorfield Story, a Nordic, president of the N. A. A. C. P., on his 80th birthday bids the race to continue its fight against prejudice and discrimination. A most refreshing reminder that all Nordics aren't alike.

Brown and Stevens went bankrupt and Standard Life failed, but the Negro financial field is as busy and as bustling as ever. Truly we have not lost faith in each other, nor in our ability to do big things.

Although we have heard nothing lately from William Clarence Matthew's "Seventeen Points," the fact remains that the Colored Section of the recent campaign was the best or-

Nothing has happened in a big and dramatic way to parade these virtues before the general public in their entirety, but the fact remains that we are adding new ones day by day. At the same time we shall face a new test that will rate us much higher than did the World War or the Chicago riots.

These all-are true signs of progress. Many years ago Fisk University was our intellectual pride and race rested with Marcus Garvey. Today we have manhood enough to give up Fisk if she does not train our children to be any man's footstool. Today few retain such an illusion.

said, "and he will be a better dog or cat. Education will teach the negro to dignify his work. As Booker Washington used to say: 'A trained barber immediately becomes a tonsorial artist.' So with a farmer. With a knowledge of farming, and the ability to analyze the soil, he becomes an agriculturist. Certainly, he is going to make a better citizen."

The decreased number of lynchings was stressed by D. Shepard as a sign of progress. "Of course, there should not be any; they are an outrage," he declared, "but the smaller number is a good sign. In the North where they do not have Jim Crow cars, and segregation laws, they use the co-operaive plan of buying homes. That is a simple means of segregating the negro to one special district."

"I went to Africa last year," he went on, "and on one coast I found negroes talking the English language and fighting under the English flak. On the other coast I met negroes who were talking German and fighting for Germany. I knew then that Africa was not my homeland, and that I was an American. We are the start of our race, and we can prepare a great future for our descendants."

War Is Blamed

Moral conditions among negroes Dr. Shepard regards as the inevitable result of the war. "The negroes are great imitators. They imitate the white man, and sometimes they go him one better," he smiled. With five or six people living in one or two rooms, immoral conditions are very likely to follow. Better housing conditions, which will, of course, follow better education, will bring about an improvement."

North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia are doing good work for the negro," he explained. 'Particularly North Carolina. There s much understanding and harmony there. Why should I want to go elsewhere? I have always met with cordial co-operation from the people there; the founding of the college for negroes shows that. It is a first-class college, and well attended, and the Legislature created it on our first request."

Dr. Shepard said he started out in life with three ambitions, "to be president of a negro college, to be the author of a book and to be in 'Who's Who.'" With the publication this fall of a work of fiction which he will shortly complete he has fulfilled all his ambitions. He holds a Ph. G. degree from Muskingum College in Ohio and honorary degrees from Selma University in Alabama, and Howard University in Washington. He was a delegate and the only negro speaker to the World's Sunday-school Convention in 1907 held in Rome.

DUBOIS SPEAKS

Washington, D. C.—Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis, was speaker at the mass meeting of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held Tuesday evening at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, under the auspices of the Bethel Literary Historical Association, Mrs. Marie Madre Marshall, president.

Dr. DuBois' message, of one and one-half hour duration, described widely to a vast audience French Africa with its four principal cities.

Referring to the political conditions, Dr. DuBois said, "that the French possesions of territory in Africa is far greater in size than the United States. The population of the natives numbered approximately 22,000,000, and there are only four cantonments, or cities. The cantonments all have black majors. All natives have the right to vote. They have one representative in the French Chamber of Deputies. There is no color bar, but the race problem is exceedingly complicated."

He also outlined the courses of the schools established by the French for the Africans, consisting of normal and industrial training. He declared nothing existed at Hampton or Tuskegee in the nature of industrial training as thorough as that of Dakar.

He scored the citizens of Washington for their laxity in fighting residential segregation. He said "the city of Washington is not alarmed about segregation."

Neval H. Thomas, president of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., introduced the speaker, and also made a short address emulating the Negro in his efforts to gain political freedom, which he said could only be secured by the use of the ballot for all colored citizens.

Survey Graphic's Negro Issue Had Large Sale

NEW YORK, April 9—(K. N. F.) Speaking about the recent issue of the Survey Graphic, which was devoted exclusively to Negroes, Paul Kellog, the editor, said that the issue enjoyed a great sale and that letters of commendation were received from all parts of the country.

Some Southerners, he said, had written to complain that the magazine was preaching social equality, and one of the advertisers, the Mayflower Hotel of Washington, had canceled its advertisement because the number carried the picture of Rutherford B. Hayes on the cover.

DENIES RACIAL INSULT.

Dr. Plecker to Be Fired on Complaint of Negroes.

RICHMOND, Va., March 31.—Denial that bulletins distributed through his office cast reflections on the negro race, as charged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a letter to Secretary of Labor Davis, was made by Dr. W. A. Plecker in a statement published here today.

The statement of Dr. Plecker, who is registrar of vital statistics of Virginia, said:

"It is untrue that any of the literature I have sent out is insulting of offensive as the propaganda letter sent out by the press bureau of the association relates. The pamphlets which have been termed offensive deal with educational and health matters and are designed to be helpful to the negro. But supersensitive persons seem to have found them objectionable. Very well. We shall continue to educate against miscegenation and the mixture of negro blood with the white race in Virginia and elsewhere. If they want to dismiss me, let them go ahead. I suppose they will take the salary away from me, too. The salary is one dollar a year."

The letter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was said to have resulted in Secretary Davis taking steps to have Dr. Plecker's "nominal appointment" as special agent of the children's bureau, revoked.

U. S. LABOR BUREAU DISMISSES PLECKER

Washington, April 17.—The United States department of labor has dismissed from its service Dr. A. W. Plecker, state registrar of vital statistics of Virginia, following the complaint of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that Dr. Plecker was distributing anti-negro propaganda through pamphlets at the expense of the government.

Dr. Plecker's dismissal was demanded by James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the association. A letter to the N. A. A. C. P. from Arthur E. Cook, assistant to the secretary of labor, confirms the dismissal.

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR
APRIL 9, 1925

TALKS ON RACE PROBLEM

Magazine Editor Addresses Association in Capital.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois of New York editor of the Crisis Magazine, addressed a membership campaign meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church Tuesday night. Dr. Du Bois spoke on the West African negro problem and its relation to the negro problem of America.

Other speakers were Mrs. Marie Madre Marshall, president of the Bethel Literary Society; Neval H. Thomas, president of the local branch of the Advancement of Colored People; Rev. Charles E. Stewart, pastor of the church; Rev. Walter H. Brooks, Mrs. Coralie F. Cook, Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University, Prof. L. M. Hershaw, Prof. George W. Cook, Garnet C. Wilkinson, John C. Bruce, Rev. Robert Brooks and A. S. Pinkett.

A program of music was given by Rev. Charles E. Stewart, Miss Lottie Hunter, Mrs. Louise Pinkett and Mr. Griffith.

THE-DIGEST

By Floyd J. Calvin

Copyright, 1924, by Pittsburgh Courier Pub. Co.

True Signs of Progress

ORDINARILY some great national or racial upheaval discovers the progress of the Negro. It is then that the spotlight of publicity is turned upon him and he is judged either by the standards of slavery or by the years in which he is expected to complete the bleeching process.

The World War developed the happy "escape" that we were good cannon fodder; but it also showed, to the utter chagrin of many, that we have lost our "darky" mannerisms. The great "Migration" proved that we are good industrial workers; but the East St. Louis and Chicago riots demonstrated that we have an undue amount of self assertiveness.

Those were dramatic episodes in our otherwise normal life that provoked incidental discussion about our lump development. It is only we who from day to day, must live and grow that appreciate the slow but steady steps ahead, which taken together loom large against a distant background.

Recent events and developments all over the country serve to confirm the fact that we are not standing still, but are forging steadily ahead. A woman in Trenton, N. J., takes time to write a colored editor about a leader in her community who criticised one of the racial organizations, charging they were a bunch of snobs. The lady tells the editor she thinks it time we should quit such foolishness and pull together more effectively. Here is an exhibition of intelligence and outspokenness from the laymen that augurs well for the future character of our local leadership.

A plot was bared showing how the Ku Klux Klan had planned to murder a Texas editor, but the editor goes calmly on publishing his newspaper with the same vigorous policy. The man's personal courage is worthy of the highest praise—especially in Texas.

Dr. Plecker, the Nordic alarmist of Virginia, is dismissed by the Government for spreading anti-Negro propaganda, upon protest from the N. A. A. C. P. This shows what organization is doing in our behalf.

Harry Wills steadfastly refuses to lose sight of the main issue, but keeps relentlessly after Jack Dempsey himself. Wills is right, and has shown great courage in maintaining his stand in face of hostile and unjust criticism.

Judge Tiernan thought he could get away with "murder" by condoning mob law from the bench in New York state, but he stirred up such a hornet's nest of opposition that his political life is at an end, unless he goes to Virginia to continue it.

Moorfield Story, a Nordic, president of the N. A. A. C. P., on his 80th birthday bids the race to continue its fight against prejudice and discrimination. A most refreshing reminder that all Nordics aren't alike.

Brown and Stevens went bankrupt and Standard Life failed, but the Negro financial field is as busy and as bustling as ever. Truly we have not lost faith in each other, nor in our ability to do big things.

Although we have heard nothing lately from William Clarence Matthew's "Seventeen Points," the fact remains that the Colored Section of the recent campaign was the best organized and best managed in our political history.

Five years ago thousands believed the destiny of the Negro race rested with Marcus Garvey. Today few retain such an illusion.

Many years ago Fisk University was our intellectual pride. Today we have manhood enough to give up Fisk if she does not square with our convictions on the basic principles of higher Negro education. We tell the world we will not train our children to be any man's footstool. We rather prefer unemancipated and unadulterated.

These-all-are true signs of progress. Nothing has happened in a big and dramatic way to parade these virtues before the general public in their entirety, but the fact remains that we are ours and we are adding new ones day by day. At the appropriate time we shall face a new test that will rate us much higher than did the World War or the Chicago riots.

Race Problem - 1925

United States.

ECONOMIC CAUSES ARE BLAMED FOR RACE DIFFICULTIES

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
NOVEMBER 8, 1925

Crimes More Frequent When Crops Were Poor and Low Prices Ruled in Cotton Belt

By Lester A. Walton

There is no such thing as "the South," there being many Souths; because the geographical sections below Mason and Dixon's Line differ from one another and in every Southern community differences in opinion, culture and outlook are to be found, avows Dr. Will W. Alexander, Director of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation.

Discussing "The South and the Negro" Dr. Alexander, a resident of Atlanta, approaches the subject philosophically, optimistically and with rare restraint. He neither raves about "white and Nordic supremacy" nor gives an emotional display of maudlin sentiment for the Negro. His prescription for the solution of one of America's most perplexing problems is racial co-operation. Says he:

"Sixty years ago the people of the South took up the task of building a new civilization. The Civil War had destroyed the economic foundations upon which the former civilization had rested. The soil, the climate and the people were about all that remained. The soil and the climate alone were as they had formerly been. The human elements in the situation had been greatly changed. Former masters were no longer masters and those who had been slaves were now free men. Together they must build anew what they had seen swept away by war.

"Out of such a task should have come most valuable experience. Sixty years is a short time in the life of a people. No social change can yield its full and complete results in so short a period. Yet, this experience has thrown light upon the Nation's most serious race problem. There are roads that undoubtedly lead forward, and a growing number of Southern people are convinced that the way of real progress in adjustment of race problems has been found.

"It must be remembered always that there in reality is no such thing as 'the South.' Instead there are many Souths. Geographical sections in the South differ from one another almost as much as each of these differ from other parts of the nation. In every Southern community differences of opinion, culture and outlook are to be found. However, among the most thoughtful men and women of the South, the following convictions regarding race relations are widely held and steadily gaining ground:

DIES AT 94

FELIX BRANUM.

"1. Education has been and must continue the chief influence in the solution of this, as other social problems. The communities that surround Negro schools have the lowest crime record of any Negro communities. Scores of the best and oldest Negro schools proudly point to the fact that none of their graduates have been convicted of crime.

"On the white side, those States that have led in education have also been leaders in the overthrow of mob violence. Good schools and mobs never operate in the same community. So the Southern States are building schools for white and black. Even in the most backward sections this is going on. It is admitted everywhere that the greatest Southern statesmen since 1865 have been educators.

"2. Force and education can never long work hand in hand at a human problem. If the hopes and methods of education are true, force is false. A study of the crime record of the South for the last twenty-five years shows that resorts to force go along with other types of crime and that force, instead of improving conditions, makes them worse. Force always calls for more force and begets more crime. The conviction is held and voiced by preachers, editors and leaders of thought everywhere throughout the South that the experience of sixty years has made it plain that force is worse than futile and has absolutely nothing to contribute to the solution of the so-called race question.

"3. John J. Eagan, the South's most prophetic business man of the last generation, often said that underneath all race difficulties could be found economic causes. Sam Jones used to say 'that fellow isn't mad about what he's mad about.' This is up to date psychology. Group conduct, as well as individual action, is often controlled by hidden causes unrecognized even by those affected by them. A casual study will show that crimes involving race have for the last twenty-five years been notably more frequent in those years when poor crops and low prices have brought economic depression to the cotton sections.

"The South is least conscious of race when economic conditions are more favorable. There is a lesson in this for all parts of the Nation. The working out of a more stable and equitable condition for the masses of the people will undoubtedly contribute greatly to racial adjustment.

"4. This sixty years of experience has demonstrated to thoughtful men throughout the South the fact of community solidarity. No person of intelligence can now be found who believes that the Negro community across the railroad tracks is another community from the white community alongside it.

"Recently there has developed the well-founded conviction that co-operation is the method by which the racial groups here in America will achieve a better life and larger mutual appreciation. This is not solely the white man's burden. Negroes have much to contribute to the solution of the problem. They are already doing so and will continue.

"For five years the Commission on Interracial Co-Operation, composed of influential white and colored citizens, has worked systematically to discover in each community white and colored leaders who would accept conference and co-operation as the method of dealing with common interests. The response to this has been encouraging."

NEW YORK CITY TELEGRAM
DECEMBER 11, 1925

New York's Attitude Praised as Democracy Test at Conference.

Maintaining that "the negro is probably the real test of democracy in America," Eugene Knickel Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, at the round table discussion on "Migration" at the State Conference on Charities and Correction at Hotel Roosevelt today, said "Negro migrants in New York State may yet give the answer" as regards the durability of this democracy.

"New York State has probably shown a fairer attitude and more open mind in handling these questions than has any other State of our country," said Mr. Knickel, "and New York city may prove to be the laboratory in which the most satisfactory local experiment will be conducted. Certainly there is no single spot of its size on the globe where so many white people and negroes reside and where ambition and competition are so strong, and yet where there are so few points of friction.

"The negro population in northern United States increased in the ten years between 1910 and 1920 from 1,000,000 to more than $1,500,000. Since the larger part of this half million increase occurred in the few years prior to 1920 and the increase since 1920 has been at about the same rate, it is fair to estimate that there are now close to two million negroes north of the Mason and Dixon line. The increase was due in the main to the migration of negroes from the South and to the relatively small West Indian immigration.

200,000 Negroes Here.

"The increase in the negro population of New York State from 1910 to 1920 was 64,292. The negro population in New York city at present is in excess of 200,000.

"Though it is true that in the South the negro has not been denied industrial opportunity as a skilled on unskilled worker, his wages there have been relatively low and his treatment at the hands of white men in authority, both on the job and in connection with his civic and home affairs, has made him feel constantly restricted and oppressed.

The negro has established racial and economic groups or cities within such cities as New York, Pittsburg, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia. According to Mr. Jones, in these cities the negro has his own banks, theatres, hotels, restaurants, stores, negro doctors, lawyers and architects.

He said that records show negroes have not necessarily migrated from from countries of the South where lynchings are most numerous, but where economic conditions are worst and to centres of opportunity in the North.

New York Is Their Centre.

"New York city has become the centre of intellectual and cultural life among negroes of America as a result of the migration. The headquarters of the leading negro organizations working for negro welfare, whether social or civil, are located in this city, and the most successful, influential and intellectual leaders of the race have been engaged by their organizations to conduct their national activities and propaganda from New York as a centre. Thus this community has become the dynamo for generating the social energies propelling the negro masses toward what they hope will be a better day.

"It seems to be a general impression among negroes throughout the country that in this State they have a better chance for advancement, more rights as citizens and better prospects for the future than in other States of the nation."

The large proportion of delinquency among the negroes, he said, is the most "discouraging phase" of their lives, due to lack of proper social service machinery, but this is improving rapidly.

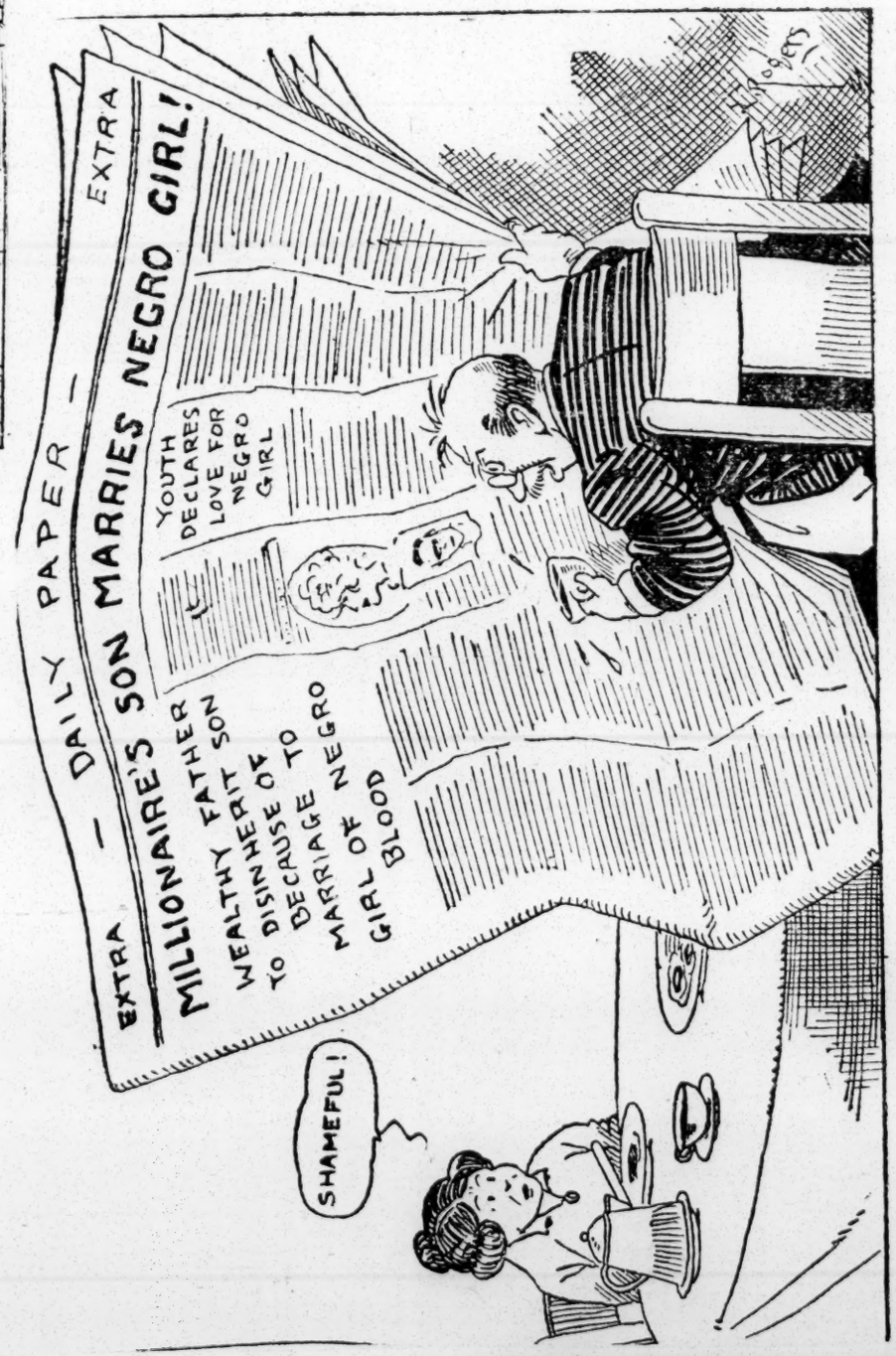
RACE HATRED SCORED

(By the Associated Negro Press)

New York.—Speaking against all forms of race hatred before the members of the Free Synagogue in Carnegie Hall, Rabbi William H. Fineshriber, Philadelphia, declared: "One of the causes of war—the greatest—was race hatred and race jealousy. I have no doubt that one of the leading factors in producing the World War was a gradual building up an idea of race superiority. There is no such thing as a superior or inferior race."

ISN'T IT STRANGE—

That no great excitement is created over the fact that a southern white "gentleman" has one or more concubines of our Race—



But when a white man of intelligence and culture falls in love and marries a girl of equal refinement, having any trace of African blood in her veins, the white American public and press proceed to rave?

ISN'T IT STRANGE—

That no great excitement is created over the fact that a southern white "gentleman" has one or more concubines of our Race—

But when a white man of intelligence and culture falls in love and marries a girl of equal refinement, having any trace of African blood in her veins, the white American public and press proceed to rave?

Race Problem - 1925.
United States.

Vicious, Unprovoked and Stupid Attack On the South Comes Out of the West

BY W. W. JERMANE
Associate Editor of the Seattle (Wash.) Daily Times.

Few persons in an atmosphere of detachment can consider the Underwood case without inclining to give way to pessimism. He is by all odds the strongest and ablest man now in either house of congress from the south, and has to his credit 30 years of distinguished service, first in the house and afterwards in the senate. His poise, courage and capacity to understand men and measures long have been the envy of public men who are less gifted. So outstanding a figure did he become that millions of members of his party regarded him as being of presidential size, and many of that number were in favor of his nomination at the New York convention last year.

He [illegible] heads and shoulders above the great majority of people of his state that is a dangerous thing to do in any place, but especially in Alabama. He declined to be an extreme fundamentalist; he openly denounced the Ku Klux Klan and all its works; he refused to kow tow to the Anti-Saloon league; he was skeptical respecting the good the country would secure through equal suffrage; he did not always believe organized labor was right in the position it took toward legislation. But there was no bitterness or malice or prejudice in him. If ever a man assumed and maintained what is known as the judicial attitude, he did it.

And because he did it, he became the best known, most highly respected and completely trusted of southerners to the people of the rest of the country. But not at home. No one of these opposing groups acting alone could have unhorsed him. It was only when they acted together that their success was possible. The country, the senate, and the south in particular, will be the poorer because of his retirement. Their loss will be far greater than his. Alabama already has one Heflin in the senate; now it may have another; or it may elect somebody patterned after Colonel Blease, of South Carolina. Every southern state has a superfluity of men of those types, and for many years has delighted to do them honor.

That is why the country shudders every time the democrats obtain control of the government. Most of the demagogues in congress are from the south. Not only are they demagogues, but they are second and third raters. They lack intelligence, outlook, capacity to understand public questions, and, as is true of the ignoramus everywhere, they are controlled by their passions and prejudices. It was the south, then in control of congress, that insisted that the rich people should pay the cost of the war. That was back in 1917, when the first war income tax law was enacted; only at the next session of congress will it be possible to give that law a scientific and therefore sound foundation.

Control Under Seniority Rule.

Every time the democrats win a national victory these men come into control of the committees of congress under the seniority rule. It is in the committees that the most important work of congress is done. No wonder that, throughout the north and west, among people of understanding, there has been for years a progressive tendency to vote the republican ticket. These people are not controlled by partisan feelings, for many of them were born and brought up democrats. But they do not trust that party to administer the affairs of the country.

There are many able men in the south, but they are not in politics. They have gone into business and the professions. They would no more accept office, under present conditions, than they would expose themselves to the plague. The result is that the hill billies of such states as Arkansas and the poor whites of the south as a whole are in the saddle. Men of the Underwood type do not appeal to them; indeed, there is a natural antipathy between them. The wonder is that Mr. Underwood has lasted as long as he has.

It is a truism that on organization or a people can always be judged by those whom it honors. After Mr. Underwood leaves the senate Alabama will be fully represented in that body by men operating on levels that are low enough to secure the support of the grossly uninformed majority of its voters.

South's Slow Development.

Does anybody wonder why the development of the south has been so slow? In the cross section of that part of the country furnished by the Underwood incident the answer to any such question may be found. The south is ignorant, and glad of it. It doesn't intentionally give important office to anybody who knows too much, or who has capacity to think and a desire to be controlled by high motives looking to the common good. And so it is that a man who in the north would be lauded as a statesman, and perhaps elevated to the presidency, is to be kicked out of the senate.

From the organization of the government down to about thirty years ago, the ablest men of the south were sent to Washington. They were men of culture and refinement, with minds trained for public service. In those days the south was the equal of the north in everything that had to do with national affairs. A number of men of that kind were in congress when I came to Washington; but I noticed that as they were removed by death or for other cause, their places were filled by men of a distinctly inferior sort, as a rule.

Able Men Are Gone.

Gone are the Bankheads and Morgans of Alabama; the Gordons, Bacons and Clays of Georgia, the Allens and Williamses of Mississippi, the Vests, Clarks, De Armonds and Dockerys of Missouri, the Tillmans and McLaurins of South Carolina, the Carmacks, Richardsons and Taylors of Tennessee, the Millses, Baileys and Culbersons of Texas; and with them has gone much of the glory that was the south's for seventy-five years.

Arkansas, North Carolina and Virginia are exceptions, so far as the senate is concerned. They have been doing their best to preserve the old tradition. When the proletariat first came into power in South Carolina it sent Tillman to the senate, but in time he became one of that body's most useful members, perhaps to the disgust of the majority of voters in the state. He came up steadily from his original environment, and died with a degree of influence in national affairs that has not since been equaled by any southern member of either house.

South's Decadent Majority.

It seems that while the north and west were dallying with populism and free silver, the decadent majority in the south began to develop class consciousness. It turned against its leading members of congress, for there is obviously nothing in common between ignorance and enlightenment. As those men died or were retired, their places were filled by men who understood the grunting of the herd. That is not true everywhere throughout that region, but there has been enough of it to give tone and color to southern representation in congress as a whole.

Alabama, however, stuck by Underwood. But when he voted against the eighteenth amendment, expressed doubts about suffrage, boldly denounced the klan as a menace to public peace and in various ways, aside from these things, showed himself worthy of comparison with the great men who represented the south in both houses from the time of John C. Calhoun and John Randolph down to John Sharp Williams and John W. Daniel, he was marked for slaughter. The last act in the tragedy was begun recently when he announced that he would not be a candidate for renomination and reelection next year. My understanding is that he is to make his future home near Mt. Vernon, on one of the historic estates that dot the northern half of Virginia.

Klan Aids in Overthrow.

The most powerful element in his overthrow was the klan, which has become the secular arm of extreme fundamentalism in the south. He has a reverence for sacred things and is a God-fearing man, but declined to encourage the religious and racial intolerance that is associated with the klan, especially in his part of the country. It was natural that it should turn against him, for we all know that water does not rise higher than its source. But he has preserved his self-respect and the respect and confidence of many millions of his fellow citizens.

We may easily imagine what kind of a country this would be if there were forty-eight states of the Alabama type, and many of those who do so will doubtless pray that no such punishmnt be inflicted upon the American people, no matter what their sins of omission and commission may be.

W. W. JERMANE.

HOW THE NEGRO MUST BE JUDGED

SUBJECT TO BE DISCUSSED BY LUTHER LEAGUE

The Luther League topic for the fifth Sunday after Trinity is "The Progress and Achievement of the Negro of America," explained as follows by Rev. Dr. Henry C. Roehner, Mansfield, O.:

> No other race, or white or black,
> When bound as thou wert, to the rack,
> So seldom stooped to grieving;
> No other race when free again,
> Forgot the past and proved them men
> So noble in forgiving.—Paul Dunbar.

The negro problem is a complex one. The negro is not the only one involved in it. The white man has his part in producing the problem, and he must have a part in solving it. It is a problem which is filled with prejudices. Few there are who are entirely free from prejudices against the black man. The negro is sought to be judged by the standard which the white man sets, even the standard of the white man himself, and the negro has not had the advantage and opportunities required to make such a standard anywhere near a just one for measurement. The white man has through centuries of advantages and opportunities of growth and development, raised those standards, and now seeks to use them as the measuring stick for the negro.

"In justice, the standard of measurement must be one in harmony with the opportunities, the advantages, the environments under which the negro has been compelled to live.

"Of course, we realize that the problem in an abstract sense is a different one from the one which confronts the individual as he comes into personal and social contact with it.

"But notwithstanding a more or less academic and theoretical handling of the subject, it is nevertheless true that no matter where one lives and irrespective of one's opinions, predelictions and prejudices, it is only right that it should be considered and treated in a just way, and that only just standards of evaluation be used.

"And there is a Christian approach to the subject which also must be taken and maintained by Christians. One cannot at the same time be un-Christian in one's opinions and actions, and at the same time be truly Christian. In this problem as in all other problems, Christians must be Christian.

"We must also bear in mind that human progress and advancement are slow. When you deal with personality it is not like building a house. It takes time and lots of time to develop personality and character. The white man with all the advantages and opportunities he has had, and time to use them, has still great possibilities of improvement. He is still far from being perfect! So then in your consideration of every problem in which human relations are involved, it stands us in good stead to be charitable."

GEORGIA'S TURN HAS COME

By COLEMAN HILL

DURING the last few years, The Nation, an excellent liberal weekly published in New York, has been printing from time to time analyses of the various States of the Union, written by natives of the States in question, or those well familiar with its life.

These diagnoses have been of so gloomy a hue that I have often wondered why the periodical did not change its name to The Nation: God Help It.

In spite of this uniformly depressing outlook—maybe, to some of us, because of it—there are those who have eagerly looked forward to the day when The Nation would expose the shortcomings of Georgia.

This week it is done. Georgia: Invisible Empire State, is the title given to the forty-ninth article in the series on These United States. It is written by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, native of Massachusetts, professor of economics and history for fourteen years in Atlanta University, and present editor of The Crisis.

* * * * *

An Unfortunate Selection

I am sorry the editors of The Nation selected Dr. Du Bois for the task. There is no fundamental reason why a Negro should not be as well fitted to disclose our sins as is any white man in the world. But the fact of the author's color will be used by bigoted opinion as an excuse for discrediting what wisdom he has uttered.

Furthermore, in this instance, Dr. Du Bois' race has caused him to see his subject, if the reader will excuse the pun, through colored glasses. We have so many faults and weaknesses more grievous than those of which he treats, so many outstanding problems which, because he is obsessed with racial relations, he either omits or treats as subsidiary questions.

The editors of The Nation have recognized this lack. On their front cover (the article appears in the issue of January 21) they have designated it as Race Hate in Georgia, instead of using the title which the author accords his work.

* * * * *

Du Bois Sees A Reason

To Dr. Du Bois, the question of white and Negro relations is paramount to every other consideration. He does not believe, however, that prejudice is instinctive.

"The central thing," he says, "is not race hatred in Georgia: it is successful industry and commercial investment in race hatred for the purpose of profit."

His paper is devoted to his proof that the clash of color is a deliberate conflict foisted upon the State by wily politicians and shrewd business men. Labor troubles, he believes, are kept infrequent in Georgia by the simple process of setting the black man and the poor white at each other's throats. The Negro is impotent, because disfranchised; the white man is powerless, for, should he show any sign of friendship toward his darker brother, he would immediately be buried beneath the calumny of "nigger lover."

"Thus in Georgia," says Dr. Du Bois, "democratic government and real political life have disappeared. None of the great questions that agitate the nation—international or national, social or economic—can come up for free discussion. Anything that would divide white folk in opinion or action is taboo and only personal feuds survive as the issues of political campaigns. If real issues ever creep in and real difference of opinion appears—'To Your Tents, O Israel'—Do you want your sister to marry a 'nigger'?"

To which sapient statement of conditions, this reviewer adds a dejected Amen.

* * * * *

Some Fault Is Found

I cannot, however, give endorsement to all the views Dr. Du Bois voices. It seems to me that he has frequently stretched his theory a bit too far, tied his interpretations by too tenuous a cord to his facts.

The poor white, says the author, is compensated for his miserable mode of living by the sop of racial superiority fed him by his masters. I don't believe it. I believe the poor white would be just as poor a poor white, and just as much the dupe of industrialists and politicians, on the East Side of New York or in the steel mills of Pittsburgh.

Nor can I grant that Dr. Du Bois' underlying thesis—that racial conflict is completely a result of the machinations of the mighty—is really so fundamental as he has made it appear. I grant that the mighty have helped it on, when it served their purpose. But the roots, I am quite sure, go much farther than Dr. Du Bois indicates.

* * * * *

Nation's Lamb And Mercury's Lion

There is talk of the dilemma facing "conscientious, educated, forward-looking white men of Georgia,"—and I know that dilemma is real enough.

"On the one hand," says Dr. Du Bois, "is natural loyalty to what his fathers believed, to what his friends never question; then his own difficulty in knowing or understanding the black world and his inbred distrust of its ability and real wish."

Can one wonder at this "inbred distrust" when Dr. Du Bois himself, described by the editors of The American Mercury as "the recognized leader of the Negro intellectuals of the United States," recently said, in that same American Mercury:

"The Negro too is content and happy. He is beating the white folks at their own game. He is gaining power. Larger and larger numbers are escaping all contact with the whites. What will be the end? Can we not see it plainly looming? Insult, separation, race pride, hate, war: there is the nasty horrible world-old thing creeping on us.

"Impossible? Of course it is impossible for twelve million men to fight a hundred million—but can they not hate the harder for their very impotence? . . . It will not happen in our day. No. But it will happen. 'A day unto the Lord is as a thousand years,' and even the blind can see in the segregation of the American Negro a rebirth of racial concentration, of group friction, of reciprocal hate and despising, of world war."

* * * * *

We Demand An Appendix

On the whole, The Nation has not done right by our State. Where we want to have our smugness, our sensitiveness, our narrowness, our traditionalism, our lack of idealism, our suffering under the stings of our rural rulers—all these flaunted in our faces, The Nation has contented itself with printing a homily on the White Man and the Black Man.

There are those who can probe the soul of Georgia and lay it bare before the world. Why did not The Nation call upon them to do it? Where was Frances Newman when this was going on, or John Donald Wade, or Julian Harris or Julia Collier Harris?

Truly, The Nation owes us a supplement to Dr. Du Bois.

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR
SEPTEMBER 6, 1925

ASSERTS NEGRO PROBLEM NOW IS NATIONAL ISSUE

Julius Rosenwald, Founder of Colored School Fund, Sees Race as Factor in Industrial Life.

BY JULIUS ROSENWALD.
Philanthropist, Founder of Rosenwald Fund for Negro Schools.

The so-called negro problem was confined largely to the South before the great war. Now it is a national problem. Prior to 1914 the negro usually was an agricultural worker. Today he is a big factor in America's industrial life.

The World War virtually put a stop to foreign immigration to the United States. Hundreds of thousands of Europeans living in this country were called to the colors. Under the stimulus of war conditions industries in the North expanded greatly.

These three factors caused a labor shortage that forced the Northern industrialists to scour the country for available workers. The greatest supply of such labor was found among the negroes of the South, and this was drawn upon to a great extent.

The result was the beginning of the largest migration of negroes in the history of America; a migration that is still in progress.

Migration Markel by Two Phases.

The migration has been marked by two phases, that of 1916-1920 and that commencing anew in 1922. The first redlly began in 1915, reached its maximum in 1917 and continued at a slower pace up to 1920, when the economic depression brought it to a halt.

The revival of business prosperity in 1922 brought on a new exodus from the South. Thousands of negroes who had remained North during the period of depression wrote to their friends and relatives, urging them to come North, and in many cases sending them money for the journey.

The 1920 census reported the negro population of the Nation to be about 10½ million, or 10 per cent of the total population. The negro population in the North was shown to be more than one and one-half million.

Northward Movement Cited.

The essentially industrial implications of the Northward movement in the last eight years is revealed by the fact that more than one million Northern negroes, or 73 per cent, live in 10 industrial centers, as follows, using round figures:

Indianapolis district, 47,500; Detroit-Toledo district, 55,900; Cleveland-Youngstown district, 58,800; Kansas City district, 65,400; Pittsburgh district, 88,300; Columbus-Cincinnati district, 89,600; St. Louis district, 102,600; Chicago district, 131,600; Philadelphia district, 248,300; New York district, 251,300.

The concentration of the negro in these 10 Northern centers not only has projected the so-called negro problem in the North, but has presented it in new aspects. Eighty per cent of the negroes in the South live in rural communities. The present status and future of the negro, therefore, are primarily linked with industry in the North and with agriculture in the South.

Negro Acquires Industrial Skill.

The present selective immigration law was passed by a Republican administration and will probably remain in force for another four years. Even should the law be repealed, thousands of negroes have acquired skill in mechanical occupations that puts them beyond the likelihood of replacement by foreign labor. In short, Northern industrialists have come to look to the negro for the labor supply in their factories and workshops. For some of these tasks men and women who have had training at Hampton and Tuskegee are well fitted.

These industrialists are now carefully selecting their negro workers. Some have made special efforts to employ only married men and then to provide such housing and working conditions as will keep them satisfied. One large iron foundry, which pursued this policy, reported that the turnover among its negro workers was only 10 per cent.

Apparently the settling of the negro in the north is permanent. Many of the factors that brought him North operate to keep him there.

There is good ground for believing that the migration of the negro will have a beneficial effect on the Nation. It will be a good thing for the South, because the colored population will be more evenly distributed over the entire country and will lessen the Southern fear, real or alleged, of race domination, and will thus remove an outstanding factor that has hampered that section's development.

Southern White Man Quoted.

In this connection it might be well to quote the authority of a Southern white man, President Jacobs of Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Ga., who has declared:

"The very finest effect of this exodus of negro laborers is its political effect. As long as there is a negro problem in America the South is in political slavery, unable to vote her mind about matters of national and international importance. When the time comes that the negro problem is no longer a sectional problem, but, in so far as it is a problem at all, a national problem, then, indeed, will the Southern country be free.

"And it should be added that, from the political standpoint of the negro also, the change will be most highly advantageous. It is difficult for a white man to realize now it feels to be a 'problem,' and the negro will never be satisfied, nor will the tension between the races be over, until he ceases to be one."

The negro's rise in the scale of occupations has given him a greater purchasing power and a higher standard of living. To his credit it should be said that, for the most part, he tries sincerely to live up to his opportunities in the North. He is usually a law-abiding citizen, buys his own home when possible and gives his children the best schooling his income will permit.

Regarded as Hopeful Sign.

One of the most hopeful signs for the future of the negro in the North is that the opportunities there are attracting young colored men and women trained in such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee. These two schools, and others of their type, not only give a thorough training in mechanical occupations, but their whole system of education tends to turn out young men and women who will be community teachers and leaders.

Those trained in what has become known as the "Hampton-Tuskegee" method strive to bring about co-operation between the white and colored races and to reduce interracial friction. Leaders of this type are bound to have a salutary influence on the negro communities everywhere.

Bishop Declares Foundation Of America Being Shaken

Associated Negro Press.

ROUND LAKE, N. Y., Aug. 12.—Bishop Robert E. Jones of the Methodist Episcopal Church declared here Friday in an address before the Men's Council that the foundations of American democracy are being shaken by race barriers and race antipathy. The Bishop further pointed out that the good natured, docile Negro is being transformed and he is becoming resentful of the treatment accorded him. "If we will keep in mind" said the Bishop, "that the Negro does not want philanthropy but justice, that he wants a chance and not charity, we shall have an approach to the subject of race relations that will give us finally an entirely different result to which we have had heretofore."

Race Problem — 1925.
United States.

OSTON MASS. TRANSCRIPT
MARCH 6, 1925

Says Negroes Do Not Yet Have Fair Treatment

Rev. George Lyman Paine Preaches on the Christian Attitude Toward Race

Even in Boston, negroes do not always receive fair treatment, said Rev. George Lyman Paine at the Keith's Theater noon meeting today.

Rev. Benjamin W. Swain, D. D., pastor of the A. M. E. Zion Church, read the parable of the Good Samaritan. James R. Houghton, of the Harvard Glee Club sang "God Is Our Refuge and Strength" and "The Holy City," with Mrs. A. J. Miller as accompanist.

"'Who is my neighbor?' asked Mr. Paine. Let me put the question the other way. Am I a neighbor? Have I kind, neighborly, Christian feelings toward my neighbor and a really intelligent understanding of him, his ideals, his inner life, his material, social, intellectual, religious needs. Think of our common expressions: the thieving Chinese, the avaricious Jew, the lazy Mexican, the dirty Italian, the shiftless negro. Such epithets and the thoughts that lie back of them betoken a judgment far from intelligent and an attitude anything but neighborly. Men are largely what we make them. We are our brothers' keepers.

"Look at our treatment of the negro. Foolishly boasting our innate and inviolable superiority we have not given the negro half a chance. Take education: the negro has made marvelous progress toward literacy but has made it in spite of terrible handicaps. Especially in the South, we have given him a ramshackle schoolhouse, a teacher herself untaught and unsupervised, a school year of only six, four or even three months. Bishop Bratton, of Mississippi, says that one-fifth of the negroes of his State haven't even bench room at school. No wonder that young men frequently come to a school fourteen, sixteen, eighteen years of age, yet ignorant of the alphabet. Take the suffrage: even property-holding, cultured citizens are curtly told by the registrar that they have failed properly to read the Constitution. Take industry: skilled white workers do not want black workers beside them and practically exclude them from the trades and from the unions. Our high-school graduates can find only menial occupations open to them, and the college graduates break their hearts vainly seeking a place worthy of their abilities and training.

"Lincoln emancipated the negro, but we still regard him and treat him as a slave. The Declaration of Independence said, 'Free and equal.' We say, 'Inferior, keep down.' Yet, in spite of every handicap and social ostracism, the negro has made a world's record for progress all along the line this last half century. There are undoubtedly wide differences between the races of the world. History has yet to prove the question of inferiority. Anthropologists and ethnologists dispute. Skulls strangely change their shapes when their owners change their environment and eat different food, and many of the greatest minds of the human race have possessed the wrong shaped skulls.

"What says the Christian Gospel? Taught by Jesus the early disciples made simple and straightforward answer. Peter, the confirmed Jew, had never in his life broken bread with a Gentile but he came to realize that there was 'nothing common or unclean,' and that 'God is no respecter of persons.' John saw 'a great multitude of all nations and peoples before the throne.' To the aristocratic Athenians Paul preached that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' To the Galatians he wrote. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' And the Master Himself? He taught his disciples to pray to our common Father, and commanded them to 'go into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature.' All men were his brethren and he would be a brother to all."

BROOKLYN, N. Y. EAGLE
MARCH 21, 1925

RACIAL PREJUDICE ON THE INCREASE, SAYS DR. CADMAN

Plea Made for Negro at Urban League and Lincoln Settlement Annual Meeting.

Race prejudice in the United States is 50 percent stronger than it was before the World War, the Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, declared at the joint annual meeting of the Brooklyn Urban League and the Lincoln Settlement Association, held last night at the Central Congregational Church, Hancock st. and Franklin ave. No man has a right to call himself a true Christian unless he is free from all prejudice, Dr. Cadman said. He made a plea for equality for all, regardless of color or creed, and urged that all prejudice be forgotten.

Dr. John Hope, president of Morehouse College of Atlanta, Ga., and Dr. Thomas J. Riley, general secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, were the other speakers. E. Kinckle Jones presided.

Dr. Hope explained the reasons for the extensive migration of the negro farmers from the South to Northern cities, declaring that it is "due mostly to the injustice to which the negro is subjected in the South." He said that in Georgia alone there were 55,000 deserted farms two years ago, and pointed out that this condition is destroying the prosperity of the South. The negro peasantry is breaking up, said Dr. Hope, and there is no other class to take its place.

Asks for Justice.

He urged that the Northern cities meet the problem caused by the greatly increased number of negroes who are coming from the farms, with sympathy and justice, and that they deal with them as considerately as they deal with the white man. He pleaded for equality for the black man and urged that no distinction be made because of color and creed.

Dr. Riley said that the lines of division between the white man and the black are being broken down, and that "the question of social equality will be melted away by the respect which worthy achievement will command. No matter what the color of the man's skin may be, if he does worthwhile things, he will be recognized," he added.

Dr. Riley praised the work of the Urban League and declared that it should play its part in solving not only problems pertaining to colored people, but problems which belong to Brooklyn as a whole.

Several baritone solos were given by Alexander Gatewood, who recently won a scholarship from the Juilliard Music Foundation. Mr. Gatewood was accompanied by Loudon Caldwell.

ROCHESTER, N. Y. HERALD
FEBRUARY 20, 1925

Negro Question Lecture Subject at Century Club

"Has Lincoln's Emancipation of the Negroes proved beneficial or detrimental to America?" will be one of the questions discussed by Mrs. Henry Fairfield Burton in her current events lecture at Century Club tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

That the "rising tide of color" is threatening America as well as Europe is the opinion of many thoughtful people today. What to do with our black population is the question of moment in some minds. The negroes themselves are offering both protests and suggestions verbally and in their constantly increasing writings.

Besides the negro problem, Mrs. Burton will discuss general news of the week.

WASHINGTON, IA. DEMOCRAT
JANUARY 7, 1925

WOULD OUR NEGROES BE LOYAL?

The time may come when the white races of the earth will have to fight it out with the colored people, especially with the yellow races of Asia. Since modern methods of communication have brought the peoples of the world together, the white races have considered themselves superior to the others, because our civilization has developed in a direction that has made us more powerful physically. We have applied the discoveries of science to production until we have far surpassed the other races in production of wealth. We have adapted these discoveries to methods of defense and aggregation until few colored people have dared match arms with whites in battle. In only one such attempt, that of Japan with Russia, has victory been with the colored race.—Pella Chronicle.

Survey, April, 1925

Chapel Hill, N. C.

". . . one of the few fine things of the year."
PAUL GREEN

Baltimore, Md.

"My congratulations on an excellent piece o work. It is full of valuable stuff."
H. L. MENCKEN

"I think it is one of the most important thing in many years in American periodical literature."
JULIAN W. MACK

"Your Harlem Number not only tells the Negro's story but permits him to tell it himself."
CHARLES W. CHESNUTT

Atlanta, Ga.

"Accept my heartiest congratulations on the Harlem number . . . a human document of grea value."
WILL W. ALEXANDER

New York, N. Y.

"A most fertile, meaty, fascinating magazine it is! You have done a number worthy of its subject."
WALDO FRANK

"The Harlem number is superb; I congratulate you sincerely on this picture of the almost unparalleled achievement of a race."
J. E. SPINGARN

"I took the Survey Graphic home last night and read it with the utmost interest. This is one of the most fascinating achievements in real editing that I have ever examined."
ALBERT SHAW

". . . I am filing [it] with my cherished papers on the Negro. I think you have achieved an extraordinary range in this brochure—with its exhibition of the root and branch and present flower of Negro culture."
JEAN K. MACKENZIE

". . . I was delighted . . . In no matter what field an artist labors, to my mind one of the most vital and serious themes America offers him today is the Negro."
J. S. STRIBLING

Columbus, Ohio.

". . . In contemporary interest, fundamental treatment, and inherent quality . . . far and away the best number you ever got out."
HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

". . . the Harlem issue of the Survey Graphic is a splendid thing. There is no more significant transition in America today than that of the Negro from the position of an awakening chattel ". . . a highly interesting domestic revolution. "The Survey Graphic makes the discovery, in to that of full manhood, economically, politically, which has been going forward und

New York City.

"Admirably done and consistently well written from end to end . . . a swing to it which carrie the reader right through."
BRUNO LASKER

"A real service to both peoples."
FLORINA LASKER

". . . native Africans in his race even under s possesses a very ity which may well r much that is bar- d Celts, it its inherent such as seems to b they may, at last, b xploitation. A num vey could hardly fail this long-suffering even further effort anicipation."
CLEMENTINE WOOD

". . . my own experience with native Africans in Kenya made me feel that this race even under the most primitive conditions possesses a very rare spiritual quality, a quality which may well act as a leavening influence on more barbaric amongst us Teutons and Celts, if its inherent ors can once find a refuge (such as seems to b offered by Harlem) where they may, at last, b safe from persecution and exploitation. A num ber like this one of The Survey co I should think, to inspire this sweet-natured people to make even towards development and emancipa
LLEWELYN POWYS

Race Problem — 1925.

United States.

OSTON MASS. TRANSCRIPT
MARCH 6, 1925

Says Negroes Do Not Yet Have Fair Treatment

Rev. George Lyman Paine Preaches on the Christian Attitude Toward Race

Even in Boston, negroes do not always receive fair treatment, said Rev. George Lyman Paine at the Keith's Theater noon meeting today.

Rev. Benjamin W. Swain, D. D., pastor of the A. M. E. Zion Church, read the parable of the Good Samaritan. James R. Houghton, of the Harvard Glee Club sang "God Is Our Refuge and Strength" and "The Holy City," with Mrs. A. J. Miller as accompanist.

"'Who is my neighbor?' asked Mr. Paine. Let me put the question other way. Am I a neighbor? have I kind, neighborly, Christian feelings toward my neighbor and a really intelligent understanding of him, his ideals, his inner life, his material, social, intellectual, religious needs. Think of our common expressions: the thieving Chinese, the avaricious Jew, the lazy Mexican, the dirty Italian, the shiftless negro. Such epithets and the thoughts that lie back of them betoken a judgment far from intelligent and an attitude anything but neighborly. Men are largely what we make them. We are our brothers' keepers.

"Look at our treatment of the negro. Foolishly boasting our innate and inviolable superiority we have not given the negro half a chance. Take education: the negro has made marvelous progress toward literacy but has made it in spite of terrible handicaps. Especially in the South, we have given him a ramshackle schoolhouse, a teacher herself untaught and unsupervised, a school year of only six, four or even three months. Bishop Bratton, of Mississippi, says that one-fifth of the negroes of his State haven't even bench room at school. No wonder that young men frequently come to a school fourteen, sixteen, eighteen years of age, yet ignorant of the alphabet. Take the suffrage: even property-holding, cultured citizens are curtly told by the registrar that they have failed properly to read the Constitution. Take industry: skilled white workers do not want black workers beside them and practically exclude them from the trades and from the unions. Our high-school graduates can find only menial occupations open to them, and the college graduates break their hearts vainly seeking a place worthy of their abilities and training.

"Lincoln emancipated the negro, but we still regard him and treat him as a slave. The Declaration of Independence said, 'Free and equal.' We say, 'Inferior, keep down.' Yet, in spite of every handicap and social ostracism, the negro has made a world's record for progress all along the line this last half century. There are undoubtedly wide differences between the races of the world. History has yet to prove the question of inferiority. Anthropologists and ethnologists dispute. Skulls strangely change their shapes when their owners change their environment and eat different food, and many of the greatest minds of the human race have possessed the wrong shaped skulls.

"What says the Christian Gospel? Taught by Jesus the early disciples made simple and straightforward answer. Peter, the confirmed Jew, had never in his life broken bread with a Gentile but he came to realize that there was 'nothing common or unclean,' and that 'God is no respecter of persons.' John saw 'a great multitude of all nations and peoples before the throne.' To the aristocratic Athenians Paul preached that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' To the Galatians he wrote: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' And the Master Himself? He taught his disciples to pray to our common Father, and commanded them to 'go into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature.' All men were his brethren and he would be a brother to all."

BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE
MARCH 21, 1925

RACIAL PREJUDICE ON THE INCREASE, SAYS DR. CADMAN

Plea Made for Negro at Urban League and Lincoln Settlement Annual Meeting.

Race prejudice in the United States is 50 percent stronger than it was before the World War, the Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, declared at the joint annual meeting of the Brooklyn Urban League and the Lincoln Settlement Association, held last night at the Central Congregational Church, Hancock st. and Franklin ave. No man has a right to call himself a true Christian unless he is free from all prejudice, Dr. Cadman said. He made a plea for equality for all, regardless of color or creed, and urged that all prejudice be forgotten.

Dr. John Hope, president of Morehouse College of Atlanta, Ga., and Dr. Thomas J. Riley, general secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, were the other speakers. E. Kinckle Jones presided.

Dr. Hope explained the reasons for the extensive migration of the negro farmers from the South to Northern cities, declaring that it is "due mostly to the injustice to which the negro is subjected in the South." He said that in Georgia alone there were 55,000 deserted farms two years ago, and pointed out that this condition is destroying the prosperity of the South. The negro peasantry is breaking up, said Dr. Hope, and there is no other class to take its place.

He urged that the Northern cities meet the problem caused by the greatly increased number of negroes who are coming from the farms, with sympathy and justice, and that they deal with them as considerately as they deal with the white man. He pleaded for equality for the black man and urged that no distinction be made because of color and creed.

Dr. Riley said that the lines of division between the white man and the black are being broken down, and that "the question of social equality will be melted away by the respect which worthy achievement will command. No matter what the color of the man's skin may be, if he does worthwhile things, he will be recognized," he added.

Dr. Riley praised the work of the Urban League and declared that it should play its part in solving not only problems pertaining to colored people, but problems which belong to Brooklyn as a whole.

Several baritone solos were given by Alexander Gatewood, who recently won a scholarship from the Juilliard Music Foundation. Mr. Gatewood was accompanied by [illegible] don Caldwell.

ROCHESTER N. Y. HERALD
FEBRUARY 20, 1925

Negro Question Lecture Subject at Century Club

"Has Lincoln's Emancipation of the Negroes proved beneficial or detrimental to America?" will be one of the questions discussed by Mrs. Henry Fairfield Burton in her current events lecture at Century Club tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

That the "rising tide of color" is threatening America as well as Europe is the opinion of many thoughtful people today. What to do with our black population is the question of moment in some minds. The negroes themselves are offering both protests and suggestions verbally and in their constantly increasing writings.

Besides the negro problem, Mrs. Burton will discuss general news of the week.

WASHINGTON D. C. DEMOCRAT
JANUARY 7, 1925

WOULD OUR NEGROES BE LOYAL?

The time may come when the white races of the earth will have to fight it out with the colored people, especially with the yellow races of Asia. Since modern methods of communication have brought the peoples of the world together, the white races have considered themselves superior to the others, because our civilization has developed in a direction that has made us more powerful physically. We have applied the discoveries of science to production until we have far surpassed the other races in production of wealth. We have adapted these discoveries to methods of defense and aggregation until few colored people have dared match arms with whites in battle. In only one such attempt, that of Japan with Russia, has victory been with the colored race.—Pella Chronicle.

Survey, April, 1925

Chapel Hill, N. C.

". . . one of the few fine things of the year."
PAUL GREEN

Baltimore, Md.

"My congratulations on an excellent piece o work. It is full of valuable stuff."
H. L. MENCKEN

"I think it is one of the most important thing in many years in American periodical literature."
JULIAN W. MACK

"Your Harlem Number not only tells the Negro's story but permits him to tell it himself."
CHARLES W. CHESNUTT

Atlanta, Ga.

"Accept my heartiest congratulations on the Harlem number . . . a human document of grea value."
WILL W. ALEXANDER

New York, N. Y.

"A most fertile, meaty, fascinating magazine it is! You have done a number worthy of its subject."
WALDO FRANK

"The Harlem number is superb; I congratulate you sincerely on this picture of the almost unparalleled achievement of a race."
J. E. SPINGARN

"I took the Survey Graphic home last night and read it with the utmost interest. This is one of the most fascinating achievements in real editing that I have ever examined."
ALBERT SHAW

". . . I am filing [it] with my cherished papers on the Negro. I think you have achieved an extraordinary range in this brochure—with its exhibition of the root and branch and present flower of Negro culture."
JEAN K. MACKENZIE

(Editor The Survey)

(Editor The Reviewer)

(Editor The American Mercury)

(Judge U. S. Circuit Court)

(Author of "The Conjure Woman")

(Director Commercial Corporations)

(Author of "Holiday")

(Editor The Review of Reviews)

(Author The Revolt)

CLEMENT Wood

sociaty and aristocracy.

th native Africans in
this race even under
ions possesses a very
ality which may well
e on much that is har-
and Celts, if its inherit
e (such as seems to b
e they may, at last, b
l exploitation. A num
survey could hardly fail
ire this long-suffering
ake even further effort
emancipation."
BRUNO LASKER

not under our observation.

"A real service to both peoples."
FLORINA LASKER

New York City.

"Admirably done and consistently well written from end to end . . . a swing to it which carries the reader right through."
LLEWELYN POWYS

"The Survey Graphic makes the discovery, in

ng domestic revolution.
ward under our eyes bu

". . . I was delighted . . . In no matter what field an artist labors, to my mind one of the most vital and serious themes America offers him today is the Negro."
J. S. STERLING

". . . In contemporary interest, fundamental treatment, and inherent quality . . . far and away the best number you ever got out."
HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

". . . the Harlem issue of the Survey Graphic is a splendid thing. There is no more significant transition in America today than that of the Negro from the position of an awakening chattel . . . a highly interesting d to that of full manhood, economically, politically, which has been going forward

"My own experience with na
Kenya made me feel that this
the most primitive conditions
rare spiritual quality, a quality
act as a leavening influence on
baric amongst us Teutons and C
ors can once find a refuge (su
offered by Harlem) where the
safe from persecution and exp
ber like this one of The Survey
I should think, to inspire t
sweet-natured people to make e
towards development and eman

its forthcoming issue, of the capital of the Negro race. It is Harlem. The picture presented . . . is both surprising and suggestive."

Richmond, Va.

". . . It seems to me full of interesting reading matter and will probably prove very helpful to the students interested in the development of the Negro in America."

MARY COOKE BRANCH MUNFORD

New York City.

"The Harlem issue of Survey Graphic seems to me an amazing performance. I have read it with delight and am carefully preserving it among my most valued American documents."

CARL VAN DOREN

"Congratulations on the Harlem Number. The Graphic surely must be considered as one of the most important and interesting achievements in contemporary journalism."

FRANK TANNENBAUM

Atlanta, Ga.

"The effort you have made to present partially the life of the race as it strikes you in Harlem is commendable. Your motive is of the nature that will bring about the better understanding that the world needs."

MARCUS GARVEY

"Not only every leader, but also every member of the colored race in the Southern states, will do well to read the plain statement of fact about conditions surrounding that race in New York as presented by Winthrop D. Lane in Survey Graphic."

"The current issue of Survey Graphic is a notable contribution to the fact and philosophy of a democratic America. For the first time it brings together an interpretation of this new Negro from the standpoint of his poetry, his music, his gifts of temperament and philosophy and character toward the making of an American democracy. The march of his race has hurdled ages of the world's progress in half a century; he stands even with the present."

Best Editorial Wins $500 Prize

NEW YORK, May 7.—The annual Pulitzer prizes in journalism and in letter for 1924 were announced last Thursday by President Nicholas Murray Butler, for the school of journalism of Columbia University.

The Charleston, S. C., News and Courier was awarded the $500 prize for the year's best editorial article, for an editorial entitled "The Plight of the South," published Nov. 5.

The editorial follows:

"This article is being written on election day, but before the result of the voting can possibly be known. No matter. The suggestions it contains will still be pertinent whatever the story told by the first page this morning. It makes very little difference what any of us think about the outcome of yesterday's balloting. It makes a considerable difference whether or not the people of the South realize the precarious situation which this section has come to occupy politically.

"As yet we doubt if very many of them do realize this, and yet it is, we think, the outstanding political development of the time so far as we are concerned. Look at the facts. They are not pleasant to contemplate, but they can not be ignored longer. We are in a sad fix politically in this part of the country and if we are to find a remedy for our troubles we must first of all determine what they are. That will take considerable discussion and all we can hope to do now is to help start the ball of this discussion rolling. If that can be accomplished we may achieve the new program and the new leadership which we so much need.

"For at the root of the South's present plight lies the fact that it has today virtually no national leadership. Is it strange that it should be treated by the rest of the country as such a negligible factor? What is it contributing today in the way of political thought? What political leaders has it who possess weight or authority beyond their own states? What constructive policies are its people ready to fight for with the brains and zeal that made them a power in the old days?

"The plight of the South in these respects would be perilous at any time. In a period when political currents are deeper and swifter than ever before, with more violent whirlpools, more dangerous rocks and shoals, ours is truly a perilous position. Changes which used to be decades in the making now sweep over us almost before we know they are in contemplation. It is true everywhere. In all the countries of Europe the pendulum is swinging, now far to the left, now far to the right. Center parties have lost their power. They are in a very bad way. And the South has belonged to the school politically which sought as a rule the middle of the road, eschewing ultra-conservation on the one hand and radicalism o nthe other. With labor organized and militant, with radicalism organized and in deadly earnest, with conservatism organized and drawing the lines sharply, what is the South to do, what course shall she take, where do her interests lie, what is due to happen to her?

"These are questions which already begin to press for answer. Who is to speak for the South? How many of her citizens are prepared to help formulate her replies?"

RACES WILL AMALGAMATE—THE SUN WILL GO OUT

By William Pickens for A. N. P.

The editor of the "Daily Press," of Newport News, Virginia, is awfully worried about the first,—why not also worry about that second calamity? Worry will do just as much good in the one case as in the other.

The "Press" editor complains even against Hampton Institute, a school which, in order to appease just such Southern sentiment as that shown by the "Press" does about all it can and some think, more than it ought. But the "Press" editor would have Hampton Institute, a school for the education of colored youth, to do the following things, in order to save a great white race, of 100 millions, from being ultimately swallowed up by a mixed and mostly light-skinned "black" race of ten millions.

To "Jim Crow" the Negroes in their own school, when their Southern white "friends" come to visit,—and to teach the Negroes their "Place" by giving the visiting whites the best seats. For, he says, the Negroes should not be taught that their race is as good as the whites.

To prevent the whites who work at the school from every meeting socially with their colored composers on the faculty,—and especially to prevent them from ever eating at the same table.

To teach the Negroes from different books and different ideals, and train them to a different (lower) plane than that to which the sacred whites of the community are trained.

To have "reserved seats for white people" in a Negro school. So that the editor of the "Press" and his other white friends may come late and feel important and comfortable to hear good "Negro music," and to patronize the institution.

To prevent the white president of Hampton from ever eating or otherwise "associating " with Moton of Tuskegee, or other colored people, even in Boston or at the North Pole.

All this and more to preserve the "peculiar customs" of the South, which are so necessary, as the "Press" informs us, "to the preservation of the integrity of our Anglo-Saxon stock."

What is really wrong with this editor, is that he heard that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gave one million dollars to Hampton Institute, for he complains bitterly that this Negro institution "is richer than the University," and has the finest library in this section of Virginia," among its other similar sins and misdemeanors.

That is, in order to preserve Anglo-Saxon stock, it is necessary to keep a Negro school poor, poorly equipped and still more poorly instructed,—for Anglo-Saxons, you know, can only be strong among the weak, rich among the poor, powerful among the puny, and big among the little. Negro repression is necessary to Anglo-Saxon greatness. What an insult to all that is great in the Anglo-Saxon race.

The "Press" editor says that an equal chance and equal intelligence and culture for the Negro will lead to "association of a romantic nature" and the great horror of legitimate, married, sexual intercourse. He isn't worried at all about the three million or so illegitimate mulattoes. He forgets that an illegitimate mulatto child is just as complete a human as a legitimate one,—and just as dangerous to the "integrity" of Anglo-Saxons. He pretends not to know also that this great army of mulattoes is not the product of Negro intelligence and culture, but of Negro ignorance degradation that the repression of a minority race is what gives the males of the major race their best chance to "mix" things; and that the Negro girls trained in good schools are the very ones in which the advantaged white man cannot plant a nameless crop of mulattoes. He wilfully overlooks the fact that white men, who are always crying out against amalgamation, are closely responsible for all the amalgamation that has taken place. And old trick: yelling murder and doing all the murder.

While this editor was writing so eloquently about the preservation of the Anglo-Saxon integrity from harmless, helpless colored men of Newport News, amalgamation, or an effort at it, was going on just a short walk from his editorial sanctum in a red light district where the city permits white men to keep colored women, and where no colored man is allowed. This an intelligent editor ought to know, since everybody else in Newport News knows it.

Here's the choice he offers us, if you analyze his proposition: either to treat Negroes as human beings and risk a slower legitimate amalgamation, or to treat Negroes as human cattle and make sure of a much more rapid illegitimate amalgamation. He makes this point, of course, without intending to do so. But those are the alternatives of all his directions. We admit the dilemma. And only a moral coward can refuse to choose the alternative of civilized justice.

its forthcoming issue, of the capital of the Negro race. It is Harlem. The picture presented . . . is both surprising and suggestive."

Richmond, Va.

". . . It seems to me full of interesting reading matter and will probably prove very helpful to the students interested in the development of the Negro in America."

MARY COOKE BRANCH MUNFORD

New York City.

"The Harlem issue of Survey Graphic seems to me an amazing performance. I have read it with delight and am carefully preserving it among my most valued American documents."

CARL VAN DOREN

"Congratulations on the Harlem Number. The Graphic surely must be considered as one of the most important and interesting achievements in contemporary journalism."

FRANK TANNENBAUM

Atlanta, Ga.

"The effort you have made to present partially the life of the race as it strikes you in Harlem is commendable. Your motive is of the nature that will bring about the better understanding that the world needs."

MARCUS GARVEY

"Not only every leader, but also every member of the colored race in the Southern states, will do well to read the plain statement of fact about conditions surrounding that race in New York as presented by Winthrop D. Lane in Survey Graphic."

"The current issue of Survey Graphic is a notable contribution to the fact and philosophy of a democratic America. For the first time it brings together an interpretation of this new Negro from the standpoint of his poetry, his music, his gifts of temperament and philosophy and character toward the making of an American democracy. The march of his race has hurdled ages of the world's progress in half a century; he stands even with the present."

Best Editorial Wins $500 Prize

NEW YORK, May 7.—The annual Pulitzer prizes in journalism and in letter for 1924 were announced last Thursday by President Nicholas Murray Butler, for the school of journalism of Columbia University.

The Charleston, S. C., News and Courier was awarded the $500 prize for the year's best editorial article, for an editorial entitled "The Plight of the South," published Nov. 5.

The editorial follows:

"This article is being written on election day, but before the result of the voting can possibly be known. No matter. The suggestions it contains will still be pertinent whatever the story told by the first page this morning. It makes very little difference what any of us think about the outcome of yesterday's balloting. It makes a considerable difference whether or not the people of the South realize the precarious situation which this section has come to occupy politically.

"As yet we doubt if very many of them do realize this, and yet it is, we think, the outstanding political development of the time so far as we are concerned. Look at the facts. They are not pleasant to contemplate, but they can not be ignored longer. We are in a sad fix politically in this part of the country and if we are to find a remedy for our troubles we must first of all determine what they are. That will take considerable discussion and all we can hope to do now is to help start the ball of this discussion rolling. If that can be accomplished we may achieve the new program and the new leadership which we so much need.

"For at the root of the South's present plight lies the fact that it has today virtually no national leadership. Is it strange that it should be treated by the rest of the country as such a negligible factor? What is it contributing today in the way of political thought? What political leaders has it who possess weight or authority beyond their own states? What constructive policies are its people ready to fight for with the brains and zeal that made them a power in the old days?

"The plight of the South in these respects would be perilous at any time. In a period when political currents are deeper and swifter than ever before, with more violent whirlpools, more dangerous rocks and shoals, ours is truly a perilous position. Changes which used to be decades in the making now sweep over us almost before we know they are in contemplation. It is true everywhere. In all the countries of Europe the pendulum is swinging, now far to the left, now far to the right. Center parties have lost their power. They are in a very bad way. And the South has belonged to the school politically which sought as a rule the middle of the road, eschewing ultra-conservation on the one hand and radicalism o nthe other. With labor organized and militant, with radicalism organized and in deadly earnest, with conservatism organized and drawing the lines sharply, what is the South to do, what course shall she take, where do her interests lie, what is due to happen to her?

"These are questions which already begin to press for answer. Who is to speak for the South? How many of her citizens are prepared to help formulate her replies?"

RACES WILL AMALGAMATE—THE SUN WILL GO OUT

By William Pickens for A. N. P.

The editor of the "Daily Press," of Newport News, Virginia, is awfully worried about the first,—why not also worry about that second calamity? Worry will do just as much good in the one case as in the other.

The "Press" editor complains even against Hampton Institute, a school which, in order to appease just such Southern sentiment as that shown by the "Press" does about all it can and some think, more than it ought. But the "Press" editor would have Hampton Institute, a school for the education of colored youth, to do the following things, in order to save a great white race, of 100 millions, from being ultimately swallowed up by a mixed and mostly light-skinned "black" race of ten millions.

To "Jim Crow" the Negroes in their own school, when their Southern white "friends" come to visit,—and to teach the Negroes their "Place" by giving the visiting whites the best seats. For, he says, the Negroes should not be taught that their race is as good as the whites.

To prevent the whites who work at the school from every meeting socially with their colored composers on the faculty,—and especially to prevent them from ever eating at the same table.

To teach the Negroes from different books and different ideals, and train them to a different (lower) plane than that to which the sacred whites of the community are trained.

To have "reserved seats for white people" in a Negro school. So that the editor of the "Press" and his other white friends may come late and feel important and comfortable to hear good "Negro music," and to patronize the institution.

To prevent the white president of Hampton from ever eating or otherwise "associating " with Moton of Tuskegee, or other colored people, even in Boston or at the North Pole.

All this and more to preserve the "peculiar customs" of the South, which are so necessary, as the "Press" informs us, "to the preservation of the integrity of our Anglo-Saxon stock."

What is really wrong with this editor, is that he heard that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gave one million dollars to Hampton Institute, for he complains bitterly that this Negro institution "is richer than the University," and has the finest library in this section of Virginia," among its other similar sins and misdemeanors. . . . . .

That is, in order to preserve Anglo-Saxon stock, it is necessary to keep a Negro school poor, poorly equipped and still more poorly instructed,—for Anglo-Saxons, you know, can only be strong among the weak, rich among the poor, powerful among the puny, and big among the little. Negro repression is necessary to Anglo-Saxon greatness. What an insult to all that is great in the Anglo-Saxon race.

The "Press" editor says that an equal chance and equal intelligence and culture for the Negro will lead to "association of a romantic nature" and the great horror of legitimate, married, sexual intercourse. He isn't worried at all about the three million or so illegitimate mulattoes. He forgets that an illegitimate mulatto child is just as complete a human as a legitimate one,—and just as dangerous to the "integrity" of Anglo-Saxons. He pretends not to know also that this great army of mulattoes is not the product of Negro intelligence and culture, but of Negro ignorance degradation that the repression of a minority race is what gives the males of the major race their best chance to "mix" things; and that the Negro girls trained in good schools are the very ones in which the advantaged white man cannot plant a nameless crop of mulattoes. He wilfully overlooks the fact that white men, who are always crying out against amalgamation, are closely responsible for all the amalgamation that has taken place. And old trick: yelling murder and doing all the murder.

While this editor was writing so eloquently about the preservation of the Anglo-Saxon integrity from harmless, helpless colored men of Newport News, amalgamation, or an effort at it, was going on just a short walk from his editorial sanctum in a red light district where the city permits white men to keep colored women, and where no colored man is allowed. This an intelligent editor ought to know, since everybody else in Newport News knows it.

Here's the choice he offers us, if you analyze his proposition: either to treat Negroes as human beings and risk a slower legitimate amalgamation, or to treat Negroes as human cattle and make sure of a much more rapid illegitimate amalgamation. He makes this point, of course, without intending to do so. But those are the alternatives of all his directions. We admit the dilemma. And only a moral coward can refuse to choose the alternative of civilized justice.

Race Problem—1925. I
United States.

University of North Carolina Hears Oxley Tell of Race's Problem

WHAT NEGROES OF NORTH CAROLINA ARE DOING IN SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

Churches and other organizations of Wake County give $1,000 to pay salary of trained colored social welfare worke..

Negro women of State have contributed $20,000 to be used in providing training school for delinquent colored girls; ground has been purchased and one modern building erected; plant consists of over 300 acres and has been given to the State by the Negro women.

Negro Elks of North Carolina have agreed to erect a cottage at the Morrison Training school for delinquent Negro boys, also a trades building. The cost of these two buildings will be $10,000.

Lawrence A. Oxley, Director of Bureau of Work Among Negroes, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare of North Carolina, in his first lecture before the students of the School of Public Welfare at the University of North Carolina outlined a program for Negro welfare which holds the possibility of ultimately bringing about a definite and lasting amelioration of social uplift problems from which the race suffers in every Southern community. Mr. Oxley, although confident of the eventual attainment of the purposes of the Bureau of Work Among Negroes, admits the difficulty of the problems to be faced and frankly confesses that the bureau and its program is an experiment. Says he, "This bureau is a great venture of faith, and with only the bare principles of social work to guide the undertaking, progress must be necessarily slow.

Foundation of Bureau

The Bureau of Work Among Negroes as an adjunct to the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare was made possible by a $60,000 grant from the Laura Spellman-Rockefeller Foundation. $30,000 of this sum is to be used in the School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina. The Negro Bureau was established January 1, of this year. Wake county was one of the counties chosen for special effort. There a trained Negro social worker, Miss Marjorie Edwards, of Philadelphia, has been appointed as assistant in the county welfare office. The colored people of the county have been aroused to a self-interest in bettering their own condition, the result of which has been reflected in the contribution of $1,000 from the Negro churches and other organizations for the purpose of paying the salary of the Negro assistant in the county office.

In his lecture at University, Lieutenant Oxley said:

Purpose of Bureau

"The purpose which led to the creation of this important bureau, was to meet in some measure, a long recognized need for a constructive state-wide public welfare program for Negroes. The proper development of such a program must follow an intelligent study of the Negro and his many problems; and Negroes must be brought to realize their responsibility in the matter of sharing in the formulation of policies which will eventually be factors in meeting and solving problems of housing, home-life, mal-adjusted individuals and families, and the care of Negro delinquents, dependents, and defectives. With the full realization that policies cannot be developed intelligently without a knowledge of the conditions, favorable or unfavorable, which exist in the field, the Negro bureau has endeavored to make short studies of cross-sections of Negro life in several communities. The bureau has accomplished constructive work in the matter of stimulating the employment of trained Negro social workers as assistants in the many County welfare offices. Through means of conference with county superintendents, and members of their boards, the bureau has been directly responsible for the placement of Negro assistants in the following cities; Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Asheville, High Point, Elizabeth City, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and a part time worker in Wilmington.

Race Self-Help

"It is interesting to note the concrete expressions of interest in a program of public welfare as demonstrated by the following gifts of Negroes. The Negro women of the State have contributed about $20,000 to be used in providing a training school for delinquent Negro girls. Ground has been purchased at Efland, North Carolina, and one building with all modern conveniences erected. This plant consisting of over 300 acres has been given to the State by Negro women. The Negro Elks of North Carolina have agreed to erect a cottage at the Morrison Training School for delinquent Negro boys, also a trades building. The cost of these two buildings will be $10,000. Through the generous kindness of Mr. Benjamin Duke of New York, at the request of this bureau, a gift of $15,000 has been received. This amount will be used to build a ward for Negro children at the North Carolina Orthopedic hospital.

Problem of Feeble-Minded

"One of the most serious problems affecting the public welfare is that presented by the Negro feeble-minded. A survey of superior court indictments and other records would establish the fact that about 75% of the number of Negroes brought before the courts are mentally defective. At present the State makes no provision for the Negro feeble-minded. Until such time as the State realizes the urgent necessity of properly providing for this defective group, just so long will outrages be perpetrated, and the law-abiding citizen's life and property be endangered. Racial adjustment in the rural communities is made the more difficult because of the constant menace,—the feeble-minded Negro, unrestrained. A study of crime among Negroes during the past twenty-five years using the reports of superior court indictments as a basis, shows a commendable decrease."

Lieut. Oxley stated that he is deeply conscious of the fact that upon the success of the Negro welfare program in North Carolina will depend in large measure the future development of public welfare program for Negroes throughout the Southland. Only by applying the social principles of the lowly Nazarene plus a scientific approach to these many difficult and complex problems with their racial and social aspects can progress be noted and tangible results achieved.

Mother's Aid

"Mothers' Aid, child placing, the unmarried mother, and many other problems of mal-adjustment have yet to be studied and remedies applied. At present plans are being worked out preparatory to making a series of cross-section housing surveys in several cities throughout the State. The information gathered will be studied with a view of recommending a program of better housing, thus raising the standards of home life among a group who have suffered long and patiently.

"There is fast developing in the State a new attitude relative to the Negro; this attitude in neither northern nor southern, but is distinctly North Carolinian. It is an attitude which seeks after the true facts and then evaluates these facts in the light of a broad-minded Christian citizenry."

The outline of organization as perfected in Wake County will form the basis for organizing the other ninety-nine counties of the State.

The program in Wake County may be summed up under the following headings:

(A) Proper enforcement of the Compulsory School Attendance Law. Study of the causes, and the placing of responsibility for the many flagrant violations of the Attendance Law.

(B) Provision for recreational facilities for Negroes.

(C) Development of the Juvenile Court, with special emphasis on the training of Negro juvenile delinquents along vocational lines.

(D) Inquiry into the housing problem and its attendant vices.

(E) The proper development of a probation and parole system, together with provision for the Negro feeble-minded.

(F) Correlating the Negro county welfare program with that of the State and city programs of education, health, etc.

BISHOP GAILOR ON THE NEGRO.

In an address delivered in Memphis the other day, Bishop Thomas F. Gailor of the Episcopal Church, said some very wholesome things while discussing the negro. He deplored the fact that we are not doing more to help the negro help himself.

"I do not think that we are doing justice to ourselves or to them, or to the church," he said, "by our indifference to the work among the negro population. There are about 11,000,000 of these people in this country, and nine-tenths of them are in the south.

"We have, I believe, more negroes in the state of Tennessee than there are Indians in the whole United States; but there is a decided contrast in the way we show our interest in the two races. I don't suppose we have half a dozen self-supporting Episcopal congregations of negroes in the whole south, but we have, and are proud of the fact—we have nine good schools that are doing excellent service in teaching the negro youth to believe in work and training them to do it.

"Indeed, our schools have as many pupils as Hampton and Tuskogee together, and are run at half the cost, and yet our people seem to know little or nothing about them."

Continuing, Bishop Gailor said:

"Bretheren, I do not know what you think about it, but for myself, I cannot help feeilng a sense of responsibility for these people. I was born among them and raised among them. As a matter of self protection we must try to inspire them with hope and desire for better living and train them to habits of order and cleanliness and virtue and self-respect. They live in our homes and associate with our children, and we must see to it that they are corriers of health and not disease, of decency and not indecency, of righteousness, and not wrong. And certainly as Christians, we cannot exclude the negro from the application of our Lord, saying, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these, ye have done it to Me.'

"I have heard many men talk about the negro problem, as they call it, but they do not try for any real solution. For the most part they act like ostriches, blinding their eyes and leaving it to their posterity. And it is a problem. The negro is here to stay. He has been made an American citizen, and the black man and the white man are going to live together in this country for years to come.

"My solution of the problem is to awaken in the negro a pride in his own race and a satisfaction with the work that he, as a negro, is able and given to do. Yes! pride in his own home, pride in his own leaders, in his own means of recreation and his own labor, and then he will not want to be in all things ilke the white man."

There is much in what Bishop Gailor says, for in spite of the fact that the negroes in the south, as a whole, are making progress, the race is still backward in many respects; backward in the sphere of its own capabilities and aptitude, and there is a field here for constructive labor on the part of the white people of the south. The old notion that the negro is incapable of labor out of the cotton patch is not true. We can teach

the negor to do many things he is now unable to do, and it will pay us to do it, for the negro is going to remain in this section of the country. He belongs here, and if we give him the help to which he is fairly entitled, he will live a more useful and happier life, and the negro problem, as we now know it, will disappear.

NO "JIM CROW" IN WASHINGTON HERALD

Capital Daily's Managing Editor Is Speaker Before Muso-lit Club

DISHONEST PAPERS SCORED

No Punishment Too Bad For Editors Who Mislead The Public

Washington, D. C.—In an address at the Mu-So-Lit Club last Friday night, Avery C. Marks, Jr., managing editor of The Washington Times, a Hearst publication, pledged himself never to take one step or allow anyone else to take a step that wil promote pim-crowism as long as he is in charge of the news and editorial columns of that or any other paper.

The subject of his address was "Newspapers, and Their Relation to the Public and the Community." He said in part:

A Business Institution

"There is one factor that is axiomatic to us in the newspaper business that does not seem to get general recognition outside of our profession, and which furnishes the key to the entire relation between newspapers and the people with whom they come in contact.

"The factor is this: A newspaper is and must be, before anything else, a business institution. If you will keep that thought in mind, when you attempt to analyze the attitude of newspapers toward certain problems you may find the answers to many seemingly mysterious puzzles.

"It must follow along the lines of other successful commercial institutions; it must conform to the laws of merchandising, just the same as do the manufacturers of other products. Whether one is selling newspaper or hams or automobiles or houses, the principle is the same. (1) Find out what the public wants; (2) Produce it; (3) Market it.

"Any publication, unless endowed, which fails to conform to these rules, must operate at a loss, and ultimately cease publication.

"Thousands of people enter the publication business with a single minded purpose to accomplish some economic, political or social change, or to promote some other idea or group of ideas. People who appear to be otherwise sane and sensible seem to get the idea that they can get out a newspaper, or a magazine and, there being a large number of persons interested in the project they have in mind, they think success is assured. As the result of the large number of persons who go into the publication business with nothing but a high-minded ideal, there are more failures in the publication industry than in any other one business division reported to our Government.

Must Be Honest

"Now, this is as it should be. To be financially solvent a newspaper must be honest, unbiased, independent, and must reflect and promote the best interests of its community. It must work for the good of the people of the city in order to have sufficient prestige to maintain itself. And so the very necessity for making a publication self supporting or profit making, produces a situation that gives the public, honestly conducted, constructive organs, working for the good of the community.

"There are papers that are maintained by certain interests, papers which do not neecssarily have to show profits. They do not have to be honest, and insofar as they and their activities are in contact with things relating to their "angels' or backers, they are not honest They form a menace to their public, for a dishonest newspaper means a misinformed public, and a misinformed public in worse than even an ignorant public, in the light of national civic and personal progress. Public sentiment—the will of the whole people—is the determining factor in improvement of human conditions, and the man that poisons the public mind by misinformation is a traitor to his country—he is a cancer in the human body politic, and no punishment is equal to his crime.

Race Publications

"You have papers published for the consumption primarily of colored people. You read them, and you should. They are an integral part of your life. They set forth the news of people of your race in greater detail than can be done by other papers, which print a great deal of additional news.

"These publications are valuable—I urge you to read them. As long as they remain honest and unbiased in their news columns, they contribute in no small degree to your information, and therefore, to your betterment.

"The editor who allows personal bias, or race prejudice, or any other consideration to produce a tainted recital of events, or a crooked statement of alleged facts, is injecting into you a poison that blinds your eyes, deafens your ears and breeds within you a twisted mental outlook that strikes a death blow at racial progress, racial hopes and racial aspirations.

"There are but a few of these vipers left. But there still exists a few literary reptiles, pouring their toxins into the minds of men. They distort facts, to trade upon our emotions; they poison the mind of man against them, to fill their own dirty pockets. And the worst of all is that justice cannot reach them. We send men to jail for misdemeanors. We send them to the electric chair or to the gallows for high crimes.

"But for the man, who deliberately sets out to mislead you or me, to lie and insinuate and dissemble and raise within us emotions of distrust or envy or hate that strike at the very root of Christian brotherhood and national unity—there is nothing in human knowledge that is too bad for him—the last sections of the most tormenting division of Hell is too good for him.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE PLEADS FOR A TOLERANT PUBLIC OPINION

IN one of the greatest addresses ever delivered by a president, President Coolidge, in addressing the members of the American Legion convention at Omaha, made a splendid plea for toleration and racial co-operation for the greatest good for the whole nation. Speaking on freedom of thought and speech as among the priceless things we possess, he said:

"I recognize the full and complete necessity of 100 per cent. Americanism, but 100 per cent. Americanism may be made up of many various elements.

"If we are to have that harmony and tranquility, that union of spirit which is the foundation of real national genius and national progress, we must all realize that there are true Americans who did not happen to be born in our section of the country, who do not attend our place of religious worship, who are not of our racial stock, or who are not proficient in our language. If we are to create on this continent a free republic and an enlightened civilization that will be capable of reflecting the true greatness and glory of mankind, many useful things are learned from those who disagree with us; and even when we can gain nothing our differences are likely to do us no harm."

Speaking on the question of tolerance and what constitutes patriotism and character, President Coolidge said:

"There should be an intellectual demobilization as well as a military demobilization. Progress depends very largely on the encouragement of variety. Whatever tends to standardize the community, to establish fixed and rigid modes of thought, tends to fossilize society. If we all believed the same thing and thought the same thoughts and applied the same valuations to all the occurrences about us, we should reach a state of equilibrium closely akin to an intellectual and spiritual paralysis.. It is the ferment of ideas, the clash of disagreeing judgments, the privilege of the individual to develop his own thoughts and shape his own character, that makes progress possible. It is not possible to learn much from those who uniformly agree with us. We shall have to look bevond the outward manifestations of race and creed. Divine Providence has not bestowed upon any race a monopoly of patriotism and character."

President Coolidge pointed out that in the nation's wars and in its industries in times of peace all of the race groups and creeds that go to make up the American citizenship had contributed their share in patriotism and character and service and should share alike in the enjoyment of the good things they had created.

The whole address is a marvel of common sense and eloquence which must appeal to all of the people of the country as the thing most needful to be said at this time.

APPLAUD PLEA FOR CHANCE; SQUARE DEAL

Many Hear Educator on Speaking Tour

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Oct. 16.—Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the Daytona-Cookman Collegiate institute, Daytona, Fla., and of the National Association of Colored Women, spoke last Friday before the student body of Vassar college, one of the most renowned institutions for women in America. President Dr. Henry McCracken invited Mrs. Bethune as a recognition of her leadership among the women of the race and of the place that she has made as an educator. She was in New York when she received the invitation from Vassar to address the students and to be the guest of the college over night.

Mrs. Bethune was given an ovation by the students and her visit left the collegians with a wider knowledge of the problems confronting the Colored women of America. President McCracken presented her to the students as "one of the foremost women of the country," and a "pioneer in the education of her Race."

Mrs. Bethune told of the struggles and achievements of the women of the Race in America and of their marvelous achievements in business and professions. "All the Colored women of America want," said the speaker, "is a square deal and a fair chance in the great race of life. She wants this chance in training, in education, in living conditions and in the affairs of American citizenship.

Asks "Fair Play"

"The Colored woman needs for her refinement and training the same opportunities that any other woman needs. She asks for her children the same opportunities for development of manhood and womanhood that is needed for all other children of the world."

Mrs. Bethune told how the Colored women of America were contributing to every movement making for the development and growth of the nation, and that they were represted in every field of endeavor.

She was honored by the students and faculty. Mrs. Bethune's visit to Vassar college, which has long been one of the most exclusive institutions for the higher education of women in America, will do much for the education of the students relative to race relations. While in Poughkeepsie, Mrs. Bethune spoke at a community meeting.

Race Problem—1925 II

United States.

Addresses Women's Clubs

While in New York she was also a speaker at a luncheon of the citizenship department of the Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs. At that meeting she treated the need of citizenship. From her visit to Vassar Mrs. Bethune will speak in Boston, Providence and New Haven. She has long been regarded as one of the foremost women educators in the country and has a large influence in the social and educational development of the women of America. She is a pleasing face charm and has an interesting personality.

From her speaking tour she will return to New York, where she will be the guest of Dr. Julia P. H. Coleman.

RACE PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED, SAYS EDUCATOR

Atlantic City, N. J.—"The race problem in America can be solved by the patient and persistent application of Christian principles." Such was the contention of Rev. Charles R. Erdman, D. D., LL. D., of Princeton, moderator of the Presbyterian general assembly, at a meeting of the Afro-American Presbyterian Council. The sessions of the council will continue through the coming Sunday, and mark the thirty-first year in the life of the organization.

Moderator Erdman stated that some phases of the race problem were as acute as ever, but that all could be solved by the principles of justice, sympathy and unselfish service.

"No race in the world should be regarded as necessarily inferior to others," said Dr. Erdman. "It is the duty of each individual to strive hopefully for a higher moral, intellectual and spiritual development, both for himself and for his race. As Christians we should regard such development with absolute confidence.

"We should be guilty of no denominational rivalries, any more than of race animosities, and we should seek to attain the ideals held by Presbyterians in common with other Christion churches.

"The Presbyterian church has always emphasized the need of education, the virtue of patriotism and the duty of evangelism."

Referring to education, Moderator Erdman paid a high tribute to the late Robert C. Ogden of New oYrk and Philadelphia, whose work for Negro education, he said, had been "like the signing of a new proclamation of emancipation, promising deliverance from ignorance, dependence and hopelessness, and calling the race to intellectual enlightenment, to economic independence, and to moral and spiritual advance."

Macon, Ga. NEWS

JUN 24 1925

INDUSTRIES LOOKING SOUTH

That the south is to become the industrial center of the country and that capital is now looking to this section for investment, is the contention of the New York Commercial, which newspaper says that the South has until recently been regarded "a a part of the United States where they grew some tobacco, some cotton and the white people indulged in abusing the negroes," adding "Few have recognized that the territory covered by the states called the South is, as a whole, the richest in general resources of any section of the union. Today the South could be cut off from the remainder of the world by a great wall and still its people could live in luxury and ease from the development of their own resources." This is an authoritative statement, made after careful investigation, the Commercial declares.

But special reference is made by the New York newspaper to the impression now being made by the South upon the industrial world. Because of labor troubles some few years ago a number of cotton factories were moved from the East to the South. The manufacturers discovered that conditions were good for the carrying forward of their enterprises, and they did not fail to tell others. As the Commercial says:

"The Southern states are proud of the fact that the great mass of the population is American. The people as yet have been unaffected by the killing germ of Socialism and Communism. Moreover, nothing what these germs have done to certain Northern states, any attempt to transplant them to the South will meet with a proper and violent opposition. While West Virginia is not always counted as a part of the South, yet here the move to inject Socialism and Communism has met with a proper rebuke. Today West Virginia is the salvation of the nation, because its mines are permitted to operate and supply coal to the American consumers.

"The outh is developing some of the greatest hydro-electric power plants in the world. Power will soon be cheap throughout these states. Transportation facilities, both rail and water, are excellent. As reliable American help, cheap power and good transportation are the three esentials to industrial activities, and the South is able to present itself as possessing all of these, naturally industrial growth will result."

Georgia has made great progress in the development of its water power facilities, millions being invested here on the Chattahoochee, but there is an unlimited amount of power undeveloped that is available for new industries.

The South is the place for manufacturing industries, Georgia being one of the most resourceful states in the Southland, and the Columbus district is now offering exceptional advantages for the investor.—Columbus Ledger.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES

OCTOBER 11, 1925

THE NEGRO AND THE NATION

White America Arraigned as Delinquent in Her Duty to the Colored Race in Failing to Note Their Progress and Lumping Them as All Alike

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In a recent conversation with a negro, a lawyer of distinction, owner and editor of one of the foremost negro newspapers of the nation, he said in substance:

"Among our group there are those who, justly, we believe, bring mental indictment against the rank and file of white Americans for the offense of regarding all negroes as one, and only one, class."

He referred to a "popular" song of some years back, entitled "All Coons Look Alike to Me," as expressing the prevailing attitude of white people generally toward the colored race as a whole.

He called attention to the fact that support from negro voters is eagerly sought by the political parties at election times; that because negroes today own property in the United States approaching two billions of dollars in value, their tax returns to nation, State and municipality are no mean consideration; that when war is declared the negro is drafted to bear arms the same as is the white man; that as a source of labor supply, both in the South and the North, he is vital, if not essential, to the nation's life and progress; and, that while in all these the negro is readily accepted, even sought as an integral part of our national program, any other real consideration of him is obtained under protest and against the odds.

He observed that there are notable exceptions to the rule, referring to a large number of distinguished white people who not only have contributed millions of dollars toward negro education and other means of inter-racial understanding and adjustment, and whose hearts are in the cause of genuine human brotherhood. And, contended this man, aside from the phases above mentioned, and excepting the comparatively few white persons who think in terms of human brotherhood relative to the negro, the white race in the United States does not take the colored people into any sort of serious consideration.

The majority of us will not admit that such attitude is willful on our part, but rather that we just have not considered it at all. We go along, choosing our associates, attending to our own affairs, making our own programs, working and playing as occasion provides, but neither individuality nor collectively do we regard the negro as a part or parcel of our related existence. So far as our vital present or our expected future are concerned, the negro as a race or as an individual does not exist.

While rightly contending that no other race in history has made the substantial progress within a half century that the negro has done in the United States since the Civil War, advanced thinkers among negroes do not claim that the race as a whole has risen to the plane of equal consideration and merit, in every sense placing it upon a parity with the white race. But they do claim that solely because of the accident of pigment it is not fair for the white people to place all negroes in the same class, thereby rendering it impossible for those who have won their spurs to wear them.

The threadbare phrase, "race problem," no longer carries force with the popular mind. The average negro is tired of it because he is regarded as the sole factor in it, and the average white man cares not about it one way or the other unless it bobs up locally and interferes with his personal affairs.

But there is a race problem today, more vital than ever before. In this time of shifting scenes and changing opinions, so tremendously affecting every phase of life, inter-racial understanding and adjustment are essential to the future safety and progress of civilization. World-wide in its scope, in the United States it applies mainly to the relationships between the white man and the colored man. And, in order to understand it and solve it, we must come out from under the shadows of sentiment and prejudice and view the situation under the searchlight of facts.

At the end of the Civil War the negro was poor and ignorant, with all the odds against him. He had been freed from the shackles of slavery. It was up to him to make his own way, the first and only possible thing immediately open to him being the chance to earn by physical toil a little food for his inside and a few rags to cover his outside.

than are the majority of white people in the South.

Because of the negro's desire to please the white people, to meet every demand made of him by the white man, and to become more and more like him in every possible way, the negro's progress, as it were, has been a series of hurdle-jumps with the white man from time to time fixing the heights to be scaled.

First we said, "You are ignorant—learn something." As best he could, the negro began to enlighten himself and ever since has kept it up with amazing success.

Next, we said, "You are filthy and immoral—clean up and be decent." The negro jumped that hurdle, and is conspicuously making good, despite the turpitude of many white men who have contributed to his moral delinquency.

Again, we said, "You are poor—get yourself some property." That was a high jump, but he did not fail. His economic success has been far beyond anything his progenitors ever hoped for, and much greater than the white people ever expected, increasing in tremendous ratio with each passing year.

But what of it? After all this, what next? Are we of the white race going to look upon those negroes who have so signally achieved—those who have done everything we have asked and more than we expected—as we look upon trained dogs in the circus? After those dogs have jumped through the hoops, and have performed all their feats, they are still dogs—only dogs.

Shall we still regard the thousands of negroes who have become such splendid personages and have done such fine things as "coons" and say "they all look alike to us"? Are we, who refuse to admit that we are narrow-minded, going to remain so blinded by prejudice that we will not look at facts? Are we going to nullify the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God by refusing to recognize the brotherhood of man?

The time is here when thinking people of the white race should inform themselves as to the personnel of the colored race in America and sponsor a movement looking to the negro's new freedom in the full exercise and enjoyment of his constitutional rights as a citizen of the Republic he serves and of which he is a part.

By such movement two splendid ends would be gained, viz., those who have attained would experience the satisfaction of just recognition, and others would have additional incentive to strive more diligently; while no lazy, unworthy and indifferent negro could complain at such procedure. In fact, such would be the unwritten law of estimates and recognition among all people, regardless of color.

Until we of white America shall have informed ourselves about black America, and until we shall have properly recognized those among negroes whose achievement parallels the best of our own, we should not proclaim before the world that this nation stands upon the basic claim that "All men are created free and equal." JOHN LOUIS HILL.

New York, Oct. 6, 1925.

"Leader Must Be Pioneer," Du Bois

Editor of "Crisis" Magazine Addresses Inter-collegiate Association

"Leadership" was the subject of a speech delivered by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois before the Inter-Collegiate Association Sunday afternoon at the [illegible] of the Y. W. C. A.

Dr. Du Bois pointed out a number of wide fields in which the young college man or woman has a splendid opportunity to become a leader. He pictured the disfavorable aspects that one encounters in becoming a leader.

"To become a leader, the first being a pioneer, one must be willing to be unpopular and must expect to be ridiculed," he said. Taking up each of the phases which concerns itself with a person becoming a leader, the speaker endeavored to impress upon the students the minute and disagreeable features that are experienced.

Miss Louise Jackson, a student at Hunter College and president of the Association, introduced Dr. Du Bois.

Following the address, members of the association were allowed to ask the speaker questions. The meeting was then devoted to an open discussion.

To The Dogs

The Rev. C. M. Long, of Norfolk, Va., quit the $3,000 pulpit of Bank Street Baptist Church for the $1,800 pulpit in New Jersey, because he finds his native city of Norfolk is rapidly going to the dogs.

Here is Mr. Long's indictment of his former home city: He notes the growing spirit of the Ku Klux, manifested in street car advertisements, coupled with public demonstrations and initiation designed to frighten Negroes.

Norfolk spends all the tax payers' money for parks and public golf links from which colored people are excluded. Any attempt put forth by Negroes themselves to provide recreation for their children or young people is met with objection in the form of threats and fires, such as took place at a prospective Negro resort last week.

Norfolk has enacted a new segregation law designed to keep colored people confined to one section of the city. The law keeps colored people out of white sections, but does not keep white people out of colored sections.

These are the conditions in the South which discouraged, disheartened and disgusted the Rev. Mr. Long. Similar conditions in cities south of the Mason and Dixon line everywhere obtain. They account for the outcropping of inter-racial committees working for better understanding between the races. They account in part for the migration of a half million workers with their families into the North, seeking the end of jim crow and relief from the cracker's superiority buncombe.

Dr. Carter Woodson, the historian, describes the migration as the safety valve movement by which the Southern Negro maintains his equilibrum. Constantly oppressed and tormented by his stronger white brother, hatred and anger within him heat to the boiling point. There must be either a boiling over, and explosion or a flight Northward, where the outside pressure is not so great.

For those who elect to remain in the South under unfavorable circumstances, we recall the celebrated reply of Harriet Tubman to Frederick Douglass, discouraged over the seeming failure of the abolition movement before the war. Said she, "Frederick, Is God Dead?"

Far greater respect, however, have we for the radicals and pioneers, who are willing to sacrifice the home ties and the association of life long friends, in order to carve out a new destiny in a fairer land.

SEES LOFTY PLACE IN CIVILIZATION FOR NEGRO

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 21.—"The DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 14—"The Negro race will have a prominent place in the civilization of the future," said Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, pastor of Central Methodist church (white) speaking before a large audience on "The Negro in Our Community" at the industrial Service center of Young Women's Christian association, 2431 East Grand boulevard Friday.

Picturing the ideal community as a series of groups, working in harmony for the general welfare, Dr. Hough prophesied a day when Negroes as a group would take an active part in the arrangement, giving and receiving benefit.

"There are no large organizations in the north that have the well-being of the Negro race as their object," the speaker said. "If there were, the Negro would be far more valuable to his community. The Negro has many poets and prophets on his side, but what he really needs is successful organization, with far-seeing men at the head.

"Like all other peoples, the Africans are able to give the world something it needs. They are not beasts, but human beings, with great possibilities of development. They have a certain amount of culture, and are capable of much more.

"We see them at their worst, because conditions force them to live in an insanitary environment, where their children are forced to contend with filth, disease and open vice. Some day these conditions will disappear, and there will be no more race riots, which are only gestures of despair, bred of hopelessness."

WHAT ARE THEY DOING ABOUT IT?

During the recent months, editors of white papers throughout the country, and particularly in the South, have interested themselves in the probability of our Race joining forces with the Communists from Moscow. Most of them take the stand that we will not consider these offers because we, as a Race, are naturally slow to take to radical movements. They call us the most conservative race in the world.

That is true, as far as it goes, but it doesn't go very far. These editors know the conditions that are facing us in this country. They know that we are tired of being abused, lynched, beaten, robbed of our earnings, Jim Crowed, and insulted generally because of our color. The Virginia Pilot of Norfolk even went so far as to enumerate some of the things that would drive us into Bolshevism, if anything could get us into it. We quote from this Virginia editorial, which we reprinted recently:

> The way to make the Negro a better and safer element of our population is not to organize fights upon imaginary alien seducers, but to conduct an intelligent offensive against the real domestic menaces that embitter the Negro's life and impel him to occasional acts of rebellion. One of these menaces is the unspeakable lynching practice. Others of these menaces are execrable housing conditions, undereducation and grossly unfair discrimination in the matter of parks and playgrounds. The list is capable of considerable expansion. In these menaces lie the only real danger that the American Negro may become radical. If he becomes a radical it will be America's fault—not Russia's. The possible cause and the sure cure for such an infection are under our own control. The antics of our security-leaguers over soviet Negro complots merely serve to detract attention from the real source of danger—ourselves.

The statements are significant when coming from a southern editor. It shows clearly that the South is not wholly ignorant of our situation in this country, and it is the first real step toward removing this situation. It is the editor who is responsible, more than any other force in American life, for these execrable practices. It has been the editor who, through the years, has colored the news to such an extent that the reading public could never get a fair impression of our Race.

It is the editor who can see none of the good we do, but is always alert to our evils. If we invent a machine for protecting human life on a train by preventing wrecks, no one hears of it—if we steal a dime, it is given the headline. A white man confesses that he raped one of our girls, the judge frees him, and the editors are silent; a white girl claims that she has been attacked, a man of our Race is lynched and the editors tell the world that he admitted the crime. In most cases they lie deliberately, for no man will admit to a mob that he attacked any girl. That, in itself, is absurd.

We are tired of these conditions. We know that white editors are responsible for them, and we now put the proposition up to them. The Virginia Pilot has made the first move in the direction that will insure our loyalty to this country. It is now up to other editors to take up the issue.

All we ask is fairness in the news. Let the editors drop the term "Negress" as applied to our women, let them cease the practice of labeling us in articles where the color plays no important part. Let them give as much consideration to our progress as to our crimes. Certainly one has about as much news value as the other. It is all up to the editors. The burden is theirs. What are they doing about it?

THE NEGRO—MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN AMERICA

There are those who say there is no Negro Problem".

Well, they may call it what they please; but the Negro seems just now to be the most important factor in American social life. The Negro seems to be the trouble everywhere.

The Negro spoils our high talk about Democracy, for the chief purpose of the dominating wing of the democratic party is to keep the Negro from participating in the government.

In church, we see that two great wings of America's greatest denominations of Protestants are kept apart by the Negro.

The Sweet case shows that the call to improve oneself and better the condition of one's family, do not apply to the Negro, in the mind of the white.

The Rhinelander case shows that a great portion of America's white people can stand anything in the moral scale without shuddering, except when it comes to the Negro.

God put the Negro here to test America's sincerity. Are the great moral principles we preach here of Christianity, Democracy, Opportunity, Equality, Feminine Emancipation, ets., all as sounding brass or a tinkling symbol? Are not Americans merely worshippers of thenselves? Can they apply these principles to others? The Negro is the test. And as the Negro becomes more and more intelligent and better understands his relationship, this test for America will be the harder. American ideals will either break down or be proved by the Negro.

Race Problem-1925
United States

Segregafion From The Christian Standpoint

"Can white people be Christian,—like Christ?". Many sane colored people have asked us that question. Often we have replied: "Yes,—and we have known some that were meek in Justice, like Jesus, and mighty in mercy like the Christ." For even one case is a complete answere to such a question. ONE is a demonstration of fact and a prophecy of possibility.

But our faith has grown less firm in the long-coated, high-salaried religion that fills most of the pulpits of the great white church. We too often find such pastors dominated by the spirit of the refined mob which is their particular flock: if they have a rich congregation, they toady to intolerance. In Indianapolis, Ind., for example, we found some of the white pastors joining (not leading) their beloved "flock" in the low business of racial segregation movements. The segregationists of that city publish a weekly paper, "THE SPECTATOR," which they boast of giving free to six thousand homes. In a December issue occurs a leading article of news and comment on the "White People's Protective League,' which had met on the preceeding Saturday night "at the usual place, the M. P. Church." And this meeting had been addressed by two other pastors (of North Avenue Christian and Capitol Avenue Methodist Churches), who made "rousing addresses in favor of keeping this part of Indianapolis white." They did not explain how, after feeding their flocks in the white world, they proposed to arrange for their eternal comfort in a white heaven. And the article went on:

"While approaching the matter from a strictly Christian standpoint, each maintained that it was the duty of every white person in the district to resist the confiscaion of his home and property rights by Negro invasion."

Do you get that language of the hypocrite ("Christian standpoint") coupled right up with that lingo of the mob ("resist," "confiscation,' "invasion")? Isn't that fine for the followers of "the meek and lowly Jesus?" And listen further how they spoke to the mob spirit; "Quick, desision action * * * * is necessary;" white people will lose millions in property values," unless they "take the matter in hand without delay:" "the sooner the city is districted for white and black the better it will be for all. Legislation is not necessary for such districting," etc.—That is, the 1917 decision of the Supreme Court makes "legislation" non-effective, and so the mob power of the Lord's "white lambs" is to be invoked.

These and such white pastors have fallen further from Christ than Satan fell from Heaven when he landed in Hell. Are white Christian leaders going to make league with the Devil of race prejudice and all the demon brood that it entails? Colored people everywhere are noticing the fact that the best and most willing defender they could find in the white race against mob persecution and official injustice in Detroit, is a non-Christian, Clarence Darrow, a man who shaps his finger at creeds of words and accepts only creeds of deeds. The "Garland Fund" which also is not controlled by orthodox white Christians, gave the first and most substantial aid from the white world to the defense of these cases. And nobody doubts that if Robert G. Ingersoll were alive today he would at least be Darrow's colleague in defense of these persecuted colored citizens.

Must Colored people reach the conclusion that only the non-Christian, or at least the unorthodox, of the white race can do justice to black people? White Protestant Churches have largely fallen under suspicion of being Klux-hot-beds. If the Negro's suspicion is permitted to grow, ere long he will have no confidence in any praying white man; when the white preacher offers him heaven from the one hand, he will suspect that he holds hell in the other. We have sometimes made the white audience laugh, and perhaps think, when we remarked that our experience with the alliance of the church with race prejudice has produced in us such a state of mind that when we sit down on one end of a seat in a street car or other common carrier, and a sneering white bigot gets up off the other end because we sit down, we involuntarily ask ourself this questionn: "Wonder whose Sunday School he's superintendent of?"

If racial segregation with its consequent misunderstanding, suspicion, hate, and war, is for white pastors the "Christian standpoint" then in thename of the Devil,we would like to ask, where in the devil will the Devil stand?"

AS A FRIENDLY WHITE MAN SEES THE NEGRO

MR. CLARENCE DARROW is one of the famous lawyers of the United States. He is a broad thinker, and he has very human sympathies, with the courage of his convictions, which all men of his position in the life of the nation do not show when the time to do so arrives. Mr. Darrow showed this to be so when he went to Dayton, Tennessee, to defend Professor Scope from the charge of violating the State law against teaching evolution in the public schools and, again, in defending Dr. Sweet and ten others, at Detroit, charged with shooting into a white mob and killing one of the mob which was besieging the home of Dr. Sweet, in the effort to frighten him into leaving his home which he had purchased and occupied in a white neighborhood.

Mr. Darrow came to Harlem, in New York City, recently, and addressed two large meetings, inside and outside of Salem Church. Mr. Darrow spoke straight from the shoulder, and he spoke as a friend not afraid to tell his hearers of their shortcomings. Mr. Darrow is of the opinion that "the sooner the Negroes find out that they can't depend on David and the Lord and get busy for themselves the better off they will be," and, further, "if the Lord was going to do something for you He would have done it long ago." This is radical enough, and is sure to rattle the religious dry bones of the race, and this, too, without regard to the fact that the Lord only helps those who help themselves, and that He has done more for us than we have done for Him. It depends upon the way you look at it, and the Negro World prefers that each reader shall judge for himself as to the facts.

On the question of voting efficiently Mr. Darrow said:

"The only badge of equality you have in the North is the ballot, and it has been foolishly thrown away. A ballot should never be counted until after it has been cast. Your vote is always counted before the election. Negroes have overlooked their best bet by voting the Republican ticket.

"I want you to be independent. Keep white politicians guessing. I don't know of any better weapon than the ballot.

"Let us assume that the white Republicans did go down South and free you; well, you have paid them back in full. In case you don't think you have, vote once more and ask for a receipt.

"I blame the intelligent Negroes for being Republican decoys for pay. Negroes have the balance of power in a number of Northern States and cities. The duty of a colored man is, first, to himself and then to his race. I cannot emphasize too much the importance of being independent. Become independent and then they will look for you."

These views of Mr. Darrow differ in no essential from the purposes and plans of the Universal Political Union of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, so that we do not need to discuss

Race Problem - 1925

United States

Segregafion From The Christian Standpoint

"Can white people be Christian,—like Christ?". Many sane colored people have asked us that question. Often we have replied: "Yes,—and we have known some that were meek in Justice, like Jesus, and mighty in mercy like the Christ." For even one case is a complete answere to such a question. ONE is a demonstration of fact and a prophecy of possibility.

But our faith has grown less firm in the long-coated, high-salaried religion that fills most of the pulpits of the great white church. We too often find such pastors dominated by the spirit of the refined mob which is their particular flock: if they have a rich congregation, they toady to intolerance. In Indianapolis, Ind., for example, we found some of the white pastors joining (not leading) their beloved "flock" in the low business of racial segregation movements. The segregationists of that city publish a weekly paper, "THE SPECTATOR," which they boast of giving free to six thousand homes. In a December issue occurs a leading article of news and comment on the "White People's Protective League," which had met on the preceeding Saturday night "at the usual place, the M. P. Church." And this meeting had been addressed by two other pastors (of North Avenue Christian and Capitol Avenue Methodist Churches), who made "rousing addresses in favor of keeping this part of Indianapolis white." They did not explain how, after feeding their flocks in the white world, they proposed to arrange for their eternal comfort in a white heaven. And the article went on:

"While approaching the matter from a strictly Christian standpoint, each maintained that it was the duty of every white person in the district to resist the confiscaion of his home and property rights by Negro invasion."

Do you get that language of the hypocrite ("Christian standpoint") coupled right up with that lingo of the mob ("resist," "confiscation,' "invasion")? Isn't that fine for the followers of "the meek and lowly Jesus?" And listen further how they spoke to the mob spirit; "Quick, desision action * * * * is necessary;" white people will lose millions in property values," unless they "take the matter in hand without delay;" "the sooner the city is districted for white and black the better it will be for all. Legislation is not necessary for such districting," etc.—That is, the 1917 decision of the Supreme Court makes "legislation" non-effective, and so the mob power of the Lord's "white lambs" is to be invoked.

These and such white pastors have fallen further from Christ than Satan fell from Heaven when he landed in Hell. Are white Christian leaders going to make league with the Devil of race prejudice and all the demon brood that it entails? Colored people everywhere are noticing the fact that the best and most willing defender they could find in the white race against mob persecution and official injustice in Detroit, is a non-Christian, Clarence Darrow, a man who shaps his finger at creeds of words and accepts only creeds of deeds. The "Garland Fund" which also is not controlled by orthodox white Christians, gave the first and most substantial aid from the white world to the defense of these cases. And nobody doubts that if Robert G. Ingersoll were alive today he would at least be Darrow's colleague in defense of these persecuted colored citizens.

Must Colored people reach the conclusion that only the non-Christian, or at least the unorthodox, of the white race can do justice to black people? White Protestant Churches have largely fallen under suspicion of being Klux-hot-beds. If the Negro's suspicion is permitted to grow, ere long he will have no confidence in any praying white man; when the white preacher offers him heaven from the one hand, he will suspect that he holds hell in the other. We have sometimes made the white audience laugh, and perhaps think, when we remarked that our experience with the alliance of the church with race prejudice has produced in us such a state of mind that when we sit down on one end of a seat in a street car or other common carrier, and a sneering white bigot gets up off the other end because we sit down, we involuntarily ask ourself this questionn: "Wonder whose Sunday School he's superintendent of?"

If racial segregation with its consequent misunderstanding, suspicion, hate, and war, is for white pastors the "Christian standpoint" then in thename of the Devil,we would like to ask, where in the devil will the Devil stand?"

AS A FRIENDLY WHITE MAN SEES THE NEGRO

MR. CLARENCE DARROW is one of the famous lawyers of the United States. He is a broad thinker, and he has very human sympathies, with the courage of his convictions, which all men of his position in the life of the nation do not show when the time to do so arrives. Mr. Darrow showed this to be so when he went to Dayton, Tennessee, to defend Professor Scope from the charge of violating the State law against teaching evolution in the public schools and, again, in defending Dr. Sweet and ten others, at Detroit, charged with shooting into a white mob and killing one of the mob which was besieging the home of Dr. Sweet, in the effort to frighten him into leaving his home which he had purchased and occupied in a white neighborhood.

Mr. Darrow came to Harlem, in New York City, recently, and addressed two large meetings, inside and outside of Salem Church. Mr. Darrow spoke straight from the shoulder, and he spoke as a friend not afraid to tell his hearers of their shortcomings. Mr. Darrow is of the opinion that "the sooner the Negroes find out that they can't depend on David and the Lord and get busy for themselves the better off they will be," and, further, "if the Lord was going to do something for you He would have done it long ago." This is radical enough, and is sure to rattle the religious dry bones of the race, and this, too, without regard to the fact that the Lord only helps those who help themselves, and that He has done more for us than we have done for Him. It depends upon the way you look at it, and the Negro World prefers that each reader shall judge for himself as to the facts.

On the question of voting efficiently Mr. Darrow said:

"The only badge of equality you have in the North is the ballot, and it has been foolishly thrown away. A ballot should never be counted until after it has been cast. Your vote is always counted before the election. Negroes have overlooked their best bet by voting the Republican ticket.

"I want you to be independent. Keep white politicians guessing. I don't know of any better weapon than the ballot.

"Let us assume that the white Republicans did go down South and free you; well, you have paid them back in full. In case you don't think you have, vote once more and ask for a receipt.

"I blame the intelligent Negroes for being Republican decoys for pay. Negroes have the balance of power in a number of Northern States and cities. The duty of a colored man is, first, to himself and then to his race. I cannot emphasize too much the importance of being independent. Become independent and then they will look for you."

These views of Mr. Darrow differ in no essential from the purposes and plans of the Universal Political Union of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, so that we do not need to discuss

Kelly Miller Says

President Coolidge made a kindly mistake in intimating to the country that customary conditions should not be upset altho they violate the rights of citizens and thwart the fulfilment of law. To emphasize racial public policy might frustrate justice and equity.

Within a few weeks the segregation covenants will be brought before the supreme Court. Let us hope that the well intended words of the President will not be quoted to our hurt before this final tribunal.

President Coolidge On The Negro

For many years after the Civil War and reconstruction, it was the habit of the President of the United States to treat the Negro question in his annual message to Congress. In calling attention to the state of the nation, he never failed to stress the enforcement of laws designed to secure to the recently emancipated race guaranteed rights.

In those days the issue was a dynamic one. The conscience of the nation was keen on the subject. As time elapsed public sentiment weakened. The President's reference to the Negro weakened with public sentiment. Finally the reference was omitted altogether.

Since the deliberation of the Republican party we have noticed a revival of the old custom. But the recent references have been weak and colorless. They express no purpose or determination but are usually tacked on at the end as a left handed indication of a kindly feeling and good will.

Statement is Weak

President Coolidge's statement falls under this category. It has the sermonic tone rather than the positive ring of governmental authority. The President does not declare that he is going to enforce the laws now on the stattute books guaranteeing the blac man his rights nor urge the enactment of new ones if the existing enactments are insufficient. He merely avers he ought to be left unmolested in the quiet enjoyment of equal protection of the law.

We should weigh carefully the words of the President and determine, if we can, the meaning they convey and the motive behind them. Mr. Coolidge is an average man. As another distinguished American said of himself, he may be regarded as the most average man in America. He embodies the feeling and focuses the sense of the ordinary American. He is the mouthpiece of the common mind.

Normal Attitude

Therefore what he has to say expresses the normal attitude of the average white American on the Negro question. This attitude is one of kindly negativity. There is no affirmative purpose or intention. The brother in black, or rather the brother in colors, will be treated with benevolent indifference..

It is needless to criticize the seeming lukewarmness of the presidential reference. The futility of abuse has long been demonstrated. Let us rather thank President Coolidge for giving us a true photograph of the actual situation with which we now stand face to face.

A Helpless Race

The President's treatment of the race question is in the minor key and the undertone. He reduces the Negro to the lowest denomination in the scale of American citizenship.

As a helpless race ,he ought not to be mistreated by his more powerful white citizens. Moral suasion is always an ineffectual weapon and its employment indicates feeble administrative intention. There is nothing of that robustness of declaration which we used to hear about the enforcement of the Constitution and the law.

If the President reflects, as he seems to me to do, the average attitude of white America, then the Negro had better begin to think soberly about his lessening place in the political and civil polity of the nation.

Ballot A Weapon

The ballot was given the Negro as a means of self defense. Every class of Americans armed with the ballot is supposed to protect itself. Nobody is supposed to have the time and altruistic purpose to protect some one else.

In the history of the human race, no class has ever been good enough to protect another class equally with itself. Is the United States getting ready to abandon the principle of the reconstruction days of equality behind the law as well as before it? Unless there is equality in the formulation of the law, it is hopeless to expect equality in its enforcement.

It would be kindly to say that horses ought to be protected in all of the essential requirements of horsehood. They should not be abused, slaughtered or harshly handled. But horses are not a part of the body politic.

Raises Question

We should understandingly thank Mr. Coolidge for bringing this question to public notice. Whatever the President says attracts public attention. He might have remained silent with his usual tacturnity. Then it might have been supposed that the question had passed entirely out of the administrative consciousness. But the mere mention in such high connection keeps the issue alive.

Mr. Coolidge is true to his own nature. His interest in the Negro is genuine and is born of granitic conscience of the New Hampshire hills. But this interest is benevolent and philothropical rather than civil and political.

He evidently does not look upon the Negro as a dynamic political factor with power enough to enforce his own rights. He himself was selected by such an overwhelming majority that he owes little or nothing to the Negro as a political obligation. He views the question from the standpoint of kindly benefaction rather than political exigency.

If he is renominated and re-elected by a slender margin which falls below the contributed Negro vote he will doubtless under his third administration view the question in the light of practical politics which he has studiously ignored in his first and second terms.

No Political Hopes

The professional Negro politician can certainly extract no comfort from the President's words. There is not the slightest intimation of giving the race a chance through appointive office to function in the government nor of the intention to force through Congress any measures looking to the same direction.

According to this philosophy it would look as if the Negro politician's occupation was gone, for at least the next three years.

Inferior Sphere

But there is one feature of his reference for which we are truly sorry that the President did not keep silent. His reference to the 'customary' relations sanctioned by long usuage, however kindly intended, can only suggest mischief to the cunning minds of those who are now determined to fix the Negro race in an inferior sphere.

It will tend to justify and extend restrictive regulations calculated to keep the Negro in his apopinted place. It is clearly not the prerogative of the President to advise or encourage discrimination among citizens of the United tSates. His duty is limited to those general relations which concern them all alike.

Senction Class Distinction

To suggest or sanction schism among citizens on account of race creed or class, whatever may be the sanction of custom and tradition, is clearly aside from the function of the executive as intended by the constitution. So far as the federal government is concerned, the Negro stands on absolutely the same footing as all other citizens. Intimation of justified distinctions on the part of federal authorities suggests license to the states and local communities to pass all manner of racial proscriptive regulations.

Gives Example

When the new regulations governing interestate commerce was under consideration in the Senate, Honorable Archibald Grimke and myself called upon Senator Forager to put in a provision safeguarding the rights of colored interstate passengers.

The valiant Senator advised us that the best we could hope for from the Senate was a provision for equal but separate accommodations. We advised him that we would much prefer that no reference of any sort sort should be made to race or color, unless it was a clean, clear cut forbiddance of discrimination. That if we merely wished to secure equal separate accommodation, we could easily do so through the legislatures of the several states. But that we desired to keep the federal statutes forever free from regulations setting up discriminations among American citizens ,on account of race or color.

Dangerous Procedure

The founders of the government did not permit one word to enter that document that smacked of race. At a time when one fifth of the total population was composed of African slaves, there was not a single word concerning race, color or slaves.

It is a dangerous procedure to have the distinctions invade the federal statutes. When the present school system in the District of Columbia was being set up by Congress, there was a proposal to designate that three members of the Board of Education should be of the Colored race. I strongly protested the insertion of this word before the committee on the ground that if there must needs be any discrimination in federal procedure ,it were better to let it rest on agreement and understanding than to have the federal statutes fraughted with race legislation which is so repugnant to the spirit and genius of American institutions.

Kindly Mistake

President Coolidge made a kindly mistake in intimating to the country that customary and traditional conditions should not be upset although they violate the rights of citizens and thwart the fulfillment of the law.

This is especially unfortunate at a time when the civil rights of the race are being tested by the highest court of the land.

To emphasize racial public policy must frustrate justice and equity. Within a few weeks the segregation covenants will be brought before the Supreme Court. Let us hope that the well intended words of the President will not be quoted to our hurt before this final tribunal.

NEW YORK CITY COMMERCE
DECEMBER 9, 1925

The Negro

Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the negro race. The progress which they have made in all the arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens. But they do still need sympathy, kindness, and helpfulness. They need reassurance that the requirements of the Government and society to deal out to them even-handed justice will be met. They should be protected from all violence and supported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

Our country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does not include any license to injure others materially, physically, morally, to incite revolution, or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society.

But it does mean the full right to liberty and equality before the law without distinction of race or creed. This condition can not be granted to others, or enjoyed by ourselves, except by the application of the principle of broadest tolerance. Bigotry is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it. An enlarged freedom can only be secured by the application of the golden rule. No other utterance ever presented such a practical rule of life.

Race Problem—1925.

United States.

A BETTER WAY IS DESIRED

In all human affairs we long for a better way. We want more light. We seek to satisfy the desires of our heart and wanderings of our mind.

The American nation is a greatly mixed people. It is composed of a number of the civilized races who are functioning in various ways in the management of our government. With a situation of this kind it is natural to expect upheavals, uncertainties and a departure from our fundamental laws. It may be that our naturalization laws are too free and we are making citizens out of foreigners too rapidly. Swearing allegiance and support to a constitution of a nation that one knows little of and has slight leanings to will not produce or make sure a helpful and patriotic citizen.

To exercise the rights of citizenship men should be drilled in our fundamental laws and acquainted with the accepted practice of our government. We have not trained our own people in the science of government. Millions of people of American birth know but little of the government of our nation. We are ignorant of our obligations, unmindful of the responsibilities, blind to our opportunities, and do not exercise fully and completely as citizens.

It is a difficult task in the American Government to develop out of what we have a safe citizenry. This is because of the many nationalities and races who have been trained in the government of their several countries and our willingness as a nation to accept them as the equals with our home product. The Negro has been neglected by our government as it regards educational advantages and he represents nearly fifteen millions, or ten per cent, of the entire population. In the courts he is tried as a citizen, at the bar of public opinion he is considered as one of the citizen units, but in protection he is a ward, he is a subject. He is not trained in the art and practice of good government. He is not given the opportunity to exercise those latent virtues that bring forward in man the crowning features of manhood and citizenship. He is denied, in many respects, the rights of citizenship and commanded by the laws by which he is not fully protected.

Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, one of the most profound jurists of America, made some most striking expressions to an audience in New York City June 30th, among his expressions were the following:

"Americans must take more interest in their government and political parties if the principles established by the nation's builders are to be maintained.

"You have no right to talk of your Americanism while you ignore the plainest duties of citizenship.

"We need the dissemination of accurate information, constant debate on every issue, both as to principle and details, the alertness and acumen of an intelligent public, but we should seek especially to strengthen our means of enforcing the responsibility of representatives and of securing the benefits of wise leadership. We ought to be able to avoid the selfish manipulation of party organization without inviting disintegration."

As a nation we could be moved by no sounder doctrine and it could come from no citizen more worthy than the ex-Secretary of State and member of the Supreme Court of the United States. Information about the things we should know and do can but stimulate patriotism, loyalty to country and a devotion for our law and people. Utterances from such a lofty height bring us to considerations that ought to actuate us in matters of local affairs as well as those national. We cannot have a fair appreciation for our national government until our local matters are conforming in some degree to our national laws.

The Negro, representing ten per cent of the population of the nation, and a much larger percentage of the population of the South, is not given the right to develop along the line of ethical manhood and citizenship. He seeks a better way. He longs for more opportunity. Not that he might interfere with the rights of others, but that his rights under the law may be guaranteed. He is discouraged, and many times proceeds on an expensive plan in his church and in his lodge. He doesn't know procedure, and many times the unprotected ones, the untrained, are taken advantage of and expensively used by the more advanced members whom they trust and on whom they have a right to depend for proper guidance.

If the Southern Negro is to develop along the lines of citizenship and manhood, it is going to begin in his church, in his lodge halls, in his grand assemblies, in his national meetings of this kind, where he can legislate, where he takes the position as a senator, a congressman, and a statesman. This is the only means of development left for the Negro along these lines in the South today. Delegates should be independent, they should know the laws of their several orders and more especially those who are represented in state and national bodies. Subordinate numbers should see to it that their men and delegates be sent to the grand assemblies and supreme bodies as independent and informed on the things to be done. We should concern ourselves more on measures, on laws to protect our institutions and measures that will inspire confidence and encourage the hearts of the membership.

The states are full of worthy men, men who are prepared for leadership and who have led successfully in private and public life. The task of selecting leaders should not concern us to the end that our laws to govern will be overlooked. The delegates should hold dear to their hearts their enactments of law; they should take pride and consider it an honor to vote for substantial measures, men of character and worth. Our assemblies should be directed in a clear and sober atmosphere, dodging no issue, facing all matters for the perpetuity of our institutions under a clear sky without passion, without hate, without prejudice, but with a feeling that the entire membership of our institutions will be protected, will progress, will maintain a standard of fundamental worth in the states and in the nation regardless to what may be said by political mongers and destructionists who have little or no interest in the humbler members of our Race so numerously found in our fraternal orders.

If we are going to make citizens it will be done by the practice of citizenship. If we are barred in our public facilities we must express ourselves in our churches and conclaves which we have developed out of our own sacrifice, brains and character. We must not crave citizenship on statutory or constitutional law only. Our citizenship must be more de facto than dejure, that is to say, we must function as citizens, aspire to stand foursquare on desert and merit, facing the world as genuine men and never apologizing for being men. The sentiment of a great English poet serves us in this connection when he says: "The fame that a man wins himself is best, that he may call his own; honors put on him make him no more a man than his clothes do, which are as soon taken off."

A better way is desired. It is the highway of manhood and citizenship. Every group must exercise in finding this way through the outlets available.

WE KNOW WHEREOF WE SPEAK

There have been accusations hurled at The Chicago Defender by people of the South that this paper, being located in the North, is not in a position to speak clearly and with authority on subjects pertaining to racial issues in southern communities. We have been accused of making flagrant charges against southern whites, and we have been accused of distorting the truth to serve some selfish end of our own. To all these charges we demur.

First, let us see if the race situation in the South is in need of a thorough exposing or is it really what southern demagogues say it is. In 1924 there were 16 persons those whose burdens are heavy enough with earning their daily bread—are those who must suffer. Are these sufficient causes to warrant a plea for justice? No one can deny these statements. Are they then so insignificant as to be unworthy of notice? We say they are not. Had they been noticed long ago, perhaps now there would be less of them to annoy us.

The Defender feels itself peculiarly adapted to waging the fight it is carrying on for absolute racial equality. It is located just near enough to the seat of trouble to see clearly just what is going on, and far enough away to feel that it can rely upon the privileged class, the law for protection if protection becomes necessary. We are merely following safe

lynched, 15 of them in southern states. Crimes with which these victims were charged ranged from petty larceny to "suspicious circumstances." The year 1925 judging from its record of nine lynchings for the first six months, is in a fair way to break last year's record. All of the victims of the mob for this year lived in the South.

In the South two men have been beaten to death by prison guards—one in North Carolina and one in Arkansas. In Florida a mob exacted its bloody toll of a man after he had been freed by a jury of white men and a white judge; in that same state five white men were convicted of peonage and sentenced after testimony brought out at their trial showed that a man's life in their hands was worth about as much as a puff of smoke.

These are some of the facts of the South's cruelty that are made public (not including murders by white individuals). There are hundreds of similar cases that are never

the "petty bourgeoise," those who have been fortunate enough to be classed well-to-do, but the masses of our Race—not who is not white.

The average person of

"little things," such as outrages against our girls, women, insults and slurs of homes, inferior schools, robbing families of their and properties without due legal processes, overwork and underpay, segregation on railways where a first-class fare is charged for the privilege of riding in a worse than cattle car, just behind the engine, in which white men smoke and relate filthy experiences. That is life in the South for a person they are undisputable.

Race Problem — 1925.

United States,

A BETTER WAY IS DESIRED

In all human affairs we long for a better way. We want more light. We by the more advanc
seek to satisfy the desires of our heart and wanderings of our mind. right to depend for p

The American nation is a greatly mixed people. It is composed of a numbe If the Southern
of the civilized races who are functioning in various ways in the management manhood, it is going
of our government. With a situation of this kind it is natural to expect up assemblies, in his n
heavals, uncertainties and a departure from our fundamental laws. It may where he takes the
be that our naturalization laws are too free and we are making citizens out of This is the only mea
foreigners too rapidly. Swearing allegiance and support to a constitution of the South today. De
a nation that one knows little of and has slight leanings to will not produce of their several order
or make sure a helpful and patriotic citizen. and national bodies.

To exercise the rights of citizenship should be drilled in our funda delegates be sent to
mental laws and acquainted with the accepted practice of our government and informed on the
We have not trained our own people in the science of government. Millions of on measures, on laws
people of American birth know but little of the government of our nation confidence and encou
We are ignorant of our obligations, unmindful of the responsibilities blind to The states are f
our opportunities, and do not exercise fully and completely as citizens. and who have led suc

It is a difficult task in the American Government to develop out of what leaders should not co
we have a safe citizenry. This is because of the many nationalities and looked. The delega
aces who have been trained in the government of their several countries and law; they should tak
our willingness as a nation to accept as the equals with our home product measures, men of cha
The Negro has been neglected by our government as it regards educational a clear and sober a
advantages and he represents nearly fifteen millions, or ten per cent, of the perpetuity of our in
entire population. In the courts he is tried as a citizen, at the bar of public hate, without prejudi
opinion he is considered as one of the citizen units, but in protection he is a institutions will be
ward, he is a subject. He is not trained in the art and practice of good fundamental worth in
government. He is not given the opportunity to exercise those latent virtues said by political mo
that bring forward in man the crowning features of manhood and citizenship in the humbler members
He is denied, in many respects, the rights of citizenship and commanded by orders.

the laws by which he is not fully protected. If we are going to make citizens it will be done by the practice of citizen-

Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, one of the most profound jurists of ship. If we are bar
America, made some most striking expressions to an audience in New York our churches and co
City June 30th, among his expressions were the following: brains and character.

"Americans must take more interest in their government and political law only. Our
parties if the principles established by the nation's builders are to be main say, we must functio
tained. merit, facing the wo

"You have no right to talk of your Americanism while you ignore the The sentiment of a
plainest duties of citizenship. says: "The fame th

"We need the dissemination of accurate information, constant debate or honors put on him m
every issue, both as to principle and details, the alertness and acumen of ar as soon taken off."
intelligent public, but we should seek especially to strengthen our means of A better way is
enforcing the responsibility of representatives and of securing the benefits of Every group must ex
wise leadership. We ought to be able to avoid the selfish manipulation of **WE KNOW WHEREOF WE SPEAK**

party organization without inviting disintegration." There have b

As a nation we could be moved by no sounder doctrine and it could come The Chicago D
from no citizen more worthy than the ex-Secretary of State and member of South that this
the Supreme Court of the United States. Information about the things we North, is not in
should know and do can but stimulate patriotism, loyalty to country and a and with author
devotion for our law and people. Utterances from such a lofty height bring to racial issues
us to considerations that ought to actuate us in matters of local affairs as well We have been a
as those national. We cannot have a fair appreciation for our national gov. charges against
ernment until our local matters are conforming in some degree to our national have been accused
laws. selfish end of our own. To al a mob exacted its bloody toll of a man after

The Negro, representing ten per cent of the population of the nation, and he had been freed by a jury of white men
a much larger percentage of the population of the South, is not given th right to develop along the line of ethical manhood and citizenship. He seeks
a better way. He longs for more opportunity. Not that he might interfere with the rights of others, but that his rights under the law may be guaranteed. He is discouraged, and many times proceeds on an expensive plan in his

church and in his lodge. He doesn't know procedure, and many times the
unprotected ones, the untrained, are taken advantage of and expensively used
Advanced members whom they trust and on whom they have a
for proper guidance.
Southern Negro is to develop along the lines of citizenship and
going to begin in his church, in his lodge halls, in his grand
his national meetings of this kind, where he can legislate,
s the position as a senator, a congressman, and a statesman.
y means of development left for the Negro along these lines in
. Delegates should be independent, they should know the laws
orders and more especially those who are represented in state
dies. Subordinate numbers should see to it that their men and
nt to the grand assemblies and supreme bodies as independent
n the things to be done. We should concern ourselves more
n laws to protect our institutions and measures that will inspire
encourage the hearts of the membership.
are full of worthy men, men who are prepared for leadership
ed successfully in private and public life. The task of selecting
not concern us to the end that our laws to govern will be over
elegates should hold dear to their hearts their enactments of
ld take pride and consider it an honor to vote for substantial
of character and worth. Our assemblies should be directed in
per atmosphere, dodging no issue, facing all matters for the
our institutions under a clear sky without passion, without
rejudice, but with a feeling that the entire membership of our
l be protected, will progress, will maintain a standard of
orth in the states and in the nation regardless to what may be
l mongers and destructionists who have little or no interest
members of our Race so numerously found in our fraternal

those whose burdens are heavy enough with earning their daily bread—are those who must suffer. Are these sufficient causes to warrant a plea for justice? No one can deny these statements. Are they then so insignificant as to be unworthy of notice? We say they are not. Had they been noticed long ago, perhaps now there would be less of them to annoy us.

The Defender feels itself peculiarly adapted to waging the fight it is carrying on for absolute racial equality. It is located just near enough to the seat of trouble to see clearly just what is going on, and far enough away to feel that it can rely upon the law for protection if protection becomes necessary. We are merely following safe

revealed, but we have chosen these because they are undisputable. Add to these the "little things," such as outrages against our women, insults and slurs against our girls, inferior schools, robbing families of homes and properties without due legal processes, overwork and underpay, segregation on railways where a first-class fare is charged for the privilege of riding in a worse than cattle car, just behind the engine, in which white men smoke and relate filthy experiences. That is life in the South for a person who is not white.

The average person of our Race—not the "petty bourgeoise," the privileged class, those who have been fortunate enough to be classed well-to-do, but the masses of

lynched, 15 of them in southern states. Crimes with which these victims were charged ranged from petty larceny to "suspicious circumstances." The year 1925 judging from its record of nine lynchings for the first six months, is in a fair way to break last year's record. All of the victims of the mob for this year lived in the South.

In the South two men have been beaten to death by prison guards—one in North Carolina and one in Arkansas. In Florida sentenced after testimony brought out at

their trial showed that a man's life in their hands was worth about as much as a puff of smoke.

These are some of the facts of the South's cruelty that are made public (not including murders by white individuals). There are hundreds of similar cases that are never

and sane methods that have proved efficient.

The Jew in the United States during the past 10 years did more fighting with money and propaganda for the Jew in Russia than the latter could ever have done for himself, and as a consequence, the Jew has attained his rightful place in Russia and America. He is no longer subject to pogroms (lynchings), and is fast losing that cause which Nordics gave him to regret that he is a Jew. He is a MAN.

We have not sought the impossible, and we have chosen the only possible method of attaining our object. We will not be satisfied until the United States Constitution stands for the protection of ALL American citizens in spirit as well as in letter. We will expose the South as long as it retains its present attitude on the race question. It is a fight to the end; we ask no quarter, because we are right, and we know we shall triumph.

American

COLUMBUS O. JOURNAL
MAY 26. 1925

RACE PROBLEM IS ONE OF LABOR COMPETITION

CHANDLER OWEN SAYS CAPITALISTS PLAY WHITE LABOR AGAINST NEGROES.

The American race problem is mainly one of labor competition and is kept alive among the working classes by capitalists for their own profit in the opinion of Chandler Owen, co-editor of the Messenger, Negro magazine and adviser to nearly all the Jewish-Negro labor unions in New York City.

The Messenger is considered radical and was banned by Congress during the World War, a ruling done away with by the Supreme Court.

Speaking before Professor Herbert A. Miller's class in Sociology 401 yesterday, Owen asserted that most of the race riots in late years have been the result of competition for jobs.

"Capitalists," he said, "by playing the white laborers against the Negro laborers through agitation among the laborers are giving rise to an unnatural state, for all peoples are naturally kindly disposed toward each other and would readily combine in their natural economic groups if left alone."

Owen expressed the opinion that enlightenment of laborers on this phase of the race question and the abolition of the double school system, giving equal educational opportunities to both races, would go far in the solution of the problem.

World White Races Combining Against Dark For Protection

Associated Negro Press.

CHICAGO, July 29.—As evidence of the earnestness with which The Associated Negro Press endeavors to keep the public informed with reference to worldwide events, attention is called to the recent release of a story from Washington on the subject of world conditions. This story was released from Chicago on Saturday, July 18; on the following day, Sunday, July 19, the Chicago Tribune contained a copyrighted cablegram from one of its staff correspondents bringing out substantially the confirmation of the facts as set forth in the story of the Associated Negro Press.

The Tribune story was written by John Steele, and filed in London, England. After telling of some recent achievements under Austin Chamberlain, foreign secretary of Great Britain, Mr. Steele goes on to tell of the plans of a league for white peoples of the world. in which Germany is to be included, and Russia excluded, "to protect the white man's heritage against the rising tide of color."

To quote from Mr. Steel's story a paragraph, he says:

"Mr. Chamberlain has also induced the French to agree that security must be accomplished by a pact freely entered into by Germany and maintained by friendly relations.

Plans League of Whites

"His next task is to complete the work by bringing Germany into the league of nations and then organize what he visualizes as a league of white nations of the world to protect the white man's heritage against the rising tide of color. In this tide of color he includes the Russian soviets, who have betrayed their white heritage by turning toward Asiatic ideals and seeking Asiatic allies in the war with western civilization. The recent events in both Morocco and China have helped him in securing France's adhesion to this general policy.

In order to complete the white block, however, it is absolutely necessary to have the full co-operation of the Germans, who have a keener color sense than the Latin nations and whose attitude towards the questions affecting the relations of the races approximates that of America and Great Britain.

Information from all parts of the world to The Associated Negro Press, confidential and otherwise, indicates beyond question the seriousness with which the white people are now taking this inevitable "rising tide of color." There are certain just demands coming from the darker people of the worlds, which the white people wish to deny further, but which the dark people, in their rising power are insisting must be given.

In America where the 15,000,000 black people have been denied rights in the South, and merely tolerated in the North, there is an insistent campaign of propaganda going on urging adjustment, say they will not be responsible for what may follow, both on the white and black side.

The thoughtful people of both groups, North and South, are urged to "lay their cards on the table," and cease trying to "hog the game," as one of the advocates stated it.

Neither the "rank and file of either the whites or the blacks in America are awakened to the gravity of the situation, but there is no question about the people "sitting in high places," knowing what is going on and some of them are trembling.

Macon, Ga. TELEGRAPH

JUN 20 1925

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.

Now and then somebody, who knows nothing about the situation, launches an attack upon the South and takes the negro question into consideration, as the subject for elucidation. Such fanatics fail to take cognizance of such affairs at the Harlem, New York, riot, which has subscidided the Illinois troubles, and other similar disturbance, including such outbreaks as recently occurred in Pennsylvania.

In striking contrast to this is the case of a valued family worker in Macon, the story of which is going the rounds of the Georgia press and concerning which the Sandersville Progress says:

"A colored woman who had been a servant in a white family in Macon for 38 years, died the past week and was given burial in the family lot in the cemetery of the white people of that city, in accordance with her expressed wish. There are many colored people in the South who are held in the highest esteem by the white people whom they serve; and there is never any occasion for a colored person of good caracter to fear improper treatment by the whites, as they delight to honor those who deserve it."

There are several instances of similar nature in Augusta, and there is no doubt but that those who serve best profit most in these modern days, despite the fact that now and then an exceptional case of lack of appreciation is manifested. However, this is true not only with the colored citizens, but all the others.

There are workers in the homes and families of Augusta today who are almost a part and parcel of the families, ready to lay down their lives in service and there is no lack of appreciation, not only of their service, but of their friendship, regardless of what some of these maudlin demoralizers that seek to discredit the South on general principles.—Augusta Chronicle.

Augusta, Ga. CHRONICLE

MAY 29 1925

The South and the Negro

Now and then somebody, who knows nothing about the situation, launches an attack upon the South and takes the Negro question into consideration, as the subject for elucidation.

Such fanatics fail to take cognizance of such affairs as the Harlem, New York riot, which has just subsided, the Illinois troubles, or other similar disturbances, including such outbreaks as recently occurred in Pennsylvania.

In striking contrast to this is the case of a valued family worker in Macon, the story of which is going the rounds of the Georgia press and concerning which The Sandersville Progress says:

A colored woman who had been a servant in a white family in Macon for 38 years, died the past week and was given burial in the family lot in the cemetery of the white people of that city, in accordance with her expressed wish. There are many colored people in the south who are held in the highest esteem by the white people whom they serve; and there is never any occasion for a colored person of good character to fear improper treatment by the whites, as they delight to honor those who deserve it.

There are several instances of similar nature recorded in Augusta and there is no doubt but that those who serve best profit most in these modern days, despite the fact that now and then an exceptional case of lack of appreciation is manifested. However, this is true not only with the colored citizens, but all the others.

There are workers in the homes and families of Augusta today who are almost a part and

Race Problem - 1925

United States.

Fort Valley, Ga., Leader-Tribune

NOV 12 1925

JUDGE MATHEWS ON PROHIBITION LAWS AND MOB VIOLENCE

The two subjects of the above heading were strongly stressed by Judge H. A. Mathews in his charge to the grand jury of Bibb county at the opening of the November term of the Superior Court of that county. No more vital matters now press for the attention of thoughtful people, anxious for the highest prosperity of our country.

We quote from the Macon News portions of the charge dealing with these subjects:

"I think it proper that we should discuss briefly the general subject of our criminal laws—their importance and the necessity that these laws be duly respected and enforced. This is a matter that the criminal courts, including the grand jury, should stress and consider profoundly with the single view and purpose of a wise and efficient discharge of duty.

"The ultimate purpose of the penalties prescribed by these laws is to promote, and as far as possible insure respect for the laws enacted for the protection of society. The laws must be respected, or else we are unprotected in our persons and our property, and we must live in a greater or less degree of anarchy. All these propositions are manifest and beyond question or cavil.

"But can the laws be made respectable and be duly respected without a healthy and strong backing of respectable people? Is it not true that the strongest support of the agencies of the law is the obedience to the law, implicit and unconditional of all respectable people who themselves remain within the prohibitions of the law?

"In considering this proposition, what can be said of men usually law abiding, useful and honest, who assume to themselves the right to regulate by force or intimidation or duress the conduct of their fellow citizens? As far as I can understand the principles of any possible good and safe government, there can be no more dangerous, destructive and subversive principle introduced into a civilized republic, than the idea that any man or number of men not duly authorized by the law and with full official power as representing the law may properly assume to deprive any person, however humble, of his liberty or of the safety of his person from any sort of violence whatever.

"However honest, respectable or generally useful he may be, any man thus interfering with another's personal safety and liberty, is not only a criminal himself but he does more to impair and flout the majesty of the law than the victim has done or can possibly do.

"Obedience to the law is true liberty. An insult to the law and its agencies necessarily tends to breed contempt for the law and to loosen the activities of anarchy. It is encouraging to know that there have been fewer outbreaks of this incipient anarchy within our state and country for the last several years. But in season and at all times thinking people should set their faces sternly against these outbreaks as they tend strongly to drive from us those people who want to live where they can enjoy the blessing of safety by virtue a general respect for the law and its orderly processes.

"Public opinion, properly educated is the bulwark of the law. In this connection it is timely to consider a great and pressing problem of law enforcement and obedience to law as to the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcoholic liquors. Unfortunately there is a divergence of opinion as to the wisdom and need of this prohibition. But it is the law, state and national, and it is practically certain that it will indefinitely continue to be the law, and some way must be found to insure respect for it as a fixed principle in our social body. Shall it be honestly observed and enforced, or shall its violation be covertly encouraged? Can public opinion, the greatest power on earth, at the same time condemn the sale and manufacture, and approve the buying and use of these prohibited liquors? Manifestly, this is impossible. Can influential and prominent citizens patronize the bootlegger, and at the same time give condemnation to bootlegging? To ask the question is to answer it.

"Can a man or a woman be a good citizen who habitually encourages and abets the violation of a fixed and permanent criminal law of the land? The widespread violation of these liquor laws is notorious everywhere, and our courts are so heavily burdened thereby that they are congested and all court business impeded. The bootlegging class encouraged by the patronage of the public are tried by the thousand and given more or less punishment, while those equally responsible make light of the law presumably because they are immune from the punishment. Can any man hesitate to conclude what his highest duty demands him in this most serious situation of aur p politic? There can be only one solution of as of all questions of law enforcement, th lightened public opinion of the influentia and women of the county, manifesting it actions and not by words only."

"WHTRE SHALL THE NEGRO LIVE?" ASKS CHRISTIAN WORK MAGAZINE.

A symposium on "Where Shall The Negro Live?" is pubilshed in the Nov. 14th issue of Christian Work, a religious weekly review, (70 Fifth Ave., New York) with answers to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to H. W. Evans, head of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan point of view, which is also Thomas G. MeLeod of South Carolina is that Negroes should be segregated from Whites.

Chirstian Work introduces as follows the letter of the N. A. A. C. P. Secretary:

James Weldon Johnson, the distinguished Negro poet and Secretary of the National Assoriation for the Advancement of Colored People, which is helping to bring a defender to the defenseless among the Negroes and doing us all a service by calling our attention to the wrongs from which they suffer, answered as follows:

The only suggestion I have to make is that if a colored family legally purchases a house in any neighborhood and conducts itself in accordance with the laws of the community and of decency, it has a right to stay there and to be accorded the guarantees of a democratic form of government and the common decencies of a civilized Christian community. I cannot see any other course that can be pursued which would not contradict and stultify all our claims to democracy and Christianity. A city street is not in anyn way a social rendezvous. The fact that a man lives next door or in the same block places no social obligations upon his neighbors. In this city families live in the same house and do not know each other or seek to know each other. If we can set apart certain streets or sections in a city for Negroes why is it not logical, in fact why is it not then compulsory, to set aside separate cities, or communities, in which they should live? I do not see how we could take one step and not follow it through without being illogical and foolish.

Among those in substantial agreement with Mr. Johnson's position are: W. E. B. Du Bois; Eugene Kinckle Jones, Secretary of the National Urban League; Thomas Jesse Jones; Roger N. Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union; Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, head of the Federal Council of Churches; Father John A. Ryan, representing the Catholic Church, and Ellsworth Huntington.

REFUSES TO RETURN MAN TO OLD DIXIE

Mississippi Miss Claimed Prisoner Stole $15,000 Worth of Cotton

The long hand of peonage reached from the cotton fields of Mississippi into Chicago Saturday, and sought to drag back to virtual slavery William Washington, 2523 State street, a restauranteur, whom Miss Isabell Allendore, fresh from the southland, accused of having robbed her mother of more than $15,000 worth of cotton.

Miss Allendore had no difficulty in convincing local police officers of the authenticity of her charges. Washington was placed under arrest, and haled before Judge Lyle when he sought to fight extradition. After hearing the testimony, Judge Lyle angrily shouted, "I'll not sign this warrant to send this man back to Mississippi."

"But, your honor, interposed counsel for Miss Allendore, "positive proof has to be obtained even in Mississippi of a man's guilt before they will issue a warrant for his extradition, be that man black or white."

"I don't believe it," said Judge Lyle, "and I am not going to send this man back."

Loud cheers greeted the decision of he jurist. A bailiff rapped for order. ss Allendore, disgusted, turned on heels and walked from the court. Her counsel followed.

Worked 27 Years for Log Cabin

The story, unfolded by Washington, and upon which Judge Lyle had based his decision, was a sordid story of a black man's persecution in the swamp lands of Mississippi where he has neither redress nor renumeration for his labor.

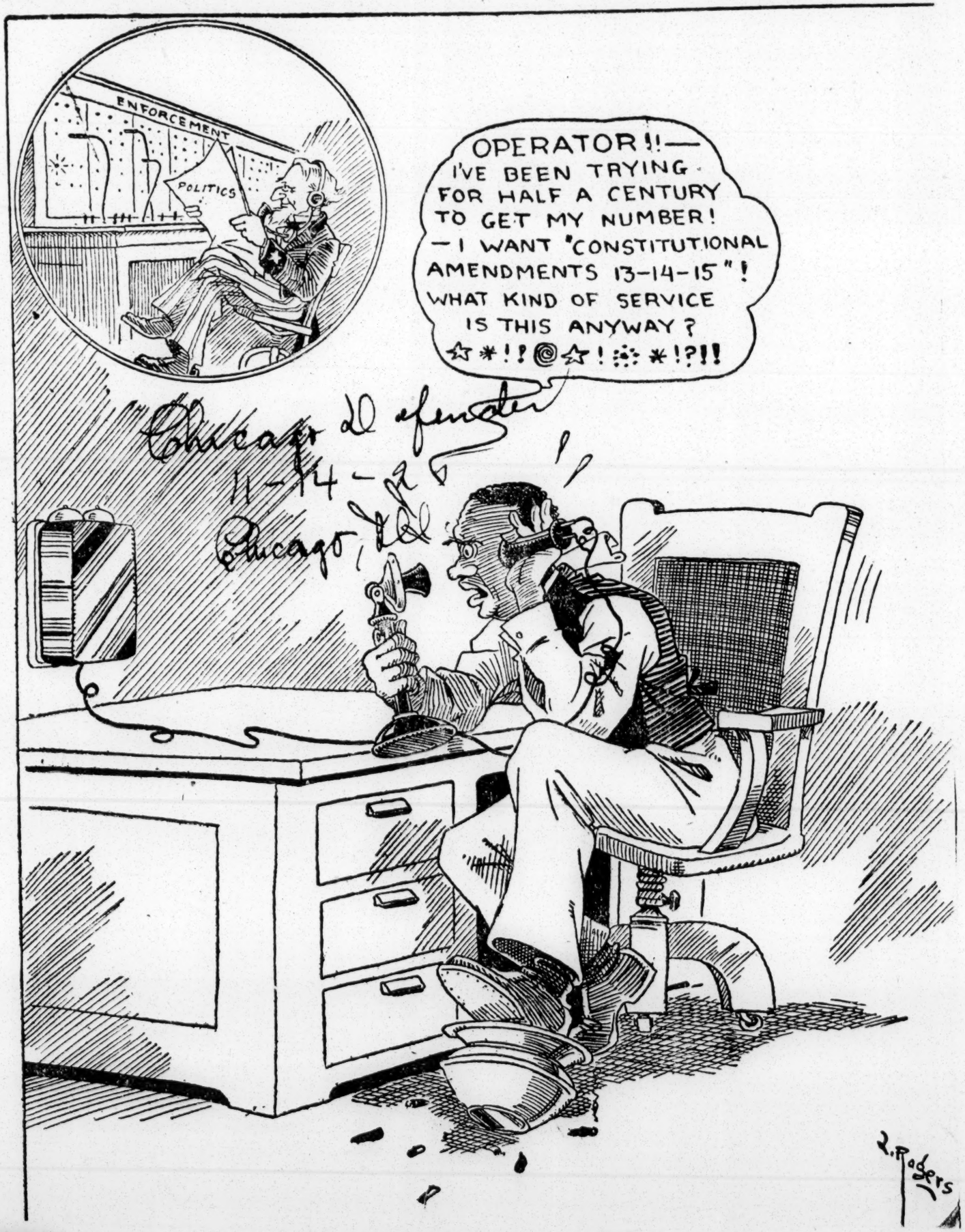
Washington said, "I toiled for Miss Allendore and her mother for 27 years, working like a dog from early morn until late at night, and all I had to show for it at the end was a tumble down log cabin that she thought I should be content to call my home. I never stole her cotton. It was all a scheme to get me back down on the plantation. It is a little place near Cruger, Miss., not so far from New Orleans. "Once before she had me arrested when I threatened to leave because she would not pay me any fixed wages. I was put in jail, and had it not been for a friendly white man I would have either had to stay in jail or else have gone back to work for her. She accused me of stealing cotton that time also. The man who had befriended me told me to leave town for fear harm would come to me. I left. I later came to Chicago, have been here almost three years now, am doing well in my business, and with God's aid will never do anything to make the community ashamed of me."

Patrolman Signs Warrant

So eager were the police to assist Miss Allendore that when Judge Lyle picked up the fugitive warrant for Washington's return, he learned to his great surprise that the warrant had been signed by Patrolman Joseph Keating of the Cottage Grove station instead of the complaining witness, Miss Allendore.

In dismissing the case against Washington, Judge Lyle explained that his action was not only done because of improper legal procedure, but also because of the lack of satisfactory evidence to sustain the charge that Washington had committed a theft.

ROTTEN SERVICE



Race Problem - 1925

United States.

The Harvest of Race Prejudice

By KELLY MILLER

PREJUDICE is a state of mind. Some affect to believe that it is an innate passion parallel with instinct, and is therefore unalterable. Others maintain that it is a stimulated animosity modifiable by time, place and condition, and is on the same footing with other shallow obliterative feelings. But whatever the basis of race prejudice, whether natural or acquired, we do know certainly that it is a pressing, persistent fact, easily stimulated and appeased with difficulty. It forms a barrier between the races which is as real as the seas and as apparent as the mountains.

Like a two-edged sword, race prejudice cuts both ways. It weakens the energies and paralyzes the moral muscle of the white race; it stultifies the conscience and frustrates the normal workings of democracy and Christianity. It fosters a double standard of ethics, and leads to lawlessness, lynching, and all manner of national disgrace. The elements of the white race that are most thoroughly obsessed by this passion show the lowest average of intellectual, moral and spiritual achievement. The Ku Klux Klan spreads its virus through our democracy; Nordicism carries it to the ends of the earth. Its effects are nationally and internationally threatening, and the American people and the Nordic civilization of which they are a part must stop to consider whether in this evil fruit they are not nurturing the fatal seeds of world dissension and catastrophe.

But our present concern is mainly to describe prejudice as it affects the Negro. Here the harvest of prejudice is ripe for the sociologist's gleaning. The outstanding and all-inclusive effect of race prejudice on the Negro can be summed up in one word, *segregation*. This is but the outer embodiment of the inner feeling of the white race. Whatever the nature and origin of this attitude, it is well nigh universal in the scope of its operation. The watch word is "miscegenation"; the rallying cry is "social equality." The cunning propagandist knows how to play upon these alarms and to adjust their appeal to the varying moods of popular passion and prejudice as a skilled musician plays upon his favorite instrument. Until recently the Negro has been the victim, with little capacity to resist.

This attitude of the white race has decreed residential segregation. Several municipalities have sought to embody this feeling in restrictive ordinances. In their too hasty zeal they over-rode the reaches of the constitution and the law; Negroes, through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, contested the constitutionality of these ordinances and won a unanimous decision from the Supreme Court. Yet the legal victory merely modified the details of procedure; it had little effect upon the actual fact of segregation, which operates as effectively without the law as within it, except as to the finality of its boundaries.

The most gigantic instance of racial segregation in the United States is seen in Harlem. There is no local law prescribing it. There does not have to be. And yet, under the normal operation of race prejudice, we find 200,000 Negroes shut in segregated areas as sharply marked as the aisles of a church. This is but an example of what it taking place in every city and center where the Negro resorts in great numbers. The recent tide of Northern migration has greatly emphasized this tendency. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Indianapolis and Chicago, the Negro contingent lives in wards and sections of wards which the politician and the real estate dealer know as well as the mariners know the depths and shallows of the seas.

We may then take Harlem as a fair specimen of the harvest of race prejudice throughout the United States. Here we have the largest Negro community in the world. It is a city within a city, a part of, and yet apart from the general life of greater New York. We need not stop here to dilate upon the inhumanity, the cruelty or the hardships of race prejudice. The outstanding fact and the consequences immediately flowing from it suffice for the present purpose.

These Negro communities are everywhere extending their boundaries without tending to any fixed limits we can now set. In Chicago the rapidly expanding boundary of the black belt precipitated the lamentable race riot. The issue is still the cause of race agitation in milder form in all parts of the country. The whites are trying to keep back the rising tide of black invasion into residential areas previously regarded as exclusively theirs. The Negroes are pushing over the boundaries of racial restriction in quest of more room and better facilities. We may expect this minor border warfare to continue until the matter settles itself by custom, understanding and acceptance. Thus it is that the sharp accentuation of race consciousness on the part of the white race is developing a counter-tendency on the part of the Negro. This is the first fruit of segregation.

If Negroes were indiscriminately interspersed among the white population of New York, race consciousness would weaken to the point of disappearance. Three hundred thousand Negroes intermingled among six million whites would be unnoticeable. But when segregated in two or three centers the African contingent becomes not only apparent, but impressive. Whenever people are thrown together they begin to think of their common interests. A common consciousness emerges which shortly expresses itself in organized endeavor. The Negro race as a whole has hitherto had a somewhat vague and indefinite collective consciousness stimulated in large part by recently the Negro has been thrown quite too much on the stress of outside compulsion. But defensive. The National Association of Colored People arose to cope with this situation on the spread in territory and too diverse protest. Their fundamental philosophy in interests to give this con- belief that race prejudice is medicable by is based upon the legal and judicial process. Their method is militant; their scious edge. Harlem furnishes the needed pressure. The Garvey movement furnishes the most extreme focussing of this feeling. Marcus Garvey found in Harlem not only of prejudice their objective. Equality is their goal; the elimination a mass of Negroes surrounded and overshadowed by whites, but also a considerable group of West Indians, who, in many ways, felt themselves isolated and circumscribed by the native Afro-Americans. Shrewdly enough he seized upon this group as the basis of his focal operation. He preached the impossibility of racial entente on the same soil and under the same political and social régime, and urged a racial hegira. His philosophy does not in this connection interest us. But he has shown to the world the possibility of focussing the racial mind, and of mobilizing racial resources about a formulated ideal.

Another fruit of prejudice is the direction which race effort and organization has been impelled to take; until

I, Too

By LANGSTON HUGHES

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well
And grow strong.

Tomorrow
I'll sit at the table
When company comes
Nobody 'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen"
Then.

Besides, they'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed,—

I, too, am America.

Race Problem - 1925

United States.

The Harvest of Race Prejudice

By KELLY MILLER

RACE PREJUDICE is a state of mind. Some affect to believe that it is an innate passion parallel with instinct, and is therefore unalterable. Others maintain that it is a stimulated animosity motivated by time, place and condition, and is on the same footing with other shallow obliterative feelings. But whatever the basis of race prejudice, whether natural or acquired, we do know certainly that it is a pressing, persistent fact, easily stimulated and appeased with difficulty. It forms a barrier between the races which is as real as the seas and as apparent as the mountains.

Like a two-edged sword, race prejudice cuts both ways. It weakens the energies and paralyzes the moral muscle of the white race; it stultifies the conscience and frustrates the normal workings of democracy and Christianity. It fosters a double standard of ethics, and leads to lawlessness, lynching, and all manner of national disgrace. The elements of the white race that are most thoroughly obsessed by this passion show the lowest average of intellectual, moral and spiritual achievement. The Ku Klux Klan spreads its virus through our democracy; Nordicism carries it to the ends of the earth. Its effects are nationally and internationally threatening, and the American people and the Nordic civilization of which they are a part must stop to consider whether in this evil fruit they are not nurturing the fatal seeds of world dissension and catastrophe.

But our present concern is mainly to describe prejudice as it affects the Negro. Here the harvest of prejudice is ripe for the sociologist's gleaning. The outstanding and all-inclusive effect of race prejudice on the Negro can be summed up in one word, *segregation*. This is but the outer embodiment of the inner feeling of the white race. Whatever the nature and origin of this attitude, it is well nigh universal in the scope of its operation. The watch word is "miscegenation"; the rallying cry is "social equality." The cunning propagandist knows how to play upon these alarms and to adjust their appeal to the varying moods of popular passion and prejudice as a skilled musician plays upon his favorite instrument. Until recently the Negro has been the victim, with little capacity to resist.

This attitude of the white race has as to the decreed residential segregation. Several municipalities have sought to embody this feeling in restrictive ordinances and won a unanimous decision from the Supreme Court. Yet the legal victory merely modified the details of procedure; it had little effect upon the actual fact of segregation, which operates as effectively without the law as within it, except in the scope of its operation.

The most gigantic instance of racial segregation in the United States is seen in Harlem. There is no local law or ordinance prescribing it. There does not have to be. And yet, under these circumstances, the normal operation of race prejudice, we find 200,000 Negroes shut in segregated areas as sharply marked as the aisles of a church. This is but an example of what it taking place in every city and center where the Negro resorts in great numbers. The recent tide of Northern migration has greatly emphasized this tendency. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Indianapolis and Chicago, the Negro contingent lives in wards and sections of wards which the politician and the real estate dealer know as well as the mariners know the depths and shallows of the seas.

We may then take Harlem as a fair specimen of the harvest of race prejudice throughout the United States. Here we have the largest Negro community in the world. It is a city within a city, a part of, and yet apart from the general life of greater New York. We need not stop here to dilate upon the inhumanity, the cruelty or the hardships of race prejudice. The outstanding fact and the consequences immediately flowing from it suffice for the present purpose.

These Negro communities are everywhere extending their boundaries without tending to any fixed limits we can now set. In Chicago the rapidly expanding boundary of the black belt precipitated the lamentable race riot. The issue is still the cause of race agitation in milder form in all parts of the country. The whites are trying to keep back the rising tide of black invasion into residential areas previously regarded as exclusively theirs. The Negroes are pushing over the boundaries of racial restriction in quest of more room and better facilities. We may expect this minor border warfare to continue until the matter settles itself by custom, understanding and acceptance. Thus it is that the recently the Negro has been thrown quite too much on the defensive. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People arose to cope with this situation on the basis of fight and protest. Their fundamental philosophy is based upon the belief that race prejudice is medicable by legal and judicial process. Their method is militant; their mood is optimistic. Equality is their goal; the elimination of prejudice their objective. The Urban League, on the other hand, represents the ameliorative method which hopes that in the long run smooth working relations will be effected on the basis of mutual forbearance and good will.

Another fruit of prejudice is the direction which race effort and organization has been impelled to take; until recently the Negro has been thrown quite too much on the defensive. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People arose to cope with this situation on the basis of fight and protest. Their fundamental philosophy is based upon the belief that race prejudice is medicable by legal and judicial process. Their method is militant; their mood is optimistic. Equality is their goal; the elimination of prejudice their objective. The Urban League, on the other hand, represents the ameliorative method which hopes that in the long run smooth working relations will be effected on the basis of mutual forbearance and good will.

If Negroes were indiscriminately interspersed among the white population of New York, race consciousness would weaken to the point of disappearance. Three hundred thousand Negroes intermingled among six million whites would be unnoticeable. But when segregated in two or three centers the African contingent becomes not only apparent, but impressive. Whenever people are thrown together they begin to think of their common interests. A common consciousness emerges which shortly expresses itself in organized endeavor. The Negro race as a whole has hitherto had a somewhat vague and indefinite collective consciousness stimulated in large part by stress of outside compulsion. But the race is too numerous, too widespread in territory and too diverse in interests to give this conscious edge. Harlem furnishes the needed pressure. The Garvey movement furnishes the most extreme focussing of this feeling. Marcus Garvey found in Harlem not only a mass of Negroes surrounded and overshadowed by whites, but also a considerable group of West Indians, who, in many ways, felt themselves isolated and circumscribed by the native Afro-Americans. Shrewdly enough he seized upon this group as the basis of his focal operation. He preached the impossibility of racial entente on the same soil and under the same political and social régime, and urged a racial hegira. His philosophy does not in this connection interest us. But he has shown to the world the possibility of focussing the racial mind, and of mobilizing racial resources about a formulated ideal.

I, Too

By LANGSTON HUGHES

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes.
But I laugh,
And eat well
And grow strong.

Tomorrow
I'll sit at the table
When company comes
Nobody 'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen"
Then.

Besides, they'll see how beautiful I am

And be ashamed—

I, too, am America.

NEW YORK CITY LEADER
JANUARY 17, 1925

Importance of Negro Workers

Editor, The New York Leader:

I think it necessary in a new political movement to take account of such opportunities that are presented for the good of all. To ignore matter of great importance would be to invite disaster.

We have a colored population of nearly 12,000,000 who under present conditions are almost completely unrepresented in our legislative bodies. The colored people were once slaves, a servile race politically and economically. If we can organize them as a great power, colonize and direct their energies to take charge of as many states as possible, and educate them for the new party, we should do so.

If they took possession of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, we could secure for them representation in Congress and the State legislatures, put them in charge of their post offices and industrial plants, give them power, liberty and a respect for them by Southern white people. They never can obtain this in their present disorganized condition.

Break up the Solid South and at the same time strike a mortal blow at Wall Street and our monarchical money system. We can use intelligent colored people and old veterans of the Civil War such as the writer, in whom the colored people will have the same confidence as they had in Lincoln. I have written to the bloc in Congress to enact legislation that will protect the colored people in their natural rights.

If we can move on these lines and take from the old parties the support of 12,000,000 people and break up the Solid South we would emancipate ourselves and our industrial friends.

M. Davison.

Milton, Ore.

(We fear that this program, offered with the best of intentions, would perpetuate the Solid South. An appeal to the Negro people of the South to act as a solid unit as Negro workers would tend to increase the race prejudice. What is needed is to awaken both white and Negro workers to the necessity of their common interests as against exploiting masters of both colors. Knowledge of class brotherhood irrespective of the color of the skin will eventually break up the Solid South which is "solid" only in the sense that it serves the exploiters of both white and colored Labor.—Editor.)

NEGRO SLAVERY IN HARLEM

Visitor [redacted] New York drivin through a certain section of Harlei see nothing but Negroes in th streets, Negroes in the stores, Ne groes everywhere. One thinks surel this must be Negro heaven. Here ar good looking stores, welldressed col ored people, and every indicatio that the Negroes who have flocked t the city must have found a plac where everything would be to thei advantage—Negro merchants, doc tors, lawyers, politicians and evei public officials.

But the New York World gives story of the reverse side of the pic ture. In a page article headed "Th New Slavery in Harlem," it tells o the misery and oppression whic many of the Negro population under go at the hands of exploiters, both black and white. It says that th less sophisticated classe are literal ly and continuousuly fleeced by ren gougers, medical quacks, fake drug gists, lottery sharks, crooked mer chants—exploiters all. Debt extor tion has become so great that apart ments intended for ten persons hold forty-four, and in many cases one couple occupies a room in the day and another at night. Black and white fleece the poor negroes who can't move out for this is the Negro quarter and they have to stick to it. Harlem, so far from being a Negro heaven, appears in reality to be some thing of a Negro hell

Negroes in New York.

Not only every leader, but also every member of the colored race in the southern states, will do well to read the plain statement of fact about conditions surrounding that race in New York as presented by Winthrop D. Lane in the Survey Graphic. The straightforward and graphic picture of the impositions practiced upon those of colored skin in the greatest city of the country was reproduced in Sunday's Commercial Appeal, and a study of it is recommended to all persons of African descent who make their homes south of the Mason and Dixon line.

With facts and figures it is proven that the colored brother in New York is consistently gouged and imposed upon. He has to pay from 40 to 60 per cent higher rent than the white man does for exactly the same kind of an apartment. These higher rents are made possible because of the shortage of homes for the fast growing colored population of America's largest city. The white people of Harlem, where the greater part of New York's colored population is located, resent the invasion and try to curb it by the imposition of unjust rentals. But the colored man must live somewhere and he has to agree to pay the high rent even though he is unable to do so and must eventually become involved in the courts.

But rent gouging is only one of the many impositions placed upon the colored population of the great metropolis. Whether it be food, clothes or any of the other necessities of life that the colored man desires to purchase, he is charged one and one-half or twice more than the white man has to pay for the same thing. Not only that, but also is the colored purchaser given inferior quality, the merchants contending that anything is good enough for the negro trade. Wherever persons of colored skin turn they find that they are consistently gouged and otherwise imposed upon by the substitution of inferior goods.

The passion of the colored man for gambling is catered to by a variety of sharpers who are making big money from numerous lottery games similar to policy. Those who play such games have not one chance in a million to win anything, but the colored folks continue to throw their money away in the hope that they will get back enough to pay their expenses. It is a hand-to-mouth existence for the colored residents of New York with expenses constantly running ahead of income.

The picture as presented in the Survey Graphic is indeed a distressing one. Its truth is guaranteed by the use of names in connection with the incidents. And no more effective warning could be issued against the rainbow chasing that has been indulged in by the colored people of the south for a number of years. The supposed bag of gold that has lured so many to the north when reached is found to contain only debts, evictions and imminent bankruptcy. The colored brother is much better off in the south than anywnere else in the country.

HARLEM, THE NEGRO CAPITAL.

The negro capital of America lies in that square mile north of Central park in New York city that is known as Harlem. There is "a city within a city, the greatest negro city in the world."

Harlem has been discovered in recent years. It is exploited now in a special number of the Survey Graphic which develops interesting facts. New York city had in 1923 an estimated negro population of 183,248, of which more than 133,000 were on Manhattan island, and of the latter by far the majority live in Harlem. The number is growing fast and now mounts up probably much higher than the figures here quoted. Whatever the exact number today, it is certain that these negroes own some $60,000,000 of property in Harlem, including hotels, office buildings, theaters, cafes, tenements, churches, industries, all manner of businesses. They draw from the entire black world, 35,000 from the West Indies alone, and all the south knows to what extent has been the shift from the cotton fields and small towns to this industrial city.

Various significances are being sought. It is noted that Harlem is the center of the intellectual movement in the race. Here negro music, literature, arts are being born; here also is the grazing ground of the Marcus Garveys. Here is much social activity, apart from the remainder of the city. Cabarets in the black belt have become popular in recent years and are much frequented by white visitors, largely there solely to see that which may be seen. Here were recruited theatrical companies which in such musical shows as "Shuffle Along" and "Dixie to Broadway" have enjoyed a national prestige. A writer in The Nation thinks that to Harlem

> They have brought the dreams of the centuries behind them, which formed those marvelously subtle caricatures in Africa before even Columbus had sailed into the western hemisphere; which sang the folk music of America; which is woven in humbler but no less enduring ways into some of the greatest of our national achievements. . .

The same writer finds that the negro in "the march of his race has hurdled ages of the world's progress in half a century; he stands even with the present." The last statement may be doubted; yet it is not to be doubted that in relatively isolated instances the negro has made conspicuous and notable contribution to the arts, to music, to literature and to the philosophy of a jumbled America. Of greater significance than any of this is the further and deeper question of what it all means, more particularly for the south, of what it means to the millions of negroes who are still a part of the section. Philadelphia has a large negro population, and Chicago, and Washington, and Baltimore, all above 100,000, and other northern cities have varying quotas. But the majority is in the south and is, relatively speaking, untouched by the new economic and intellectual order within the race. There is a vast disparity between the two groups.

Present discussions of the various Harlems do not answer the question. For that matter nobody has answered it. So much of the educational movement in the south as is in operation is built rather on industrialism, the training in manual labor and agriculture. It is an education designed for the south and it is making headway, although as yet far from such headway as is certain to come. The relation of Harlem to this movement is not clear. Harlem liberates undoubted sources of inner power in the race but Harlem has given thus far little indication of genuine interest in the race as a national problem. That problem is still in the south.

Race Problem - 1925.

United States.

Louisville Ky
Courier Journal
4-11-25

HARLEM, THE NEGRO CAPITAL

The negro capital of America lies in that square mile north of Central park in New York city that is known as Harlem. There is "a city within a city, the great est negro city in the world."

Harlem has been discovered in recent years. It is exploited now in a special number of the Survey Graphic which develops interes- ting facts. New York city has in 1918 an estimated negro popula- tion of 183,248, of which more than 133,000 were on Manhattan island, and of the latter by far the majority live in Harlem The number is growing fast now mounts up probably much higher the figures here quoted. What- ever the exact number today, it is certain that these negroes own some $60,000,000 of property in Harlem, including hotels, building theaters, cafes, tenement, church- es, industries, all manner of bus- iness. They draw from the entire black world, 35,000 from the West Indies alone, and all the south knows to what extenth has been the shift from the cotton fields and small towns to this industrial city

Various significances are being sought It is noted that Harlom is the center of the intellectual movement in the race Here ne- gro music, literature, arts are be- ing born; here also is the grazing ground of the Marcus Garveys.

Here is much social activity, apart from the remainder of the city. Cabarets in the black belts have become popular in recent years and are much frequented by white visitors, largely there solely to see that which may be seen.

There were rdcruited theatrical companies which in such musical shows as "Shuffle Along" and "Dixie to Broadway" have enjoy- ed a national prestige. A writer sn The Nation thinks that to Har- lem They have brought the dreams of the eenturies behindthem which formed those marvelously subtle caricpturns in Africa before even Columbus had sailed into the wes- tern hemisphere; which sang the folk music of America; which is woven in humble but no less endu ring ways into some of the greatest of our national achievements.

The sane writer finds that the negro in "the march of his race has hurdled ages of the world's progress in half a century; he stands even with the present"; The last statement may be doubt- ed; yet it is not to be doubted that in relatively insolated instancee he negro has made conspicions and notable contribution to the arts, to the philosophy of a jumb ed America. Of greater significa- tien than any of this is the further and deeper question of what it all means, more particulary for the south. of what it means to the mil ions of negroes who are still a part of the section. Philadelphia has a large negro population, and Chicago, and Wasnington, and Baltimore, all above 100,000, and other northern cities hove varying quotas. But the majority is in the south and is, relatively speaksng, untouched by the new economic and intellectual order within the race. There is a vast disparity between the two groups.

Present discussion of the vari- ousr Harlems do not answer the question. For that matter nobody has answered it. So much of the educational movement in tho south as in operation is bnilt rath er on industrianism, the training in manual labor agriculture. It is an education designed for the south and it is making headway although as yet far from such headway as is certain to come. The relation of Harlem to this movement is not clear. Harlem liberates undoubted sources of in- ner power in the race but Harlem has given thus far little indication of genuine interest in the race as a national problem. That broblem is st in the out

GULLIBILITY.

For gullibility commend us to our good white friends. As suckers they swallow hook, line and sinker of every description. The rapid growth of the Ku Klux Klan gave cause for wonderment. Eeverybody wondered what could be told white people that they should rush in great numbers to join an organization of hoods and shrouds and burning crosses. Suit was filed Tuesday by two suspended members of the local K. K. K. asking that a receiver be appointed for that organization. It was charged that the Kleagle and the Secretary had collected $20,000 and the funds dissipated for personal purposes.

But get these reasons for attracting membership: "That the members of the Roman Cahtolic Church were having erected in Washington, D. D. a large building surrounded by a fifty-foot wall to be completed by Jan- uary, 1925; that the said building and grounds were to be used, begin- ning with the first of the year, 1926, by the Pope, the head of the Roman Catholic Church; that the lease on the Vatican, the present home of the Pope, would expire on or about January 1, 1925; that it was the pur- pose of the members of the Roman Catholic Church to have the head of said church at Washington and to take charge of the Government of the United States and to put out of office all Protestants; that fiirearms were stored throughout the country in buildings owned by the Catholics and members of the Knights of Columbus."

It is inconceivable that men of intelligence would fall for that sort of stuff and yet that's what helped build the K. K. K. Another bait that 75 per cent. of the wealth of the United States was owned and controlled by the Jews; that the Jews could cause a panic at any time within forty- eight hours; that it was one of the purposes of the Klan to confiscate the property of the said Jews; that it has been done before in the history of the world and could be done again." "What fools these mortals be." Marcus Garvey's schemes of going back to Africa had more truth and sense and possibility than that and yet Marcus is in the penitentiary.

RACIAL RELATIONS AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE—DR. GREGG REPLIES TO VIRGINIA EDITOR.

In last week's paper we printed an editorial article from The Daily Press of Newport News, Va., on the relation of the races, with special observations in regard to their social contact in Hampton Institute. Dr. Gregg made reply to the criticisms against Hampton, to which the Virginia paper rejoined. Because of the bearing of the discussion on the whole race question, we are giving here Dr. Gregg's letter and the Daily Press' answer to him.

Editor of The Daily Press, Sir:

Your editorial on the Integrity of the Anglo-Saxon Race in the Daily Press for March 15th has just been brought to my attention. I am sorry that you have written quite as you have in your reference to Hampton Institute, for your words indicate misapprehension of the facts which I fear may only too easily become widespread.

As I have understood the principles and practices of the school—and there has been no essential change in either, to the best of my knowledge, for the past fifty years—there has never been encouragement of the social mingling of the races under circumstances that would lead to embarrassment on either side. It should hardly be necessary to add that association of a romantic nature, such as could conceivably lead to intermarriage, is contrary to the wishes and the judgment of the overwhelming majority of Negroes as of white persons, and in our experience is effectively prevented nine times out of ten by even keener watchfulness on the part of our colored people than is always exercised by others.

The Institute exists to help the Negro race and to serve the whole nation. It has simply tried to be courteous and fair on the one hand to its white friends, both of the North and of the South, and on the other hand to its Negro constituency. It occasional sharp criticism from all three parties is any indication of approximate justice, we have had that measure of consolation.

I cannot imagine that any thoughtful person could advocate the amalgamation of widely diverse races, or would maintain that this is any less culpable where it takes place without the sanction of law and morality. All of us know that for such amalgamation—that has already come about—the Negro is not chiefly to blame. The more his self-respect is built up, the greater his gain in intelligence, sound character, and economic independence, the deeper will be his natural pride in his own race.

Such have been the objects of the kind of education which has been given at Hampton Institute by General Armstrong and Dr. Frissell and at Tuskegee by Dr. Washington and Dr. Moton. It is our hope that it may help to enable the United States eventually to show the world that men of different races can live and work happily, side by side, conserving the best traditions of each group, in mutual respect and in Christian good will.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to our local trustees, Mr. Homer L. Ferguson and Mr. Frank W. Darling, with whom I have several times discussed the whole question.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES E. GREGG.

Launches Second Attack.

Commenting upon Dr. Gregg's statement the Daily Press said:

Dr. Gregg's letter is given the same prominence that was given the editorial article in The Daily Press to which he replies. It is a very courteous reply and written in good temper, but it denies no essential statement made by the Daily Press. It was alleged that there was an institution in this community which taught and practiced social equality between the races—meaning, of course, the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Dr. Gregg replies that 'there has never been encouragement of the social mingling of the races under curcumstances that would lead to embarassment on either side," so may we not with propriety put the following questions to him:

Raises Doubtful Questions.

Do not the officers and teachers of the institution, white and colored meet upon terms of social equality. And do not white teachers and colored pupils meet upon such terms?

Do they not occasionally sit together at the same table and have a social meal together without racial distinction?

Are not the students of Hampton Institute taught that the Negro race is in all respects the equal of the white race and that no social distinctions should be made either in law or society?

Is it not a fact that Booker Washington in his lifetime was entertained in the homes of trustees of the Hampton Institute when he visited the North, and is it not a fact that Robert R. Moton, his successor, is similarly entertained; and is it not a fact that Dr. Gregg has not met these and other colored men in the homes of Northern white men and mingled with them socially?

Will Dr. Gregg say in plain terms that he does not believe in social equality between the races, but that he does believe in drawing the color line in the social circle?

Will he say in plain terms that he believes in maintaining the traditions of this Virginia community in regard to race separation and racial distinctions?

Will he deny that in the entertainments given in Ogden Hall, no distinctions whatever are made in seating the audience, but that whites and Negroes are seated indiscriminately?

Dr. Gregg says there has been no essential change in the principles and practices in Hampton Institute in the past fifty years, but we ask him if it was the practice in Dr. Frissell's administration to seat whites and Negroes in the public hall indiscriminately; if, on the other hand, it was not Dr. Frissell's practice to separate the races, reserving some seats for the whites and some for the Negroes. We ask him if Dr. Frissell ever had Negroes at his social entertainments as guests.

From reports that have come to this office there has been a very decided change of policy in the conduct of the institution, in these respects since Dr. Gregg became principal. Of course, Dr. Gregg opposes amalgamation ultimately, and that goes without saying, but social equality would lead to amalgamation ultimately, and that is the stern question which the white race must face. Place the two races upon terms of perfect equality; educate both in the same manner; obliterate the color line in the social circle and make it the fashion for whites and Negroes to meet in society without racial distinction or discrimination, and in spite of all that Dr. Gregg and men like him might do to prevent it, there would be "association of a romantic nature," mixed marriages more and more.

Virginia Traditions.

We have our traditions in the South, our peculiar customs, our instincts, and the Hampton Institute which is situated in Virginia territory and which receives the protection of the laws and friendly consideration of the people of this community has no moral right to teach and practice anything which is contrary to the Virginia spirit, and our sense of propriety, nor to ignore in any degree our time-honored customs. The officers of the Institute might say that if the white people of this community do not like the terms upon which visitors are received at their public functions, they may stay away. But that would be defiant of our customs and equivalent to saying that the officers did not care for the respect and good will of the white people of this community, and that, we are sure, is not Dr. Gregg's spirit.

The Daily Press has no disposition to injure Hampton Institute, but we are determined, so far as in our power lies, that no institution in this community shall run counter to the deep-seated sentiments of the Virginia people, their sacred customs and cherished traditions whose preservation is necessary to the preservation of our Anglo-Saxon stock.

Race Problem - 1925.

United States.

Writer Hits On New Angle In Ubiquitous Race Issue

White supremacy, which is stimulated largely by Nordic conceit, receives a considerable spurt in an article by Frances Marion Dunford in the May (1925) issue of the Journal of Social Forces on "Conflicting Forces in Negro Progress." Miss Dunsford points out that there are evidences that the Race is inclined to "obliterate its physical characteristics" by using materials which tend to make him more like his white brother. The article discusses at length the new faith of the Race in the salvation of nostrums, such as better hair preparations and bleaching concoctions, and declares that these materials, which our people believe are making for their improvement, are only instruments which will work for their downfall. The implication is made that the velvety skin and flowing hair of the whites cannot nearly be duplicated and that the progress of the Race is hindered in attempting the impossible.

The article begins by quoting and expatiating upon the memorable and perhaps very true statement by Prof. Kelly Miller in his book on "Race Adjustment," which reckons the progress of a race or people in proportion to their adaptability to assimilate the environment of which they are a part. From this standpoint the writer avers that this newly ordained move on the part of the Race, which for years has jovially and remarkably adapted itself to "a white man's civilization," will for many years to come serve to dissatisfy the same race. The unjustifiable viewpoint taken by the writer is that the trend of Race achievement and plan has been turned to a mimicry of the white species, which no doubt has been brought on by the ease of the former adaptability.

SCORES ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS

The writer scores the pretentiousness of advertisements for hair nostrums and whitening preparations in Race papers, naming in particular The Chicago Defender. The attitude taken is not that these newspapers should turn their attentions to other avenues of success, but that the idea of our people to climb the scale of perfection in human physique to the status now occupied by whites should be generally discouraged. In pointing out newspapers which do not carry these advertisements, but which, on the other hand, condemn them, the writer finds a sense of satisfaction in that some have sensed the "hopelessness of the situation."

The writer, who by this time has become greatly upset and hopelessly dismayed in the maze of complications that develop from these counter-progressive movements, points to the fact that they are at variance with Race pride, which will make for greater progress if but given a chance to live and not be snuffed out by a grand rush of everybody to the customs of the white race. She does not deny that this Race pride is significant, since it is called "unmistakably a serious force," but expresses regret at the fact that the forces of this pride, and those which suggest better hair and smoother complexions, are making for a head-on collision.

Booker T. Washington is painted as a lonesome sojourner on the way of life, with only the inspiration of great white men to look forward to. The writer, however, declares that the child of our Race today does not experience this same disadvantage. He may see baseball games of his own people and read the records made by his own athletes. He may hear his own artists in his own concert halls. He may read excerpts from the lives of his own great men—Washington, DuBois, Holtzclaw, Scott Bond, Henson, the last of whom is the only living person ever to have reached the north pole.

SAYS RACE EXISTS IN TWO WORLDS

Such an existence is what a race thrown into an environment similar to ours should look to, according to Miss Dunford. In other words, she characterizes the existence of the Race as being in two worlds—one a white man's world and the other his own. He should not believe that he can rise as high in the former as he can in the latter. He should place no faith in the doctrine taught by George Wells Parker, that many ancient scholars—Homer, Euclid, Virgil and other great men of old—have the slightest trace of Negro blood. He should confine his pride to his Race and in this way scale his own social ladder to the top rung, but should abandon completely the thought of attempting to scale the white man's social ladder, since such an idea will spell his doom for both. The impression is further given that for the sake of the progress of both races the two should not commingle, but should live "side by side," each whirling around in his own sphere and tending the duties of that sphere.

In concluding Miss Dunford asks the question if the Race can survive the terrible onrush of these two conflicting forces. Certainly both forces are strong and certainly both cannot survive, according to the version of the writer. It is the one or the other. The Race must now stand at its own particular Rubicon with but two alternatives—the one to turn its back upon the river, which will lead him out of his world; the other to plunge therein and be drowned in the awful maelstrom which that river carries.

"Are we, then, to conclude that "kinkouts" and skin whiteners are merely the creation of Dame Fashion, and that while a few Negroes may use them in order to be more like the white race, the majority do so without forethought, merely because smooth hair and light complexions are in vogue? Upon the answer to these questions depends much that is of significance and interest to both th. Negro and his white brother."

Should the physical characteristics of the Race be powerful enough to contain its salvation, the question is certainly one of importance. But historical precedents set no record where progress or achievement have been determined by racial characteristics or physical complexion.

"SOCIAL EQUALITY"

Possibly the hot weather is responsible for so many social equality outbreaks among Negro editors this summer. Several of our brethren have jumped on us, have stamped the very life out of us from their own point of view, because of our expressions of social equality. We think the hot weather must have affected them in some way, that they are ready to go off half cocked on the question. We have stated on several occasions that the white man is out of his place when associating with Negroes in dives, and we don't know that we would be in error, if we add, that a white man is out of his place socializing with Negroes anywhere; and we say with equal pride and faith, that a Negro is out of his place socializing with white folk. Our own race pride and love of race integrity ought to impel us to believe that our own kith and kin is good enough for our society, and that we are not made better, or helped any, by socializing with races of brighter color than we. We hardly think the average Negro editor knows what social equality is, or what he interprets it to be. We agree with Editor Harris, of the New York News, that social equality is a personal question to be settled by persons who desire to associate with one another. We regard it as weakness on the part of any race who is always fussing and foaming at the mouth because some other race does not care to socialize with it. In fact, the race or individual that is always grumbling because other races or individuals do not associate with them acknowledges a weakness on the part of the race, complaining and grumbling.

There is no such thing as social equality in the schools where Negroes are taught by white teachers. The very fact that the teachers come in personal and social contact with the student body, walk over the campus with them, meet them in classroom and at school parties is no argument in favor of social equality, neither is such contact social equality. The Yankee teacher does not recognize the Negro student as his or her social equal any more than they do as their educational equal. The contact is used for the purpose of helping the student body to that place of social, religious and economic standing that Christian education warrants.

Equal accommodation on railroads, in public eating places, in parks, street cars, theatres, schools and churches is not social equality. It is civic and political equality. We believe in both civil and political equality because these privileges are fixed by law. They are creatures of legislation, and are not of personal making. But when it comes to the home, marrying and inter-marrying, and the selection of guest to social functions, it is a question of personal selection, and every man is master of his own door knob. Strong races do not clamor and complain because other races do not take them into their bosoms, their social contact and personal associates, it is only the weaker races who realize their own inferiority that complains and whines all the time because somebody, whom they admit themselves, by their complaint, is superior to them, do not associate with them. The race that believes in its own equality with other races, makes no complaint, but the fellow who believes he is inferior puts up the howl.

Races are equal just in proportion as they believe in their own equality, and races are inferior just in proportion, as they believe in their own inferiority. Neither is one race superior to another because it asserts its superiority. Races, as a rule, are measured in worth and character in proportion as they believe in their own worth and character. It seems to be a period of brain-storm, precipitated by the hot weather, and that counts very largely for the outbreaks of social equality among Negro editors. There is nothing in the color of the skin, the flay of the feet, or the kink of the hair. It is all in the worth and character of the individual. Conditions are very largely the arbiter of man's fortune.

Reverse the white man's condition in America, and place him in the condition that the Negro lives in, and the Negro in the condition he lives in, the results will be the same. Laws may make and enforce rights, but laws cannot make social equals for mankind. There is no fixed formula for social equality. What fixes the social status of a man in Paris, may not fix the social status of an individual in America. The qualifications for high social recognition in Asia or Japan, may not be the same formula used as a standard in South America. In some countries it is position. In America it is largely money. In other countries it is religion, culture and education. And in most countries, morality is but a small element. So when the hot weather is over, our editors will come to themselves, and will willingly admit that after all,, social equality is a phenomena.

Detroit Having Her Troubles.

Some years ago, when there were comparatively few negroes anywhere in the country save in the south, Detroit was one of the bitter critics of this section whenever there was any show of trouble between the races. Detroit then had no negro problem because she had very few negroes. But during the World War when white labor was scarce and consequently high the manufacturers of Detroit, along with the manufacturers of other northern and western towns, imported negroes from the south by the wholesale. Those negroes helped to solve the high cost of labor problem but they created another problem which seems now to be much more serious.

Not all of Detroit's imported labor by any means were thriftless and improvident. Some of them have made money and their ambitions have led them from the negro quarters. They

Race Problem - 1925.

United States.

Writer Hits On New Angle In Ubiquitous Race Issue

White supremacy, which is stimulated largely by Nordic conceit, receives a considerable spurt in an article by Frances Marion Dunford in the May (1925) issue of the Journal of Social Forces on "Conflicting Forces in Negro Progress." Miss Dunsford points out that there are evidences that the Race is inclined to "obliterate its physical characteristics" by using materials which tend to make him more like his white brother. The article discusses at length the new faith of the Race in the salvation of nostrums, such as better hair preparations and bleaching complexions, and declares that these materials, which our people believe are making for their improvement, are only instruments which will work for their downfall. The implication is made that the velvety skin and flowing hair of the whites cannot nearly be duplicated and that the progress of the Race is hindered in attempting the impossible.

The article begins by quoting and expatiating upon the memorable and perhaps very true statement by Prof. Kelly Miller in his book on "Race Adjustment," which reckons the progress of a race or people in proportion to their adaptability to assimilate the environment of which they are a part. From this standpoint the writer avers that this newly ordained move on the part of the Race, which for years has jovially and remarkably adapted itself to "a white man's civilization," will for many years to come serve to dissatisfy the same race. The unjustifiable viewpoint taken by the writer is that the trend of Race achievement and plan has been turned to a mimicry of the white species, which no doubt has been brought on by the ease of the former adaptability.

SCORES ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS

The writer scores the pretentiousness of advertisements for hair nostrums and whitening preparations in Race papers, naming in particular The Chicago Defender. The attitude taken is not that these newspapers should turn their attentions to other avenues of success, but that the idea of our people to climb the scale of perfection in human physique to the status now occupied by whites should be generally discouraged. In pointing out newspapers which do not carry these advertisements, but which, on the other hand, condemn them, the writer finds a sense of satisfaction in that some have sensed the "hopelessness of the situation."

The writer, who by this time has become greatly upset and hopelessly dismayed in the maze of complications that develop from these counter-progressive movements, points to the fact that they are at variance with Race pride, which will make for greater progress if but given a chance to live and not be snuffed out by a grand rush of everybody to the customs of the white race. She does not deny that this Race pride is significant, since it is called "unmistakably a serious force," but expresses regret at the fact that the forces of this pride, and those which suggest better hair and smoother complexions, are making for a head-on collision.

Booker T. Washington is painted as a lonesome sojourner on the way of life, with only the inspiration of great white men to look forward to. The writer, however, declares that the child of our Race today does not experience this same disadvantage. He may see baseball games of his own people and read the records made by his own athletes. He may hear his own artists in his own concert halls. He may read excerpts from the lives of his own great men—Washington, DuBois, Holtzclaw, Scott Bond, Henson, the last of whom is the only living person ever to have reached the north pole.

SAYS RACE EXISTS IN TWO WORLDS

Such an existence is what a race thrown into an environment similar to ours should look to, according to Miss Dunford. In other words, she characterizes the existence of the Race as being in two worlds—one a white man's world and the other his own. He should not believe that he can rise as high in the former as he can in the latter. He should place no faith in the doctrine taught by George Wells Parker, that many ancient scholars—Homer, Euclid, Virgil and other great men of old—have the slightest trace of Negro blood. He should confine his pride to his Race and in this way scale his own social ladder to the top rung, but should abandon completely the thought of attempting to scale the white man's social ladder, since such an idea will spell his doom for both. The impression is further given that for the sake of the progress of both races the two should not commingle, but should live "side by side," each whirling around in his own sphere and tending the duties of that sphere.

In concluding Miss Dunford asks the question if the Race can survive the terrible onrush of these two conflicting forces. Certainly both forces are strong and certainly both cannot survive, according to the version of the writer. It is the one or the other. The Race must now stand at its own particular Rubicon with but two alternatives—the one to turn its back upon the river, which will lead him out of his world; the other to plunge therein and be drowned in the awful maelstrom which that river carries.

"Are we, then, to conclude that "kinkouts" and skin whiteners are merely the creation of Dame Fashion, and that while a few Negroes may use them in order to be more like the white race, the majority do so without forethought, merely because smooth hair and light complexions are in vogue? Upon the answer to these questions depends much that is of significance and interest to both th. Negro and his white brother."

Should the physical characteristics of the Race be powerful enough to contain its salvation, the question is certainly one of importance. But historical precedents set no record where progress or achievement have been determined by racial characteristics or physical complexion.

"SOCIAL EQUALITY"

Possibly the hot weather is responsible for so many social equality outbreaks among Negro editors this summer. Several of our brethren have jumped on us, have stamped the very life out of us from their own point of view, because of our expressions of social equality. We think the hot weather must have affected them in some way, that they are ready to go to war on the question. We have stated on several occasions that a white man is out of his place when associating with Negroes in dives, and we don't know that we would be in error, if we add, that a white man is out of his place socializing with Negroes anywhere; and we say with equal pride and faith, that a Negro is out of his place socializing with white folk. Our own race pride and love of race integrity ought to impel us to believe that our own kith and kin is good enough for our society, and that we are not made better, or helped any, by socializing with races of brighter color than we. We hardly think the average Negro editor knows what social equality is, or what he interprets it to be. We agree with Editor Harris, of the New York News, that social equality is a personal question to be settled by persons who desire to associate with one another. We regard it as weakness on the part of any race who is always fussing and foaming at the mouth because some other race does not care to socialize with it. In fact, the race or individual that is always grumbling because other races or individuals do not associate with them acknowledges a weakness on the part of the race, complaining and grumbling.

There is no such thing as social equality in the schools where Negroes are taught by white teachers. The very fact that the teachers come in personal and social contact with the student body, walk over the campus with them, meet them in classroom and at school parties is no argument in favor of social equality, neither is such contact social equality. The Yankee teacher does not recognize the Negro student as his or her social equal any more than they do as their educational equal. The contact is used for the purpose of helping the student body to that place of social, religious and economic standing that Christian education warrants.

Equal accommodation on railroads, in public eating places, in parks, street cars, theatres, schools and churches is not social equality. It is civic and political equality. We believe in both civil and political equality because these privileges are fixed by law. They are creatures of legislation, and are not of personal making. But when it comes to the home, marrying and inter-marrying, and the selection of guest to social functions, it is a question of personal selection, and every man is master of his own door knob. Strong races do not clamor and complain because other races do not take them into their bosoms, their social contact and personal associates, it is only the weaker races who realize their own inferiority that complains and whines all the time because somebody, whom they admit themselves, by their complaint, is superior to them, do not associate with them. The race that believes in its own equality with other races, makes no complaint, but the fellow who believes he is inferior puts up the howl.

Races are equal just in proportion as they believe in their own equality, and races are inferior just in proportion, as they believe in their own inferiority. Neither is one race superior to another because it asserts its superiority. Races, as a rule, are measured in worth and character in proportion as they believe in their own worth and character. It seems to be a period of brain-storm, precipitated by the hot weather, and that counts very largely for the outbreaks of social equality among Negro editors. There is nothing in the color of the skin, the flay of the feet, or the kink of the hair. It is all in the worth and character of the individual. Conditions are very largely the arbiter of man's fortune.

Reverse the white man's condition in America, and place him in the condition that the Negro lives in, and the Negro in the condition he lives in, the results will be the same. Laws may make and enforce rights, but laws cannot make social equals for mankind. There is no fixed formula for social equality. What fixes the social status of a man in Paris, may not fix the social status of an individual in America. The qualifications for high social recognition in Asia or Japan, may not be the same formula used as a standard in South America. In some countries it is position. In America it is largely money. In other countries it is religion, culture and education. And in most countries, morality is but a small element. So when the hot weather is over, our editors will come to themselves, and will willingly admit that after all, social equality is a phenomena.

Detroit Having Her Troubles.

Some years ago, when there were comparatively few negroes anywhere in the country save in the south, Detroit was one of the bitter critics of this section whenever there was any show of trouble between the races. Detroit then had no negro problem because she had very few negroes. But during the World War when white labor was scarce and consequently high the manufacturers of Detroit, along with the manufacturers of other northern and western towns, imported negroes from the south by the wholesale. Those negroes helped to solve the high cost of labor problem but they created another problem which seems now to be much more serious.

Not all of Detroit's imported labor are by any means were thriftless and improvident. Some of them have made money and their ambitions have led them from the negro quarters. They have bought places of business and homes in exclusive white districts and this fact has brought Detroit face to face with an important race problem. The catastrophe will be averted is the negroes have been stores and other missiles while mobsas in other places have sought to have the whites the embattled negroes, have retaliated

it should handle the negro problem. If one compares the difference in present conditions here and there he can not escape the conclusion that the south should be prescribing for the other sections of the country the means and manner of handling their negro problem.

South Still Solid.

Adjourn politics; relegate sectionalism; forget all the old differences and prejudices and hates—and there s still the "Solid South." It had its origin, that expression, in political demarkation and apportionments and divisions; it has no such significance now. It once meant a section as a 'section"—that was not in harmony and sympathy with some other sections of the country; it doesn't mean that any longer. It would be decidedly better for everybody including the Southerners if politically conditions could be such that the South would be no longer solid in its adherence to one party—but that will eventually work itself out if it is given time.

In a new way the New South is as solid as ever.

It is solid in its Americanism—its practical patriotism. Here the bulk of the pure-bred Americans were born and they still live, without admixture of the foreign blood with its many peculiarities of views and customs and accents. Uniquely, here, with a great Negro population permanently settled, the white American has retained and maintained his claim to that strain of blood that made Americans what they are. They speak the best English, they hold to the fundamentals of the old faith in religions;—they cling tenaciously to the creeds of the father's political belief.

But the South is solid in several other things—especially is it the solid basis of American wealth in its production. Manufacture and commerce handle the things that have been made by somebody else. In the South creation is the big business, making annually out of the same soil new wealth—in crops and live stock. That is the foundation of American prosperity; the business of the country rests securely upon production—such as the West and South have prominence in. And the South the advantage of the West in cli and soil and possibility of production of more different necessities than can be grown elsewhere—and many things that can not be grown at all in other sections. Thus the South is solid.—Savannah Morning News.

NO. H AND SOUTH

Editor, The New York Bulletin:

I have read a number of articles in your paper regarding the South and the negro. The gentleman from Tennessee is just lost sheep. He said there is more hospitality shown in the South than up North. (Yes) with a rope or a gun. Where he comes from a negro is not allowed to marry a white person. You are right; white men do not marry negro women in the South, but have them as common-law wives and many of them.

If they passed a law that all white men should be compelled to take care of all their children—then what?

In North Carolina last month a white man wanted a negro woman to be his lady friend. She refused. He went to her home or log cabin and killed her. The southern papers said that justice should be given her husband.

The negro is all right in his place, but do not forget to name his place. The negro has been in America 300 years. How long have you been in New York? Being proud of being a southerner is nothing. Be a gentleman or an American and be prouder.

My grand-parents were slaves. A brother served in the Spanish-American War and two others served in the World War. Still I should keep in my place. Well, when the shells fall on the Pacific, keep me in my place.

A PROUD NORTHERNER.
138 W. 53d st.

APR 28 1925

THE RACE PROBLEM.

There is no race problem in the South, but there is a law problem. The black man and the white may who obey the laws are respected and are treated right on all occasions but the black man and the white man who wilfully violate the laws will always get into trouble, and then it is contended that the race prejudice is responsible. Within the past few months, in several large Southern Soutnern cities, including Macon, Columbus, Savannah, Columbia, S. C.; Richmond, Va., and other communities the white people have turned out in large numbers to mingle with the colored citizens in paying tributes of respect to worthy colored people who had passed away from the scenes of this earth. The man who always does right will ever be treated right in the South; but when he does wrong ere is sure to be friction.—Sandersville ogress.

OUR RACE IN THE SOUTH

Views of a White Writer After an Extensive Tour Through the South

By MARIE GOSSETT HARLOW

Article 1—General Characteristics

Call not the numbiest living clay
An uninspired clod;
For, as he wends his toilsome way,
Each manifests as best he may
Some attribute to God.

"CAN any good come out of Nazareth?" This is always the question of the wiseacress and the knowing ones. But the goods comes from exactly that quarter whence it is no looked for.

I came into the South for the first time a year ago and I [illegible] visions of southern hospitality and graciousness, delightful cuisine, and so on, only to be sadly disillusioned. The only friendliness, where a matter of money transfer was not involved—my money into their hands—I found among the Negroes. And the food of story book fame must have vanished. It is now very scant, poorly prepared and of no variety.

My grandfathers fought in the northern army during the Civil war, but they nor my family nor my neighbors hold any particular hatred for those old southerners who were indiscreet in their political affiliations and beliefs. Imagine, if you can, my dumbfounded surprise to find the South still contending for principles which hurled the nation into a civil war 60 odd years ago and which will again terminate in bloodshed, for the youngest generation is more bitter than their grandparents were in 1861.

COHEN'S CHARACTERS ARE MANUFACTURED, NOT REAL

OCTAVUS ROY COHEN has made for us a modern Negro of the South, rather than described him as he really is. Being intreseted in knowing first hand the Colored man of the South, I have gone to him and frankly asked his views as one friend to another.

Talk as we will of the new "interracial" southern spirit, the white South is alone in the civilized world in demanding as a condition of intercourse with fellow human beings that they submit to personal humiliation. So I surprised this Colored man of the South when I went into his office, his home, offered him my hand and asked his opinion of current events. It is characteristic of his innate culture that I was extended every courtesy from the highest to the lowest.

I have had many delightful surprises and, as I sit down to write of 'the things that be," I find it hard to put into a few words all of the gracious courtesy, the cultural advances, racial patriotism, integrity that I have witnessed. It must be borne in mind, however, that whatever I say directly pertains to the Negro of the South.

The first thing that struck my attention forcibly was the fact that the Colored people were a "house divided against itself." There is such a lamentable feeling of antagonism for northern bred folks of their own race. Doubtless this goes back to the days immediately following slavery, when the few northern Negroes resented the migrants from the South coming North and bringing with them the servile practices that prevailed in the South. Much of this feeling, I know, is political, but there is a general feeling that the North does not understand the hardships endured by the southern Negro and doesn't try to inform himself. All might remember that "in union there is strength."

SOUTHERNER IS NOT DISHONEST

THE southern Negro, from my point of view, is honest, all stories to the contrary, and it is my contention that if a living wage were paid the Race here, dishonesty would rarely occur. I do not say, however, that a Colored man or woman in the South will not steal. I do not know that it is the necessities of life that are thus appropriated in practically every case and, while I was raised by most Puritanical methods, I can see why a widowed mother with a baby, for instance, making two or three dollars a week as a house maid, would steal food and clothing for her infant.

He is religious by instinct and devoutly emotional. Speaking for the masses, the older theologies are of course most prevalent. However, it is most astonishing to find many forging ahead in the newer expressions of religion—Theosophy, Christian Science and the like.

I have recently attend a Science lecture (in Alabama), where the audience was made up of both Colored and whites of the better classes, mingling on the most friendly terms seemingly.

His patience in enduring hardships, his bulldog tenacity to stick when the odds are against him is a moral principle I marvel at. No race, to my mind, displays such sheer grit and perseverance and his patience is the hearty kind, for nowhere can a race of more cheerful-spirited people be found. His wit carries him through many dangerous incidents, and his humor, added to perseverance, carries the whole Race along ways.

The southern Negro has learned much about thrift. I attended an open air medicine show recently and afterwards talked to the "doctor," who told me that in years gone by it was nothing for him to make from $500 to $1,000 a week clear on Colored patronage, but they didn't spend their money with him any more. For instance, it is reported in Birmingham that the Colored people there, numbering less than 75,000, have nearly $5,000,000 in banks there, and this is not counting the millions of dollars worth of real estate owned.

SOUTHERN WHITES SHOW BITTERNESS

BECAUSE of a geographical difference in the location of my home, I have been the target of the bitter feeling of some southern whites and knowing that this display of hatred and petty dealings is even stronger against the Colored people of the South, I wonder how they can sincerely exhibit such a feeling of broad generosity towards their aggressors as they do. In response to my queries in interviews, all Negroes were united in the reason for this feeling, although they differed in the form of explanation. They feel that if you down a man you have to stay down with him to keep him there, and the most generously inclined say that after one has been in prison or bondage for years, a feeling of compassion and pity is held for all prisoners, even though they be simply held prisoner by their own thoughts of hate and prejudice. I wonder how a southerner would feel if he knew his Colored servant was big enough to pity him in his pettiness, his hates, his prejudices!

The southern Negro is too passive. Quite true, being the under dog of American life for four centuries has developed a distinct style of fighting that is all his own. Negroes have been grinning their way into confidence and, once in, slowly, almost imperceptibly, enlarging their job, business or opportunity, as the case may be. However, the educated professional man who insists upon his rights proves my contention that more progress would be made in securing justice, equity and fair play for himself if less passive resistance were offered.

Internal dissension retards the progress of the Southern Negro more than anything the whites could do to him. The southern Negro, of the less educated type talks a great deal too much according to the more learned of the race, because he doesn't know what he really wants. In this connection I quote from Mr. Adams editor of the Birmingham Reporter:

"It is not enough to orate and measure our distance by beautiful platitudes and interesting expressions of the history made since 1861. We should concern ourselves about the possibilities now, the great need of the present hour, and set to work to use these possibilities to good ends."

Race Problem - 1925. T

United States.

ANNUAL SURVEY, THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS, 1925

By and all, Colored America has more than held its own, in the Year of Our Lord, 1925. Fighting against odds, as always, the race has had some valuable re-inforcements, and more than at any time in the history of the country, since the days of the Civil war, the problems of the Negro have become the problems of America. True, some of the things that have brought the problem to consideration have been left-handed, but once to the front, results have proved that after all, in the deep processes, the heart of America beats right.

There must, however, be this warning: progress does not just happen and there must be a constant "pressure of happiness," through organization, reading, travel, understanding and adequate financing.

Segregation

For the time being, segregation, in its multifarious ramifications, has, been, and will continue to be, the biggest fight of Colored America. Born of the South, segregation has grown until today it has at least a temporary foothold in every section of the United States. The white South has so insisted on segregation in everything that in that section, it has become such a fixed practice that it is very generally accepted without audible protest, but certainly not without silent indignation of those who know the injustice, and are by force of circumstances, made to suffer the handicaps and hardships of it.

On the other hand, there are Negroes South who have benefitted by some forms of segregation, and such of them as have come North with the segregation mental complex, have, by one means and another, sought to bring ideas of segregation into communities where, hitherto, it was little known. This has been especially true in the matter of schools, where some have contended for them "because it will give more employment to our young people." There are many others from the South, however who have brought with them a far different attitude, and while they endured conditions of segregation in the South, they stoutly oppose any furthering of it North.

The white southerner, persistent in his contentions until death, continues to move North, along with the migrant Negroes, and brings with him a propaganda of determination that has unquestionably had its effect in the most liberal communities.

Housing

The acuteness of segregation in 1925 has been found in the field of housing. There has been dangerous tenseness developed in many, heretofore peaceful and generously inclined communities, because, perchance Colored Americans have purchased properties in certain so-called "white neighborhoods." The Associated Negro Press has given considerable study and observation to this trend of American conditions. One of the greatest dangers for future well-being is in the fact that many white people who have long been friendly to the race, have become much concerned about the inroads upon realty possession in better neighborhaads. Many of these so concerned are large employers of Negro laborers.

Some of them frankly state that "while we wish the Negro to have all his rights, and to be given justice, we do not wish him to live next to us, because he depreciates property. There are others who leave out the economic feature, and who maintain that "Colored people should live among themselves." Some of these who thus express themselves, are zalous in helping to maintain Negro charities, and lay strong claim to the faith of Jesus Christ.

Any arrangement, or truce, now in the adjustment of housing matters, will, of necessity, be only temporary. Time will continue to be the great adjuster in the future, as in the past. White neighborhoods will become black neighborhoods, and neighborhoods will again become white neighborhoods, according to world old law of supply and demand. In every big city in America from New York through Chicago to Los Angeles, and on down through the South, Negroes have owned property that today has values of billions rather millions. Shey could not hold it against the march of business and the demand of capital.

The shifting of racial populations in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City, and many other cities affected by migration, has been notable, almost miraculous in some instances.

There aretwo ways proposed that may be of some benefit at this time. All o fthe cities have sections of old buildings that may be torn down, and upon the sites modern structures erected. This is now being done among whites in New York, Chicago, and other cities. It may well be done in generally accepted, well-chosen, "Negro localities." This is no sense in an argument against the inherent right of Negroes to buy and sell in any locality; these matters, in the last analysis rest with individuals, who are supposed to use discretion, as well as have ambition.

There have in a number of locations been developed some very splendid suburban sites, where certain restrictions in building, as in the case of whites, have made neghborhoods delightful to look upon.

Segregation of housing schools is always followed by segregation of schools. The suggestion often comes from both sides. In some of the communities, ostensible segregation exists in others, pioneer citizens, aided by those who have different theories, black and white, have halted the movement for the time being. In the present temper of the American white mind, aroused by direct and indirect propaganda of enemies of justice, Colored America must either submit to further segregation or contend for equal justice. There are some who seem willing to submit; the vast majority wish to contend in varyng forms and ways. It is patent that in many places where years back, civil rights, in public places, were accorded without question, today they are denied in one form and another. The exceptions are in those communities where Negro citizenship, by votes and leadership, commands respectful consideration.

The development of Negro education in the South has been one of the particularly encouraging features of a more enlightened South on Negro education. North Carolina, in particular has been outstanding in its encouragement of Negro educaton, both by the state and private means, Shirrell College having this year come into possession of a million dollars from the Duke fortune, with additional amounts, a notable gift being $25,000 from Prof. William Pierson, successful educator and business man of Durham. All racial schools continue to have large attendance, and in the great colleges and universities of the North, records in practically all show increased racial enrollment.

Political

In the South, except in some sections on school bonds, the Negro continues North the Negro has attained a larger ment. There are some whites, and some blacks, South, who say they expect again to see the day when the Negro citizens will be granted the right to vote.

In many of the larger cities of the North the Negro has atained a larger share of political power. This is true under the Republicans in Chicago, and Illinois, where the leadership of Edward H. Wright has reached unquestioned standards; and in New York, under Ferdinand Q. Morton, of the Democratic organization, where through the powerful Tammany organization, Morton has been able to function with success for Colored America.

Nationally, Colored America continues to hold a truly pathetic position in politics. There are individual Negroes who have measured influence with some individuals in national political life, but there are neither individual Negroes, nor is there political organization among Negroes in a National way, sufficiently strong to force real attention on subjects affecting the Negro.

In this connection, the recent message to Congress from President Coolidge, has created more adverse comment than hat of any message by a President in recent years. The majority of Negroes believe in the sincerity of purpose of the President, but are of the opinion that he stated his position in manner that will not redound to the largest helpfulness, and his words fail to carry the proper constructiveness and force of executive authority.

Commerce and Industry

Colored America ha sforged ahead in the business world during 1925. Favorable reports come from all parts of the country. The number of failures have been fewer than heretofore, and there has been a commendable increase in co-operative progress. This includes co-operation, local and otherwise. A number of splendid partnerships and new corporations have been formed, that promise splendid results for the future. In some places there has been co-operative buying, with good results.

In The Higher Arts

Along the lines of music and literature, in particular; and too, in painting and sculpture and other fine arts, Colored America is making progress that is beginning to get the general attention of America. Various national organizations are fortunate in deloping the means to award those of the highest achievements in various lines, and this is not only developing a fine spirit of competition, but is bringing to the attention of the general public men and women who have been more or less in obscurity. Aided by the inspiration of success, many of them are going on to higher planes of development and usefulness.

"Negro Spirituals" have taken a most popular and probably permanent place, i nthe field of American music, both within and without the race. Practically all of the leading artists of both races have selections of Negro spirituals, or many of them, have selections from some of our modern composers, who have caught a quality of soul expression that a few ca nequal, an dnone surpass. Colored America may well merit a place in the sun along the lines of musical development, and there is very generous appreciation of success in this field.

Religion

Colored America continues to be religious, to build churches, which in the city are making the form of community service centers; continued to believe in God, and yet, because of certain experiences with the attitude of some white Christians, there has been developed a "school of cynics" among Negroes that furnishes rather biting and weird comments on the value of religion. Nevertheless, the great mass of people believe in the teachings of Christianity, and their devotion to the cause is one of the most commendable, as well as one of the most dependable, traits of the race.

Athletic, Outdoor Lire

Colored America takes to athletics and outdoor life. In all of the various outdoor games: football, baseball, tennis and the like, the race continues to produce many who are worthy of serious consideration. There are those who are quietly at work hoping for the time to come when all entries in the various fields of sports will be accepted on merit, but this time has not yet arrived. It may, however, be nearer than ordinarily supposed. There are many who love hunting, rowing, hiking, and the call of the great outdoor. All of this is conductive to better health conditions, and here is hope that thousands in the congested cities may more and more become interested in God's great outdoors.

Crime

Negro crime has been considered from a more impartial viewpoint in recent years than was formerly the case. The public got their opinions of the criminal tendencies of the Negro so called, from the big headlines of daily newspapers. Incessent effort, North and South, has practically done away with the big headlines, because of race, and all criminals, regardless of race, are treated alike. It has been found by surveys, impartially conducted, than many are "more sinned against than sinning", and there is a larger disposition to mete out even handed justice.

Deaths

There have been many deaths of well known useful people. There are three types here mentioned. Charles Stewart of Chicago, who for many years formed a helpful link between the race and daily newspapers: Frank L. Gillespie of Chicago who was founder and president of the first old line life insurance company, outcome of the migration North: and Henry Lincoln Johnson of Atlanta and Washington, who held unusual and unique contacts with the national and political field among Republicans.

What Of 1926?

The year of 1926 is rich in promise in all lines of cativity. In business literature, industry, farming and all lines where there are productive possibilities, colored America has a chance The race must be mindful of the eternal opposition, but the "right thinking white people" are increasing in number and they, for the most part, have the courage and convictions. North and South. Where yet, they have not quite the courage but the convictions.

The Persistent Development of a Menacing Situation, and Its Effect on Immature Social Theory

By Lucius Scott

In the first installment of this essay, Mr. Scott points out the complacency with which the mass of mankind views dangers which, tho inevitable are not imminent. This is applied to the economic position of the Negro group in America, the conflict of the objectives of learning and wealth in earlier programs of race development, experiment and failure. This failure, as he indicates, points to an obvious weakness, and this weakness in the matter of organization. "Until more effective organization is realized, they (the Negroes) cannot hope for greater success in the efforts along these lines." —Editor's Note.

(Continued from October)

The question then arises: Along what lines should organization proceed? Historically, other races have organized into upper and lower strata. The ancient aristocracy of blood has in modern times given way to an aristocracy of wealth. Obviously, these forms of organizations are not available for us. It has been suggested that we should have an aristocracy of brains and morals. But is this really desirable? There are natural distinctions between the virtuous and the vicious, the learned and the unlearned. Are not these sufficient without the artificial distinctions of caste implied in the idea of aristocracy? Unless very strong reasons can be advanced in favor of social separation, it does not deserve to be considered, because we shall evidently be so much the stronger if united. In the historic nations caste and class distinction were rooted in arbitrary distinctions in the fundamental industrial constitution; and if they had not been so rooted could scarcely have had any permanence; for industry changes spontaneously and inexorably in response to new accessions of knowledge and need, and with its changes carries all else that is not permanently rooted in its constitution. Such distinctions we have no power to make; nor need wish for. Such natural distinctions as exist, must and will remain; but they are not so sharply drawn as to divide us into classes, and any effort on our part to accentuate the lines of cleavage can do us nothing but injury. What we need is to draw closer together, not further apart. The learned and the virtuous should not hide their faces from the unlearned and the vicious. And their contact should not be the supercilious or pharisaical contact of the uplift worker for the slum dweller, but should be imbued with the spirit of frank comradeship, and friendly cooperation. This may seem like a Quixotic demand to make on the sympathy and patience of the refined and intelligent; but really I believe the differences among men are far less radical and irreconcilable than surface indications would seem to suggest. The most learned man is in some degree ignorant; the most virtuous, in some degree vicious; while on the other hand, the most ignorant, are learned in some matters, and the most vicious have some virtues. Secure in our own self-righteousness, we may devoutly wish that all gross ignorance and vice could be forever banished from the world; but it is by no means certain that we do well so unqualifiedly to condemn and despise each other's vices and shortcomings.

It is entirely possible that we do quite as much for each other in offsetting and turning to advantage each other's vices and foibles as in reinforcing and supplementing each other's virtues. Thus, the stolidity of one simple-minded person may neutralize the too great exuberance of another; the duplicity of one knave shames and brings into contempt the presumption of another; the cynical bravado of one bully gives pause to the blustering bragadocio of another; a coward's remonstrance checks a rash person's impetuosity; a few thieves give play to the ingenuity of many lock-smiths; and liars create many happy and useful diversions, besides serving as a foil for more truthful men. The list might be continued and varied almost endlessly. These few examples, taken at random, serve to illustrate the argument and point the moral. The moral is that no healthy well-developed vice is to be lightly reprehended. Nor is this moral the mere whimsical and bizarre product of a perverted imagination. It is pregnant with the secret content of many of the essential values of life; and while it may not commend itself to copy-book moralists, and purveyors of platitudes, those who aspire to "see life steadily and see it whole", cannot afford to yield to the protestations of those who have resolved to recognize only selected fragments thereof.

Unfortunately, the former class is neither numerous nor outspoken, and the latter is both. The doctrine "thou shalt love thine enemy", was probably never popular among men who deem themselves "practical"; and we of the twentieth century have grown so far away from the doctrines of primitive Christianity that they no longer seem important to us. Our philoso-

phy is one of utter selfishness. Not merely "me no exemplar of aristocracy! Of course, it is al-
first", which is normal and justifiable; but "me ways easy to retort that the devil can quote
alone", which has no justification either in mor- scripture. The facility of this retort has prob-
als or expediency. The utmost we are willing ably contributed as much as any other one thing
to do for our fellows is to expound to them our to discredit scripture when legitimately quoted.
own high ideals of righteousness, and unctu- But "those that hunger and thirst after right-
ously exhort them to adopt our code. If they eousness shall be filled." Being filled with right-
shall refuse, then their name shall be anathema. eousness, they shall not be beguiled with cant
We take a righteous pride in ejecting them from and hypocrisy. In the face of a world of deceit
our midst. It is due to our high principles, and and intrigue, they will be mindful of the solemn
our self-respect can abide no less. And He warning—"beware of the leaven of the phari-
whose disciples we profess to be was labelled a sees"—"except your righteousness exceed the
"friend of publicans and sinners!" To no one righteousness of the scribes and pharisees ye
shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven."
more than to this generation does He say, "I it shall be given to under-
honor my Father which is in heaven, and ye do stand that cryptic saying, "The kingdom of
dishonor ME!" Surely He whose friends and heaven is at hand."
boon companions were humble fisher-folk, was

But it will be hard to free ourselves of a feel-
ing of impatience at the humble endeavors that

Crime

Negro crime has been considered from a more impartial viewpoint in recent years than was formerly the case. The public got their opinions of the criminal tendencies of the Negro so called, from the big headlines of daily newspapers. Incessent effort, North and South, has practically done away with the big headlines, because of race, and all criminals, regardless of race, are treated alike. It has been found by surveys, impartially conducted, than many are "more sinned against than sinning", and there is a larger disposition to mete out even handed justice.

Deaths

There have been many deaths of well known useful people. There are three types here mentioned. Charles Stewart of Chicago, who for many years formed a helpful link between the race and daily newspapers: Frank L. Gillespie of Chicago who was founder and president of the first old line life insurance company, outcome of the migration North: and Henry Lincoln Johnson of Atlanta and Washington, who held unusual and unique contacts with the national and political field among Republicans.

What Of 1926?

The year of 1926 is rich in promise in all lines of cativity. In business literature, industry, farming and all lines where there are productive possibilities, colored America has a chance The race must be mindful of the eternal opposition, but the "right thinking white people" are increasing in number and they, for the most part, have the courage and convictions, North and South. Where yet, they have not quite the courage but the convictions.

The Persistent Development of a Menacing Situation, and Its Effect on Immature Social Theory

By Lucius Scott

In the first installment of this essay, Mr. Scott points out the complacency with which the mass of mankind views dangers which, tho inevitable are not imminent. This is applied to the economic position of the Negro group in America, the conflict of the objectives of learning and wealth in earlier programs of race development, experiment and failure. This failure, as he indicates, points to an obvious weakness, and this weakness in the matter of organization. "Until more effective organization is realized, they (the Negroes) cannot hope for greater success in the efforts along these lines." —Editor's Note.

(Continued from October)

The question then arises: Along what lines should organization proceed? Historically, other races have organized into upper and lower strata. The ancient aristocracy of blood has in modern times given way to an aristocracy of wealth. Obviously, these forms of organizations are not available for us. It has been suggested that we should have an aristocracy of brains and morals. But is this really desirable? There are natural distinctions between the virtuous and the vicious, the learned and the unlearned. Are not these sufficient without the artificial distinctions of caste implied in the idea of aristocracy? Unless very strong reasons can be advanced in favor of social separation, it does not deserve to be considered, because we shall evidently be so much the stronger if united. In the historic nations caste and class distinction were rooted in arbitrary distinctions in the fundamental industrial constitution; and if they had not been so rooted could scarcely have had any permanence; for industry changes spontaneously and inexorably in response to new accessions of knowledge and need, and with its changes carries all else that is not permanently rooted in its constitution. Such distinctions we have no power to make; nor need wish for. Such natural distinctions as exist, must and will remain; but they are not so sharply drawn as to divide us into classes, and any effort on our part to accentuate the lines of cleavage can do us nothing but injury. What we need is to draw closer together, not further apart. The learned and the virtuous should not hide their faces from the unlearned and the vicious. And their contact should not be the supercilious or pharisaical contact of the uplift worker for the slum dweller, but should be imbued with the spirit of frank comradeship, and friendly cooperation. This may seem like a Quixotic demand to make on the sympathy and patience of the refined and intelligent; but really I believe the differences among men are far less radical and irreconcilable than surface indications would seem to suggest. The most learned man is in some degree ignorant; the most virtuous, in some degree vicious; while on the other hand, the most ignorant, are learned in some matters, and the most vicious have some virtues. Secure in our own self-righteousness, we may devoutly wish that all gross ignorance and vice could be forever banished from the world; but it is by no means certain that we do well so unqualifiedly to condemn and despise each other's vices and shortcomings.

It is entirely possible that we do quite as much for each other in offsetting and turning to advantage each other's vices and foibles as in reinforcing and supplementing each other's virtues. Thus, the stolidity of one simple-minded person may neutralize the too great exuberance of another; the duplicity of one knave shames and brings into contempt the presumption of another; the cynical bravado of one bully gives pause to the blustering bragadocio of another; a coward's remonstrance checks a rash person's impetuosity; a few thieves give play to the ingenuity of many lock-smiths; and liars create many happy and useful diversions, besides serving as a foil for more truthful men. The list might be continued and varied almost endlessly. These few examples, taken at random, serve to illustrate the argument and point the moral. The moral is that no healthy well-developed vice is to be lightly reprehended. Nor is this moral the mere whimsical and bizarre product of a perverted imagination. It is pregnant with the secret content of many of the essential values of life; and while it may not commend itself to copy-book moralists, and purveyors of platitudes, those who aspire to "see life steadily and see it whole", cannot afford to yield to the protestations of those who have resolved to recognize only selected fragments thereof.

Unfortunately, the former class is neither numerous nor outspoken, and the latter is both. The doctrine "thou shalt love thine enemy", was probably never popular among men who deem themselves "practical"; and we of the twentieth century have grown so far away from the doctrines of primitive Christianity that they no longer seem important to us. Our philoso-

phy is one of utter selfishness. Not merely "me first", which is normal and justifiable; but "me alone", which has no justification either in morals or expediency. The utmost we are willing to do for our fellows is to expound to them our own high ideals of righteousness, and unctuously exhort them to adopt our code. If they shall refuse, then their name shall be anathema. We take a righteous pride in ejecting them from our midst. It is due to our high principles, and our self-respect can abide no less. And He whose disciples we profess to be was labelled a "friend of publicans and sinners!" To no more than to this generation does He say, "I honor my Father which is in heaven, and ye dishonor ME!" Surely He whose friends and boon companions were humble fisher-folk, was no exemplar of aristocracy! Of course, it is always easy to retort that the devil can quote ways as any other one thing for his purpose. The facility of this retort has probably contributed as much as anything else to discredit scripture when legitimately quoted. But "those that hunger and thirst after righteousness, they shall be filled." Being filled with righteousness, they shall not be beguiled with cant and hypocrisy. In the face of a world of deceit and intrigue, they will be mindful of the solemn warning—"beware of the leaven of the pharisees ye sees"—"except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven." But it will be hard to free ourselves of a feeling of impatience at the humble endeavors that

established racial economic groups or cities within such cities as New York, Pittsburg, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia. In these cities the negroes have their own banks, theaters, hotels, restaurants, stores, doctors, lawyers, architects, etc. Mr. Jones declared that New York City has become the center of intellectual life among the negroes of America and the headquarters of the leading negro organizations working for negro welfare.

Health Topics Discussed.

Another speaker at today's session was Dr. E. George Payne, dean of the School of Education of New York University, who urged co-operation between the schools and the community is applying present knowledge of health promotion and disease prevention. Dr. Mary Crawford, medical director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, discussed health education in industry and Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, professor of public health at Yale University, spoke on "The Law and Gospel of Public Health."

Under a negative legal condition in substance and effect identical with the archaic marital code of Rome 2,000 years ago, children only 12 years old may be married legally in New York State with their parents' consent, according to Mary E. Richmond, who spoke at the conference yesterday. Miss Richmond is a nationally known social worker and is connected with the Russell Sage Foundation.

The women's organizations will seek this winter to have the legislature fix a minimum age law to prevent child marriages, she said. One measure would require that five days' notice be given before a marriage license could be issued. The advance notice requirement, she said, would do more than anything else to lower the divorce rate.

Proselyting Charged.

Some social agencies are proselyting along denominational lines, it was charged by the Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, director of the Children's division of the Catholic Charities in this diocese.

"Reluctant as we all are to speak of it," he said, "we must nevertheless face the fact that the willingness—yes the eagerness—of certain denominational agencies to get hold of children of other faiths is a constantly disturbing factor in planning for the care of dependent children."

IT ALL DEPENDS ON THE POINT OF VIEW —By Holloway

are the beginning of all true greatness. The overweening desire to achieve the magnificent makes all unassuming and undramatic effort seem paltry and unworthy. Hence the enthusiast for racial progress will be but little responsive to a homely and non-sentimental presentment of those unpretentious and inglorious opportunities for service that obtrude on every hand. More puerile and pointless preachments, will be his estimate, and that of all others who seek an inspirational formula that shall fire the imagination, and point the way to triumphant achievement. Yet no proposition would seem to stand less in need of illustration than that the showy and spectacular things that challenge attention and bulk so large in the imagination cannot be attempted until a multitude of tedious commonplace things have been accomplished. The brilliant and successful leadership that has at different times in the world's history so conspicuously manifested itself in the affairs of peoples does not develop spontaneously from a back-ground of nothing at all. Little as we may be disposed to recognize the fact, the crying need at the present juncture is not for aggressive leadership; but for the intensive cultivation of our cooperative and unifying powers; and the stimulation and encouragement of those rudimentary associative processes that have already manifested themselves. A truly commanding personality would find nothing in our present racial situation the direction or exploitation of which could profitably engage his powers. A man sick or in prison is not in urgent need of suggestions as to which way to run. Let him first be whole and leg-free, and then, perhaps his own intelligence may be able so to modify the advice proffered as to make it really useful to him. An economic society, unlike an army, must develop its own leaders; for leadership here is dependent on knowledge of the social organization, and power to anticipate the course of its spontaneous development; while leadership in an army is dependent on the will of the society whose instrument the army is; every precaution being taken to prevent any spontaneity in the activity of the army itself. These facts being taken into account it should be no matter for wonder that with our present loose and imperfect organization we have not developed effective leadership. No one can lead us effectively until we develop the power to follow. Also no one can lead us satisfactorily until we decide on the course which we would like to pursue.

Race Problem—1925.
United States.

A SURVEY

The Brotherhood of Man

J. B. Lehman.

"And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having eternal good tidings to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people; and he saith with a great voice, Fear God, and give him glory; for the hour of his pudgment is come: worship him that made the heaven and the earth and sea and fountains of water."

God knew that before a happy era could come to the world mankind must come into a family relationship, a brotherhood, and so the book was designed to end in that and all the prophets foresaw it and sang of it. John on Patonlos here says the time when this would become the task of the Church and worldwide missions would come into the vision of Christian service. The task we now have may take five hundred, or a thousand or even two thousand years, but it is the task of the Church and will remain that till it is consumated.

The principle of caste or segregation is wrong. If put into practice it will reduce a nation to a most pitiful state. It was not a mere accident that India became "sad India." When it adopted the caste system it could not escape the intense depravity it was found in by the missionaries. The age of feudalism in Europe was the sad age of Europe. Guizot says there was not in all the land a man that knew how to make a chimney to conduct the smoke out of the house. It was not a mere accident. Their conception of isolation could lead to no other result.

Now if these things are so, why do we not begin to study our own situation and learn the lesson for ourselves? We are compelled to recognize each other's influence in the social organism or we must journey down to where "Sad India" went.

Let us begin to study the economical side first. A Negro share-hand steals the corn that was bought for his mule and starves the mule until it dies. You say, poor man, he will have to work and pay for another? Yes, but you will help him pay for it before it is through. Every man in Hinds county and Mississippi, and the Union will help him pay for his mule. You say, how? Well to begin with, he makes the mules sell for a higher price, he makes his landlord charge a bigger percent on his furnishings, and the merchant must charge more because of his losses and so on down the line. Just because that man's skin happens to be black will make no difference in the economical situation. A banker came to me the other day and said, "We are going to have a rash in this country Thousands of people are buying automobiles on the installment plan who can scarcely afford to pay for gasoline. The principle is economically wrong and it must bring a crash." And I said, "It makes no difference whether the buyers of these autos are white or black?" He answered, "Not a bit." Thus you see we are tied together economically and there can be no prosperity until we begin to lift up all the people.

Politically we are tied together in the same way. You say the Negro in Mississippi does not vote? I challenge that. He does vote. It was his vote that elected some of the men for governor and senator and for other state offices who did so badly for us. You say how is that? I see none of them at the polls. No they did not go to the polls, they voted by proxy. No voter who had not grown up in the environment of ignorant and shiftless Negroes could have voted some of the men into office we have had in the past thirty years. This mass of Negroes all got their vote into the ballot box by this occult method. The only thing for us to do is to give this people a good school system and the best teachers we can find and lift them up so they can cast a better influence in our political system. Unless we do this we must take up our journey downward to the state of "Sad India."

And in a spiritual sense we are knit together. It is because of our spiritual poverty that we have so much crime and corruption and immorality in the land. In a spiritual sense we who want to be good must help to make up the deficiency of the spiritually depraved just as we all had to pay for that starved mule. We have now put our hand to the plow of foreign missions and we dare not look back unless we want to go into the world's greatest cataclysm. When Moffett went to Africa and Carey to India and Morrison to China, the Christian white people annexed these peoples spiritually and now they must stand or fall together. When the old slave holders invited their slaves into the gallery to hear the gospel they annexed all of them as spiritual brothers and now they must stand or fall together. It is showing already. It is pitiful to see how some communities of white people who denied any spiritual kinship of the mass of colored people in their community, have degenerated. Some call the "poor white trash," some call the "red necks," some call them "hill billies," but they better quit that, for where they are these detracters will be soon. It is pitiful to see how low down some Negro communities have fallen because they are isolated spiritually. The world's only hope now is to accept spiritual kinship with all peoples and labor for human uplift. You say it is too much to ask you to accept spiritual kinship with some people? Christianity took that into account. Isaiah said,

"But when he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him: and with his stripes we are healed."

Hickory, N. C.
Record
NOV 4 - 1925

THE RACE ISSUE

The race problem in the south could be adjusted and friction avoided if the contact were between the understanding, sympathetic whites of the south and the descendants of the anti-bellum negroes. These two elements understand each other and there is a mutual respect, since friendship and, in many cases, real affection between the southern negroes and his white folk. The race issue has never been a problem for them.

The friction and the danger rests in the ignorant young negroes who go to northern cities and get their heads filled with social equality ideas and reading northern newspapers, edited by negroes intensely prejudices and hostile to the south. These negroes return to their home town with their minds filled with bitterness towards the whites and the feeling that they are deprived of their liberty and freedom. They have associated with a certain class of white women in the north and then resent their inferiority status in the south.

We are frank to confess that we believed that so long as brutish negroes assaulted white woman the lynch law would prevail. But a glimmering of hope is seen in the action of the best negroes of Asheville in the recent excitement there over an epidemic of assaults on white women by negroes. These better negroes met and solemnly condemned these acts by their own race and agreed to aid the officers of the law in hunting out the guilty parties. When there is such cooperative between the races the problem is not so far from solution.

The southern negro who temporarily sojourns in the north might learn his lesson from the two South Carolina negroes who were in Paris during the war. They were welcomed by the lower order of French women and one of the negroes had his head badly turned. He told his colored brother that when he got back to South Carolina he was going to wear nothing but white clothes, a white hat and white shoes and associate with white folks. The other negro replied, "When I gits back to South Carolina I'se gwine to buy me some black clothes, a black hat, shoes and everything black."

"What you going to buy all them black clothes for?" asked the first negro.

"I'se gwine to attend your funeral, nigger."

If all the young negroes could learn their status is fixed in the south and can never be otherwise half the problem will be solved.

SAYS N. Y. STATE LEADS IN SOLVING NEGRO PROBLEM

Fairest Commonwealth in Country, Eugene K. Jones Tells Charities Conference.

"The negro is probably the real test of democracy in America," maintained Eugene Knickel Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, at the State Conference on Charities and Correction at the Hotel Roosevelt, Manhattan, today. He added that in the handling of the negro problem "New York State has probably shown a fairer attitude and a more open mind than any other State of our country."

"New York City," he continued, "may prove to be the laboratory in which the most satisfacory local experiment will be conducted. Certainly there is no single spot of its size on the globe where so many white people and negroes reside and where there are so few points of friction. The negro population in New York City at present is in excess of 200,000. The majority of the negro newcomers came to the North preceding and following the participation of the United States in the World War."

New Phase of Negro Problem.

Mr. Jones said that 10 years ago a discussion of the negro would have consisted of consideration of housing conditions and the general wage scale and conditions of his employment with white people. But today, he said, attention centers on the mass of these negroes who have come North recently—the success or failure with which they have met in seeking social adjustment and their industrial development as a group. He pointed out that the negroes have

Race Problem—1925. I.

United States.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF THE RACE PROBLEM

(By Monroe N. Work)

In the limited space at my disposal I can give only some of the more important results of the study of "Aspects and Tendencies of the Race Problem" in the past thirteen years. I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem.

There is (1) the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years, Negroes have entered industry in a large way. In 1920 census reports 332,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group at present is around $2,000,000,000 which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

There is (2) the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was $13,576,561: the amount expended this year for Negro education is over $40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever-increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. In the period 1912-1924 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

There is (3) the progress, which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate, and an increasing life span. In 1912 the death rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death rate was 15.7 per thousand: a decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent.

A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of 5 years in the life expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy of life for the Negro Metropolitan policy-holders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was: for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males, 46.91 years for females, 46.10 years.

In 1912 the life span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration wit-

Editor's note: The American Sociology Society which includes most of the leading sociologists in the country as well as the professors of sociology in the chief universities of the country, wrote its members some months ago asking what projects they wished to suggest for presentation at their annual meeting. Two hundred replied and out of the 200 subjects offered ten were selected. One "The Aspects and Tendencies of The Race Problem" was offered by Prof. Monroe N. Work, of the research department of Tuskegee Institute and Editor of the Negro Year Book. It was among the ten selected and is reproduced below.

There is (4) the Negro in politics. The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity were:

1. The tendency to develop independence in politics.

2. There is an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket.

3. Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro votes. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Democratic and Third Party national compaign committees.

4. There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were 8 Negro members of City Councils. In 1921, these members numbered 21. There were in 1915 two Negro members of State Legislatures: in 1924 there were 11. It is also of importance to note that in 1915, I had a record of 14 cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are 70 cities which have Negro policemen.

5. A fifth feature of the Negro in politics is the entry and activity of Negro women.

6. A sixth feature is the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote.

7. A seventh feature is the increased efforts of Negroes to vote and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increasing number voting the Democratic ticket, the maintenance of the so-called white primary becomes a more difficult problem.

Another of these secondary aspects is (5) the population shifts which have taken place in the past thirteen years. During this period there occurred the greatest migration of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country. In addition to the movement from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again.

The net result of the migration is that there is now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half million more Negroes living in the North than there were in 1912.

I pass now to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem.

One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been an increased publicity, in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching. There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching.

In the period, 1912-1924, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress.

There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period, 1912-1924 there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number of before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation.

1. The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in the border and southern states passed segregation laws.

2. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid.

Since 1917, two new devices have been envolved for legalizing segregation:

(a) By zoning ordinances.

(b) By property owners contract.

4. The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts.

5. In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

The third primary aspect of the problem is riots. The thirteen years, 1912-24 have been notable for the number of race riots which have occurred. Some of these riots ware the most serious which have taken place in the history of the nation.

Some of the immediate causes of the rots were: The migration of Negroes; An intensified housing situation; Exaggerated reports concerning crime by Negroes: The state of the public mind with reference to the Negro and his place; The disposition of Negroes not to recede from what they considered a just position; Another probable cause was that almost without exception the widespread presentation of the Negro in moving pictures was either as a buffoon or as a criminal.

The fourth primary aspect of the problem is the notable growth of race consciousness which has taken place since 1912. Chief among the causes of this growth are:

1. The general rapid economic and educational progress of the group.
2. The World War conditions.
3. The contacts which Negroes throughout the world have established in recent years with each other.

Manifestations of this race consciousness are a growing race pride; increasing race solidarity and an increasing effort of the group to gain for itself those rights and privileges of race are its due: the development of race literature, including hymns and poems which are national in their expression.

The fifth primary aspect of the problem is the increase in the efforts for the betterment of race relations of whites and Negroes in most of the There were first joint conferences of whites and Negroes on race relations where face to face they talked to and not about each other.

A second factor is the presentation of facts rather than expressions of opinion. Among the chief agencies for the general dissemination, of these facts were the Negro Year Book, first published in 1912; The Southern Publicity Committee and the Hampton Institute Press Service, and the growth and development of the Negro newspapers as well as their recognition and use by the students of the Race problem.

The third factor is the growth of inter-racial cooperation. Whites and Negroes worked together in the world war period. The result of their working together in the world war activities brought them into a more helpful relationship. Out of the spirit of the war cooperation, the after war inter-racial co-operation developed. In November, 1918, The Commission on Inter racial Cooperation was formed and an organized state Inter-racial Committee southern states and local inter-racial Committees in some 300 counties in the South.

The fourth important factor has been the changed attitude and the activities of the church with respect to race relations. Some two years ago, the Federal Council of Churches established a Commission on race relations which is carrying on an active campaign to assist in improving race relations; an important feature of this activity is the annual observance of race relation Sunday, at which time an effort is made to have sermons on race relations preached in pulpits throughout the nation.

The fifth important feature is the increasing tendency of white women's organizations in the South to work for the betterment of Negroes and to bring about cooperation of white and Negro women.

A sixth feature is the striking growth of efforts to study the problem. There are the Phelps-Stokes Fund fellowships for the study of the Negro at the Universities of Virginia and Georgia; the Y. M. C. A. Study Courses on the Negro in white colleges of the South, the establishing in 1915 of the Association for the study of Negro life and history and the publishing of the Negro Journal of Negro History: the increasing number of courses on the Negro and on race relations in Universities and colleges. In 1922 the study of the Negro was made the Home Missions study subject for mission classes in the churches of the country. This greatly stimulated the writing of books on the study of he Negro with the result that in the three years, 1922-2 there have been 22 race relations study books published, 5 of which are for juveniles, and 17 for adults.

The Tendencies of The Race Problem In the United States Since 1912 Appears to Be As Follows:

1. There is a tendency for the more acute and constant points of race friction to shift from rural districts to Urban Centers.

2. The general advance of he Negro has tended (one) to change their status, (two) to change their outlook and (three) to bring them into contact with the white group in a greater number of ways.

3. These newer contacts with the white group tend more and more to be contacts with the progress the intelligence of the Negro group.

4. These new and more numerous contacts in some instances tend to create conflict situations which turn primarily not upon the ignorance, backwardness of the Negro Group, but upon its progressiveness its intelligence. The agitation, and friction now going on as to where Negroes shall live in cities, centers about the efforts of progressive intelligent members of the group to secure better places in which to live.

5. There is a growing tendency particularly in the South to endeavor to handle the problems of race relations by whites and Negroes coming together on a basis of cooperation and working together for the best interests of both races. The general advantage of this method is that representatives of both groups may meet face to face and outline policies which are of mutual benefit to each of the groups and to the whole community.

N. Y. C. EVENING WORLD
MARCH 27, 1925

WHITE SUPERIORITY THEORY EXPLODED, ASSERTS DR. MILLER

Ohio Professor Says Time Has Effected No Changes in Races and Men Are Men

CINCINNATI, March 27. — The age-old theory of the superiority of the white race over the Negro was the target of a broadside of criticism yesterday at the National Inter-racial Conference in session here.

Charging that modern scientists have exploded the theory, advocates of racial equality, led by Dr. Herbert A. Miller, professor of sociology, Ohio State University, declared racial prejudice to be an out-growth of false attitudes acquired through habit and not instinct.

"Real scientists," declared Dr. Miller, have exploded the idea that one race is superior to another. Nothing that has happened within the last 50,000 years has effected any physiological or mental differences in races. Before that time man was just man, and there were no racial differences whatever."

COLORED AMERICANS ARE INCLUDED IN "WHITE PEOPLE' OF U. S. A.

A strange incongruity in terms and perhaps in principles, is contained in the followng editorial from the Boston Advertiser, a Hearst newspaper, but at the same time a truth in essence if not in strict phraseology and an impelled admission of the real Americanism of Colored Americans, who should never weaken their title by sporting color segregation. The editorial is as follows:

The people of India propose a law that would shut out citizens of the United States just as we shut out Asiatics. THAT'S PERFECTLY FAIR. It's their land. This country will cheerfully obey, if they don't want Americans traveling there—although we welcome all bona fide travelers from Asia, shutting out only those that would come to settle.

We resent as inaccurate, the statement that this country looks upon Asiatics as "INFERIORS." We have no such ideas. On the contrary, we recognize the ability of many Asiatic races, an dwe know that some of them, in fact, are so able that our own working people could not easily compete with them. We want this WHITE LAND for WHITE PEOPLE, that's all. We class among "white people" the Colored man and woman, brought here originally against their will, with every right to be here, and enjoy EUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY with their white American brethren

INFLAMMATORY EDITORIAL PUBLISHED IN ROCKAWAY BEACH NEWSPAPER

Advises Men of the Community to Take Matters Into Their Own Hands and Mete Out Punishment on the Spot to Negroes

At the instance of The Amsterdam News the legal department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with offices at 69 Fifth avenue, has brought to the attention of Postmaster General Harry S New an inflammatory editorial printed April 22 in the Argus, a newspaper published in Rockaway Beach, N. Y.

The editorial in question prescribes an "effective remedy" for colored men accused of "conducting themselves in an offensive manner toward white women," which remedy so-called, is "outside the pale and laws."

In his letter to Postmaster General New, Mr. Walter T. White, Assistant Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. wrote as follows:

Letter to Postmaster General

'My dear Sir:

"I am sending you enclosed exact copy of an editorial which appeared in The Argus published at Rockaway Beach, New York, headed 'The Negro Question," which appeared on Wednesday, April 22nd.

"In that editorial I wish to call your specific attention to the concluding paragraph in which, after having cited above certain criticisms of colored citizens of Rockaway, states:

"'There is only one effective remedy for this (colored men conducting themselves in an allegedly offensive manner towards white women) and that is for the men of the community to take the matter into their own hands and mete out condign punishment on the spot. It is not a matter for the police or the courts. A creature who will insult a woman on the public streets puts himself outside the pale and laws and courts were not made for him.'"

"We have submitted this editorial to our attorneys and they have recommended that we advise you of the editorial believing that, being a direct incitement to mob violence and violation of the law, it requires action on the part of the Post Office authorities.

"We are respectfully requesting that such action as is possible by your department be taken against the editors and publishers of this publication. Will you be good enough to advise us of action taken in this matter?"

The association has received a letter from the Postmaster General stating that the matter has been turned over to the acting solicitor for the Post Office Department, H. J. Donnelly.

The Argus, whose managing editor is William Altholz, has been entered as a second-class matter publication, and as such is under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department. The circulation is the mails of matter calculated to incite to riot and murder is in violation of the postal regulations.

The paper gives Joseph Pearlson as secretary and treasurer.

Kelly Miller Says

There is every indication that the force of race arrogance is making a desperate stand to perpetuate itself just as all arrogant regimes endeavor to do.

Those of us who believe in the unity of the human race will have to endure, many things which trouble and distress for the day and time, in order to promote the far away time when man to man shall brother be, "for a' that and a' that."

A French Traveller On The Race Problem

"SIDE LIGHTS ON THE RACI PROBLEM" is the subtitle of an interesting article in Scribners Magazine of May of the present year. Under the title of Southern Memories Professor Albert Guerard, author and traveller, gives in a readable way his recollections and impressions of the Southern attitude on the race problem.

The treatment is in the lighter vein, but the underlying thesis is fundamental and far reaching. After all it may be that it is well to lighten up this too darksome and gloomy subject with lighter touches and delectable bits of fine writing. Herein consists the value and advantage of the story form of delineation as compared with the more ponderous and heavy essay method and style.

I am free to confess to a bias for the essay style of writing. It lasts longer. It holds a more permanent interest; but for the moment it may fail to attract attention. The mere narrative or journalistic mode appeals to the casual reader who wants merely the facts, epitomised, condensed and congealed.

The song and the story are the mode for the day and the hour. I advise our young writers who may seek to gain a hearing to study these attractive forms of portrayal. The public mind today is not in the mood for solid presentation, especially on a disagreeable subject.

Southern Dogma Is Refuted

I judge from the internal evidence of the article that Mr. Guerard is of French extraction and Northern birth with sustained residential experience in the South. His attitude and point of view are as far away from the traditional Southern dogma as they well can be.

The South believes or makes believe that race difference is innate, eternal and inescapable. Grant this basic belief, and the South will take any white man to its gracious bosom.

No white man who questions it can expect to bask in the sunshine of its genial favor. Mr. Guerard says that he has been connected with a Southern institution for eleven years. But it requires no prophet to predict that his connection with all and any Southern institution is severed forever upon the appearance of this article.

Is race prejudice instinctive or is it imparted, like any other bias, whether social, political or cultural, from environment and atmosphere? Mr. Guerard replies emphatically that it is not a part of the inheritance of blood.

Is Prejudice Instinctive?

Grant Allen at one time wrote an interesting race story under the caption: "What's Bred in the Bone." Is race prejudice in-bred or inspirited? The way we answer this question will determine the foundation of our social philosophy. If it is in-bred, we can do nothing but to obey the dictates of its demands.

The lion cannot be tamed out of his thirst for blood. If race prejudice is on all fours with our other animal instincts, we needlessly waste our energies in trying to remove or to effectively modify it. If on the other hand, it is the result of social environment, then we may hope to fashion a program looking to its effectual modification or final removal.

Those of my readers whose memory is long enough to recall the reprint of my Graphic Survey article in these columns several weeks ago, need not be reminded that the writer is firmly of the basic belief that race hatred is not a natural antipathy but a social passion subject to changes by time, place and circumstances. I called President Harding's hand the moment I read his Birmingham speech, in which he went over to the Southern point of view as to the nature and endurance of race prejudice.

Science Divided On Question

Practically every article, or published volume on the race question that has recently rolled from the press hinges upon this one question. Scientists of equal erudition are divided in opinion.

Science has not yet uttered the final words, and probably can not do so for many generations to come. But the South has adopted the cherished dogma of the white man's innate, everlasting superiority as the basic creed of his social religion. He is not only willing to die for the belief that is in him, but is ready to kill the adversary who espouses the opposite contention.

But it is as useless to discuss this question with the Southerner as it is to argue about modes of baptism with a Baptist. But nothing is true because people believe it so, however passionate that belief may be. Indeed the most passionate beliefs of history have been proved the most erroneous.

South Blindly Unreasonable

However, let us bear in mind that to the devotee, the error in which he believes, might as well be true so far as his conduct is concerned Race prejudice might as well be in-bred, so far as the prevalent attitude and action of the South is concerned for this day and time.

The culprit may as well be guilty, if built up on this basis, and the Negro the jury is fully convinced that he is the victim of a fallacy which is forever and renders a verdict accordingly the time as effective as if the foundation What difference does it make whether it all were true. But there is basically the Spaniards sunk the Maine or no? this vital difference. In the long run, its We have fought the Spanish war, no one knows how long, the truth will driven the Don from the Island, and

Inferiority Complex Governs South

The facts and arguments which Mr. Guerard cites and recites are so common place and familiar that they are worthwhile repeating. The white and Negro children play together on terms of perfect childhood equality until parental authority for-

N. Y. C. EVENING WORLD
MARCH 27, 1925

WHITE SUPERIORITY THEORY EXPLODED, ASSERTS DR. MILLER

Ohio Professor Says Time Has Effected No Changes in Races and Men Are Men

CINCINNATI, March 27. — The age-old theory of the superiority of the white race over the Negro was the target of a broadside of criticism yesterday at the National Inter-racial Conference in session here.

Charging that modern scientists have exploded the theory, advocates of racial equality, led by Dr. Herbert A. Miller, professor of sociology, Ohio State University, declared racial prejudice to be an out-growth of false attitudes acquired through habit and not instinct.

"Real scientists," declared Dr. Miller, have exploded the idea that one race is superior to another. Nothing that has happened within the last 50,000 years has effected any physiological or mental differences in races. Before that time man was just man, and there were no racial differences whatever."

COLORED AMERICANS ARE INCLUDED IN "WHITE PEOPLE' OF U. S. A.

A strange incongruity in terms and perhaps in principles, is contained in the followng editorial from the Boston Advertiser, a Hearst newspaper, but at the same time a truth in essence if not in strict phraseology and an impelled admission of the real Americanism of Colored Americans, who should never weaken their title by sporting color segregation. The editorial is as follows:

The people of India propose a law that would shut out citizens of the United States just as we shut out Asiatics. THAT'S PERFECTLY FAIR. It's their land. This country will cheerfully obey, if they don't want Americans traveling there—although we welcome all bona fide travelers from Asia, shutting out only those that would come to settle.

We resent as inaccurate, the statement that this country looks upon Asiatics as "INFERIORS." We have no such ideas. On the contrary, we recognize the ability of many Asiatic races, an dwe know that some of them, in fact, are so able that our own working people could not easily compete with them. We want this WHITE LAND for WHITE PEOPLE, that's all. We class among "white people" the Colored man and woman, brought here originally against their will, with every right to be here, and enjoy EUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY with their white American brethren

INFLAMMATORY EDITORIAL PUBLISHED IN ROCKAWAY BEACH NEWSPAPER

Advises Men of the Community to Take Matters Into Their Own Hands and Mete Out Punishment on the Spot to Negroes

At the instance of The Amsterdam News the legal department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with offices at 69 Fifth avenue, has brought to the attention of Postmaster General Harry S. New an inflammatory editorial printed April 22 in the Argus, a newspaper published in Rockaway Beach, N. Y.

The editorial in question prescribes an "effective remedy" for colored men accused of "conducting themselves in an offensive manner toward white women," which remedy so-called, is "outside the pale and laws."

In his letter to Postmaster General New, Mr. Walter T. White, Assistant Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. wrote as follows:

Letter to Postmaster General

'My dear Sir:

"I am sending you enclosed exact copy of an editorial which appeared in The Argus published at Rockaway Beach, New York, headed 'The Negro Question," which appeared on Wednesday, April 22nd.

"In that editorial I wish to call your specific attention to the concluding paragraph in which, after having cited above certain criticisms of colored citizens of Rockaway, states:

"'There is only one effective remedy for this (colored men conducting themselves in an allegedly offensive manner towards white women) and that is for the men of the community to take the matter into their own hands and mete out condign punishment on the spot. It is not a matter for the police or the courts. A creature who will insult a woman on the public streets puts himself outside the pale and laws and courts were not made for him.'"

"We have submitted this editorial to our attorneys and they have recommended that we advise you of the editorial believing that, being a direct incitement to mob violence and violation of the law, it requires action on the part of the Post Office authorities.

"We are respectfully requesting that such action as is possible by your department be taken against the editors and publishers of this publication. Will you be good enough to advise us of action taken in this matter?"

The association has received a letter from the Postmaster General stating that the matter has been turned over to the acting solicitor for the Post Office Department, H. J. Donnelly.

The Argus, whose managing editor is William Altholz, has been entered as a second-class matter publication, and as such is under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department. The circulation in the mails of matter calculated to incite to riot and murder is in violation of the postal regulations.

The paper gives Joseph Pearlson as secretary and treasurer.

Kelly Miller Says

There is every indication that the force of race arrogance is making a desperate stand to perpetuate itself just as all arrogant regimes endeavor to do.

Those of us who believe in the unity of the human race will have to endure, many things which trouble and distress for the day and time, in order to promote the far away time when man to man shall brother be, "for a' that and a' that."

A French Traveller On The Race Problem

"SIDE LIGHTS ON THE RACI PROBLEM" is the subtitle of an interesting article in Scribners Magazine of May of the present year. Under the title of Southern Memories Professor Albert Guerard, author and traveller, gives in a readable way his recollections and impressions of the Southern attitude on the race problem.

The treatment is in the lighter vein, but the underlying thesis is fundamental and far reaching. After all it may be that it is well to lighten up this too darksome and gloomy subject with lighter touches and delectable bits of fine writing. Herein consists the value and advantage of the story form of delineation as compared with the more ponderous and heavy essay method and style.

I am free to confess to a bias for the essay style of writing. It lasts longer. It holds a more permanent interest; but for the moment it may fail to attract attention. The mere narrative or journalistic mode appeals to the casual reader who wants merely the facts, epitomised, condensed and congealed.

The song and the story are the mode for the day and the hour. I advise our young writers who may seek to gain a hearing to study these attractive forms of portrayal. The public mind today is not in the mood for solid presentation, especially on a disagreeable subject.

Southern Dogma Is Refuted

I judge from the internal evidence of the article that Mr. Guerard is of French extraction and Northern birth with sustained residential experience in the South. His attitude and point of view are as far away from the traditional Southern dogma as they well can be.

The South believes or makes believe that race difference is innate, eternal and inescapable. Grant this basic belief, and the South will take any white man to its gracious bosom.

No white man who questions it can expect to bask in the sunshine of its genial favor. Mr. Guerard says that he has been connected with a Southern institution for eleven years. But it requires no prophet to predict that his connection with all and any Southern institution is severed forever upon the appearance of this article.

Is race prejudice instinctive or is it imparted, like any other bias, whether social, political or cultural, from environment and atmosphere? Mr. Guerard replies emphatically that it is not a part of the inheritance of blood.

Is Prejudice Instinctive?

Grant Allen at one time wrote an interesting race story under the caption: "What's Bred in the Bone." Is race prejudice in-bred or inspirited? The way we answer this question will determine the foundation of our social philosophy. If it is in-bred, we can do nothing but to obey the dictates of its demands.

The lion cannot be tamed out of his thirst for blood. If race prejudice is on all fours with our other animal instincts, we needlessly waste our energies in trying to remove or to effectively modify it. If on the other hand, it is the result of social environment, then we may hope to fashion a program looking to its effectual modification or final removal.

Those of my readers whose memory is long enough to recall the reprint of my Graphic Survey article in these columns several weeks ago, need not be reminded that the writer is firmly of the basic belief that race hatred is not a natural antipathy but a social passion subject to changes by time, place and circumstances. I called President Harding's hand the moment I read his Birmingham speech, in which he went over to the Southern point of view as to the nature and endurance of race prejudice.

Science Divided On Question

Practically every article, or published volume on the race question that has recently rolled from the press hinges upon this one question. Scientists of equal erudition are divided in opinion.

Science has not yet uttered the final words, and probably can not do so for many generations to come. But the South has adopted the cherished dogma of the white man's innate, everlasting superiority as the basic creed of his social religion. He is not only willing to die for the belief that is in him, but is ready to kill the adversary who espouses the opposite contention.

But it is as useless to discuss this question with the Southerner as it is to argue about modes of baptism with a Baptist. But nothing is true because people believe it so, however passionate that belief may be. Indeed the most passionate beliefs of history have been proved the most erroneous.

South Blindly Unreasonable

However, let us bear in mind that to the devotee, the error in which he believes, might as well be true so far as his conduct is concerned Race pre-

Inferiority Complex Governs South

The facts and arguments which Mr. Guerard cites and recites are so common place and familiar that they are hardly worthwhile repeating. The South firm insistence that the South, and Negro children play to-gether on terms of perfect childhood equality until parental authority for-

Race Problem—1925. II
United States.

JUSTICE TAFT DECLARES NEGRO PROBLEM GRATEST

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 14—At the second meeting in behalf of the Hampton-Tuskegee endowment fund drive last week at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. John Hays Hammond, 2221 Kalorama Road, NW., many prominent speakers spoke in interest of the schoools and the endowment fund. United States Chief Justice William Howard Taft, presided.

Mr. Taft stated that adjustment of 10,000,000 Negroes into American civilization was the greatest problem facing the Nation today. He lauded Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Booker T. Washington as pioneers in the movement for a better adjustment and commended their policy of training the Negro to work with his hands, as the basis of regeneration of the race.

He introduced Phillip Whitwell Wilson, a former member of the English parliament, who spoke on the inter-racial relationships throughout the world. Mr. Wilson said:

"Prophets like H. G. Wells assert that the next war will be occasioned by the question of race equality. This is a problem which has aroused much discussion in the British empire. Armstrong the pioneer, who realized the need of training the hand and educating the brain, introduced an innovation which the government of India is now considering for the education of its peoples.

"In China, they are looking to Hampton and Tuskegee for guidance. President Calles, of Mexico, has sent a commission to visit these institutions, to study their methods, with the idea of starting schools in Mexico on the same plan. What is even more remarkable, the Phelps Stokes commission, that has done so much work in the South, plans to go to Africa to start education of this sort in that country."

Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia, unable to be present because of illness, forwarded his addres, which was read by Chief Justice Taft. He said:

"Hampton and Tuskegee have the right to claim that they are today the most serviceable and effective institutions in the world for the training of a race, separate from their fellow citizens by fundamental differences of background, training, color, and ethnic type.

"The questions arising out of the presence of the African in American life are not questions to be casually discussed. A wealth of unwisdom has been exhibited in the discussion which quite sickens the heart. The deeper one's knowledge goes, the greater one's desire for patience and silence and the healing process of slow time. In their desire for education, in their accumulation of land and property, in their economic triumph over poverty, in their development of a certain race pride, and consciousness in the last 65 years the American Negro has achieved an amazing result.

"The best Southern thought on this matter is neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but watchful and steady. The point of view that is likely to prevail finally is the point of view that gives foremost place, not so much to the Negro as a sentimental, upward striving figure or the Negro as a tragic burden, but the Negro as a social and political factor and the Negro as an industrial asset and to the standards of American character as affected by his presence in this largest self-governing undertaking of the white race.

"The hardest experience of the Negro are yet to be, for the world will demand of them that they develop not only manual and industrial power, but those moral qualities necessary to win freedom through competition and self-effort.

"Speaking as the president of an ancient university which is seeking to train the leaders of the white race in social sympathy for men of all classes and conditions, in ecoromic understanding, in scientific methods and in philosophic thinking, I express the earnest hope that this movement will go through to success, and that Hampton and Tuskegee, as the main educational reliances of the colored race in the country, will be placed on solid and enduring foundations."

Safer in Africa Than in New York

PHILADELPHIA, April 22. A.N.P. A man is safer in the jungles of Africa, unarmed than on Broadway, New York, according to Mrs. Phillip G. McFadden, of this city, who returned from the Dark Land, bringing many valuable trophies of recent hunting expedition in the jungles. They bagged eight lions, two rhinoceroses, one of which was white; two elephants and many buffaloes, the latter being the only one of the wild group that caused any alarm. Speaking of the natives, especially the women, Mrs. McFadden said they have the most beautiful figures of any women in the world. They age quickly, she said. Mr. McFadden accompanied his wife to Africa.

NEGRO EDUCATION AND OPPORTUNITY.

Bishop MANNING and Mr. V. EVERIT MACY are among the latest recruits to the movement for raising a $5,000,000 endowment fund for Hampton and Tuskegee before the end of the present year. It is a big undertaking, but the promise of success lies in the support forthcoming in both the South and the North. The Atlanta Constitution calls attention to the strides "negroes are actually making in increasing the material wealth of the South," and finds that negro education alone industrial lines is "of national concern."

Education, whether of the Tuskegee-Hampton industrial type or of the type supplied by colleges and professional schools, is the primary tool which the negro must employ to promote his own progress and that of the community in which he lives. Yet the best of tools may be blunted against too formidable obstacles. The environment in which the trained negro strives for achievement must be such as not to make him wonder whether his education is not a mockery. The opportunities to which he is entitled in law and justice must not be restricted. It is a satisfaction to turn to the last annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and find evidence of the subsidence of the grosser forms of race hostility. There is really good reason for believing that lynching, a hideous blot on our national record, is destined to disappear. During the thirty years before 1919 the average number of lynchings per year was 107. In 1920 it dropped to 65 and remained at approximately that level for three years. In 1923 it was down to 28; last year it was 16. The association's report calls attention to a number of instances during the past year where State authorities have sought to prevent mobs from taking the law into their own hands.

Residential segregation for negroes is a newer and more difficult problem. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court decided in the Louisville case that the segregation of negroes by law is unconstitutional. On the basis of that decision a segregation law enacted by the Louisiana Legislature last September has been voided. The same end is striven for in a number of places by "cooperative" action among white home-owners and real estate interests. Restrictive covenants have been upheld in the Federal courts. Obviously the legalities and principles involved in such private action are different from discrimination by ordinance or law. The ultimate decision usually is based on the economic argument. Profits from negro occupation of new districts have a way of overcoming racial prejudice.

The adjustments of the negro to his environment will be made easier if once we are rid of the lynching evil, of mob violence, and of occasional discrimination against the colored people in the processes of law and justice. The negro citizen has been winning a stronger leverage with his rising economic status. Our new immigration policy must inevitably enhance that status by emphasizing the importance of negro labor in the North as well as the South. It was a point well stressed in the memorial addressed by the National Association to the American Federation of Labor during last year's Presidential campaign. But this appeal for fair treatment by organized labor received only a "formal acknowledgment."

IS GEORGIA SLIPPING?

The Johnstown Democrat asks the question, Is Georgia slipping, and our esteemed contemporary, The Atlanta Constitution, proceeds to answer our friendly neighbor in the negative. But our morning neighbor is in the habit of covering Georgia's shortcomings with a mantle of charity. So much so that the habit has become second nature with our neighbor. Our neighbor answers the public criticisms of our state with charity rather than truth. Georgia would have long ago been cured of many of her ills if the press had dealt with the public in perfect truth and candor. What the public wants is the facts and nothing but the facts. Not a false diagnosis of our conditions, but a discovery of the real disease that affects us economically, industrially and politically, that heroic remedies may be applied.

Yes, Georgia is slipping and slipping backwards instead of going forward, and one needs but to drive through our country towns and rural districts and see the deserted farms, wasted lands, empty houses, dilapidated gin and tenant houses, dilapidated school and church houses, deserted lodge rooms and impassable roads to know it. You have but to take up a daily and read of the frequency of homicides committed by officers in the discharge of their duties. It is appalling at the number of lives taken by officers in the apprehension and detention of misdemeanor offenders, all of which proves that Georgia is slipping.

Georgia farmers have lost 95 per cent of their credit value with the banks and merchants. All because of our niggardly, financial and educational system, and a laxity in the enforcement of the law. Geor-

Georgia is slipping, it matters not what the press may say, she is slipping, and slipping backwards. It is seen in the number of empty stores and idle factories in the cities, in the deserted farms and empty houses in the rural districts. It is seen in the number of banks closing their doors, school houses closed and lodge rooms deserted. Every field and shop heralds the sad news that Georgia is slipping, and it

Race Problem — 1925. II
United States.

JUSTICE TAFT DECLARES NEGRO PROBLEM GRATEST

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 14—At the second meeting in behalf o the Hampton-Tuskegee endowmen fund drive last week at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. John Hays Hammond 2221 Kalorama Road, NW., many prominent speakers spoke in interest of the schoools and the endowment fund. United States Chief Justice William Howard Taft, presided.

Mr. Taft stated that adjustment of 10,000,000 Negroes into American civilization was the greatest problem facing the Nation today. He lauded Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Booker T. Washington as pioneers in the movement for a better adjustment and commended their policy of training the Negro to work with his hands, as the basis of regeneration of the race.

He introduced Phillip Whitwell Wilson, a former member of the English parliament, who spoke on the inter-racial relationships throughout the world. Mr. Wilson said:

"Prophets like H. G. Wells assert that the next war will be occasioned by the question of race equality. This is a problem which has arousec much discussion in the British em pire. Armstrong the pioneer, wnc realized the need of training the hand and educating the brain, introduced an innovation which the government of India is now considering for the education of its peoples.

"In China, they are looking to Hampton and Tuskegee for guidance. President Calles, of Mexico, has sent a commission to visit these institutions, to study their methods, with the idea of starting schools in Mexico on the same plan. What is even more remarkable, the Phelps Stokes commission, that has done so much work in the South, plans to go to Africa to start education of this sort in that country."

Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia, unable to be present because of illness, forwarded his addres, which was read by Chief Justice Taft. He said:

"Hampton and Tuskegee have the right to claim that they are today the most serviceable and effective institutions in the world for the training of a race, separate from their fellow citizens by fundamental differences of background, training, color, and eth- the type.

"The questions arising out of the presence of the African in American life are not questions to be casually discussed. A wealth of unwisdom has been exhibited in the discussion which quite sickens the heart. The deeper one's knowledge goes, the greater one's desire for patience and silence and the healing process of slow time. In their desire for education, in their accumulation of land and property, in their economic triumph over poverty, in their development of a certain race pride, and consciousness in the last 65 years the American Negro has achieved an amazing result.

"The best Southern thought on this matter is neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but watchful and steady. The point of view that is likely to prevail finally is the point of view that gives foremost place, not so much to the Negro as a sentimental, upward striving figure or the Negro as a tragic burden, but the Negro as a social and political factor and the Negro as an industrial asset and to the standards of American character as affected by his presence in this largest self-governing undertaking of the white race.

"The hardest experience of the Negro are yet to be, for the world will demand of them that they develop not only manual and industrial power, but those moral qualities necessary to win freedom through competition and self-effort.

"Speaking as the president of an ancient university which is seeking to train the leaders of the white race in social sympathy for men of all classes and conditions, in economic understanding, in scientific methods, and in philosophic thinking, I express the earnest hope that this movement will go through to success, and that Hampton and Tuskegee, as the main educational reliances of the colored race in the country, will be placed on solid and enduring foundations."

Safer In Africa Than in New York

PHILADELPHIA, April 22. A man is safer in the jungles of Africa, unarmed than on Broadway, New York, according to Mrs. Phillip G. McFadden, of this city, who returned from the Dark Land, bringing many valuable trophies of recent hunting expedition in the jungles. They bagged eight lions, two rhinoceroses, one of which was white; two elephants and many buffaloes, the latter being the only one of the wild group that caused any alarm.

Speaking of the natives, especially the women, Mrs. McFadden said they have the most beautiful figures of any women in the world. They age quickly, she said. Mr. McFadden accompanied his wife to Africa.

NEGRO EDUCATION AND OPPORTUNITY.

Bishop MANNING and Mr. V. EVERIT MACY are among the latest recruits to the movement for raising a $5,000,000 endowment fund for Hampton and Tuskegee before the end of the present year. It is a big undertaking, but the promise of success lies in the support forthcoming in both the South and the North. The Atlanta Constitution calls attention to the strides "negroes are actually making in increasing the material wealth of the South," and finds that negro education along industrial lines is "of national concern."

Education, whether of the Tuskegee-Hampton industrial type or of the type supplied by colleges and professional schools, is the primary tool which the negro must employ to promote his own progress and that of the community in which he lives. Yet the best of tools may be blunted against too formidable obstacles. The environment in which the trained negro strives for achievement must be such as not to make him wonder whether his education is not a mockery. The opportunities to which he is entitled in law and justice must not be restricted. It is a satisfaction to turn to the last annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and find evidence of the subsidence of the grosser forms of race hostility. There is really good reason for believing that lynching, a hideous blot on our national record, is destined to disappear. During the thirty years before 1918 the average number of lynchings per year was 107. In 1920 it dropped to 65 and remained at approximately that level for three years. In 1923 it was down to 28; last year it was 16. The association's report calls attention to a number of instances during the past year where State authorities have sought to prevent mobs from taking the law into their own hands.

Residential segregation for negroes is a newer and more difficult problem. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court decided in the Louisville case that the segregation of negroes by law is unconstitutional. On the basis of that decision a segregation law enacted by the Louisiana Legislature last September has been voided. The same end is striven for in a number of places by "cooperative" action among white home-owners and real estate interests. Restrictive covenants have been upheld in the Federal courts. Obviously the legalities and principles involved in such private action are different from discrimination by ordinance or law. The ultimate decision usually is based on the economic argument. Profits from negro occupation of new districts have a way of overcoming racial prejudice.

The adjustments of the negro to his environment will be made easier if once we are rid of the lynching evil, of mob violence, and of occasional discrimination against the colored people in the processes of law and justice. The negro citizen has been winning a stronger leverage with his rising economic status. Our new immigration policy must inevitably enhance that status by emphasizing the importance of negro labor in the North as well as the South. It was a point well stressed in the memorial addressed by the National Association to the American Federation of Labor during last year's Presidential campaign. But this appeal for fair treatment by organized labor received only a "formal acknowledgment."

IS GEORGIA SLIPPING?

The Johnstown Democrat asks the question, Is Georgia slipping, and our esteemed contemporary, The Atlanta Constitution, proceeds to answer our friendly neighbor in the negative. But our morning neighbor is in the habit of covering Georgia's shortcomings with a mantle of charity. So much so that the habit has become second nature with our neighbor. Our neighbor answers the public criticisms of our state with charity rather than truth. Georgia would have long ago been cured of many of her ills if the press had dealt with the public in perfect truth and candor. What the public wants is the facts and nothing but the facts. Not a false diagnosis of our conditions, but a discovery of the real disease that affects us economically, industrially and politically, that heroic remedies may be applied.

Yes, Georgia is slipping and slipping backwards instead of going forward, and one needs but to drive through our country towns and rural districts and see the deserted farms, wasted lands, empty houses, dilapidated gin and tenant houses, dilapidated school and church houses, deserted lodge rooms and impassable roads to know it. You have but to take up a daily and read of the frequency of homicides committed by officers in the discharge of their duties. It is appalling at the number of lives taken by officers in the apprehension and detention of misdemeanor offenders, all of which proves that Georgia is slipping.

Georgia farmers have lost 95 per cent of their credit value with the banks and merchants. All because of our niggardly, financial and educational system, and a laxity in the enforcement of the law. Geor- gia is slipping, it matters not what the press may say, she is slipping and slipping backwards. It is seen in the number of empty stores and idle factories in the cities, in the deserted farms and empty tenant houses in the rural districts. It is seen in the number of banks closing their doors, school houses closed and lodge rooms deserted. Every field and shop heralds the sad news that Georgia is slipping, and it

by law is unconstitutional. On the basis of that decision a segregation law enacted by the Louisiana Legislature last September has been voided. The same end is striven for in a number of places by "cooperative" action among white home-owners and real estate interests. Restrictive covenants have been upheld in the Federal courts. Obviously the legalities and principles involved in such private action are different from discrimination by ordinance or law. The ultimate decision usually is based on the economic argument. Profits from negro occupation of new districts have a way of overcoming racial prejudice.

The adjustments of the negro to his environment will be made easier if once we are rid of the lynching evil, of mob violence, and of occasional discrimination against the colored people in the processes of law and justice. The negro citizen has been winning a stronger leverage with his rising economic status. Our new immigration policy must inevitably enhance that status by emphasizing the importance of negro labor in the North as well as the South. It was a point well stressed in the memorial addressed by the National Association to the American Federation of Labor during last year's Presidential campaign. But this appeal for fair treatment by organized labor received only a "formal acknowledgment."

IS GEORGIA SLIPPING?

The Johnstown Democrat asks the question, Is Georgia slipping, and our esteemed contemporary, The Atlanta Constitution, proceeds to answer our friendly neighbor in the negative. But our morning neighbor is in the habit of covering Georgia's shortcomings with a mantle of charity. So much so that the habit has become second nature with our neighbor. Our neighbor answers the public criticisms of our state with charity rather than truth. Georgia would have long ago been cured of many of her ills if the press had dealt with the public in perfect truth and candor. What the public wants is the facts and nothing but the facts. Not a false diagnosis of our conditions, but a discovery of the real disease that affects us economically, industrially and politically, that heroic remedies may be applied.

Yes, Georgia is slipping and slipping backwards instead of going forward, and one needs but to drive through our country towns and rural districts and see the deserted farms, wasted lands, empty houses, dilapidated gin and tenant houses, dilapidated school and church houses, deserted lodge rooms and impassable roads to know it. You have but to take up a daily and read of the frequency of homicides committed by officers in the discharge of their duties. It is appalling at the number of lives taken by officers in the apprehension and detention of misdemeanor offenders, all of which proves that Georgia is slipping.

Georgia farmers have lost 95 per cent of their credit value with the banks and merchants. All because of our niggardly, financial and educational system, and a laxity in the enforcement of the law. Geor- gia is slipping, it matters not what the press may say, she is slipping and slipping backwards. It is seen in the number of empty stores and idle factories in the cities, in the deserted farms and empty tenant houses in the rural districts. It is seen in the number of banks closing their doors, school houses closed and lodge rooms deserted. Every field and shop heralds the sad news that Georgia is slipping, and it is a part of the thought, character, wealth of the state in all things material must cover the interest of all people, not a part of the people. The policy of making the white man an asset and the Negro a liability impoverishes the state just to the extent that this cut-throat policy is developed. The Negro is a part of every program inaugurated, whether state or national, for the good of the state. He is a part of the thought, character, wealth

and conscience of the state, and you cripple the state just to the extent that you eliminate him. The people on the inside of the state may undertake to obscure, but the people on the outside will have the keenness to see that the blanket is too narrow with which we seek to cover our defects. That Georgia is slipping is evidenced by the caliber of men we have in Congress and in charge of the state government. These men no longer discuss questions of state, the economic, industrial and moral value to the people, but they propagate race hatred, secret government and one law for white folk and another law for everybody else.

Our Pennsylvania neighbor is right. We have persuaded ourselves to believe that whatever we do is right and best, and what everybody else does is wrong and worse. We are so conceited in our pride, that we are slipping back in our tracks, and so unconscious of our actual condition that we believe that we are actually falling over ourselves moving forward. Some of us believe that the United States is in Georgia and are so blind with selfishness we cannot discover that we are not even standing still, but slipping backwards. Georgia does not know what North and South Carolina are doing for the education of the masses and along industrial, agricultural and manufacturing lines. She doesn't know what Florida at her feet is doing to turn the tide of industrious immigrants to her borders. Though we are a door neighbor to Birmingham, we do not know what Alabama is doing to develop her natural resources. We are all absorbed over here in keeping the Negro down and yielding the state and municipal governments to the Ku Klux Klan. Our ambition over here is to see who can belong to the secretest society. No white man or paper in Georgia would dare stand up and advocate equal school opportunity for white and black alike. No white man would advocate a free ballot and a fair count for white and black alike and expect to preach to his congregation, teach school or do business in the community where he lived and owned property. Why? Georgia is slipping, slipping backwards.

Who in Congress from Georgia measures up to the standard of General John B. Gordon, Henry W. Grady, Joseph E. Brown, Alfred H. Colquitt, Charles F. Crisp, John E. White, M. Ashby Jones, or W. W. Alexander? The men in Congress today and who are in charge of public affairs in our state won their spurs because they convinced their constituents that they hated humanity because it was black; that part of the people they represented had no rights and that they would use their great wisdom to take every vestige of right and justice from the Negro and give it to the white man. Our mayor was re-elected on a platform of Negro hatred, and the average man in office in our state is there because he pretends to hate humanity. He doesn't have to know anything about the tariff, foreign policy of the government, the tax problem, sound economics, good roads, or agricultural benefits; all he has to know is to hate Negroes, hate humanity. Verily, we are slipping backwards.

Henry Grady never raised the Negro question as a political issue; nor did General Gordon, Augustus Bacon, Charles Crisp, Joseph Brown, Brantley nor Griggs. Hoke Smith raised the issue, and since that day, in 1908, Georgia has been slipping and slipping backwards. And our neighbor, the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, Democrat, sizes up the situation properly when it says, "Georgia agriculture refuses to recognize the fact that the world do move. It pins its faith to cotton, although Georgia is essentially a livestock country." Our neighbor further says that "Georgia agriculture is without vision. If traffic the border were interrupted, Georgia would starve to death. The people in Georgia have not yet learned the value of the cow, pig and hen. They do not know that the farmer who can feed himself is in better shape to fight the boll weevil than the one who must buy at the village store every egg and pound of meat he eats." No, the Georgia farmer is too busy keeping the Negro down to make meat and bread to feed himself. Where free speech and free press is restricted and half of the people cannot express their honest opinions without being expelled from home, there can be no substantial or lasting progress.

In Georgia, no manly Negro who believes in his constitutional rights as well as his industrial and economic rights, can get a line in the daily paper. But the "hat-in-hand," "me, too, boss" Negro, who deceives the white folk by telling them that he is educating servants for them, can have a line in the paper any time he wants to. The white press never makes an investigation to find out whether such Negro is a fake or fraud. But they believe that this Negro is in the way of the real progress of the race, and they nominate him for leader—another evidence that Georgia is slipping.

bids further such association.

The Negro servant moves and mingles acceptably in most intimate contact with the white members of the family so long as the relation of superior and inferior is asserted and accepted, but when the relationship changes and the blacks assert their independent status, then, and not until then, does the socalled natural antipathy begin to assert itself.

These forms of friendship and resentments are precisely duplicated in the relationship of master and servant among the white race.

The Romance Of Amalgamation

I recall several years ago I visited a far Western city, and was called upon by the principal of the high school to address his assembled student body. There were about twelve hundred pupils in the school with only a dozen colored.

There sat in that assembly under the sound of my voice the granddaughter of one of the proudest names in all of the annals of Southern history, and under the same tuition sat the daughter of the former slave of the proud grandfather just described. Despite the inexorable exactions of Southern race prejudice, there are romantic situations which sound stranger than ordinary fiction.

The author claims that there is no fundamental difference between the Frenchman and the Anglo-Saxon on the issue of race except such as the differentiated circumstances bring about. He is forced to this proposition by the sheer logic of his position.

Of course if race prejudice is not in-bred, the seeming difference between the Teutonic and Latin strains must needs be accounted for in terms of environment. The very obvious fact is cited that the difference of manifestation of race prejudice is due to the relative number of the so-believed inferior group in as superior surroundings.

Prejudice Same North And South

According to this theory of interpretation, Mississippi and Massachusetts are at one on the race question except for the different distribution of the Negro element in the two States. From all that I have seen and experienced, I believe this diagnosis to be correct.

There is nothing in the psychology of the Northerner that makes him one whit more tolerant of the Negro than his Southern white brother beyond the relativity of numbers. And why should we expect there to be another difference, if we believe that all of the prejudices and discriminations of observation rest upon an environmental basis?

The author has hope of the ultimate solution of the race problem, since according to his philosophy it is not insoluble. He believes that the accumulation of wealth will do much to bring this to pass.

Prejudice On Increase

Those who take a superficial view of race relations are becoming pessimistic. The tide is running strongly against the Negro. Prejudice is on the increase and is spreading as the race advances in the scale of knowledge, possession and responsibility.

Disfranchisement, segregation, jim-crow cars, lynching and the Ku Klux Klan seem to be convincing evidences that there can be no scheme of racial adjustment on the basis of democracy and brotherhood. But may we not take a broader and more comprehensive range of vision.

There is every indication that the forces of race arrogance is making a desperate stand to perpetuate itself just as all arrogant regimes endeavor to do. The fact that these artificial barriers are being raised indicates quite strongly that those who build them are not quite certain of the validity of the natural racial antipathy to do the work which their preconceived theory requires. They know what a fallacious theory cannot endure forever and are making this last determined stand.

The devils believe and tremble. They fear the ultimate triumph of democracy and Christianity which run afoul of their preconceived scheme of race relationship. Those of us who believe in the unity of the human race will have to endure many things which trouble and distress for the day and time, in order to promote the far away time when man to man shall brothers be, for a' that and a' that.

Race Problem - 1925.

United States, — Book Reviews.

NEGRO HISTORY BOOK ROCKS OKLA. CULTURE

New York, July 31.—Evidence that one small book has rocked Oklahoma civilization to its very foundations has come to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Oklahoma school officials and the local American Legion are in a panic and the gravest apprehensions are felt for the culture of this highly intellectual state.

The offending volume is Dr. Carter G. Woodson's "The Negro in Our History," which was discovered by whites in use in a Negro Manual Training High School of the state.

"Members of the school board," says the Muskogee Daily Phoenix, "after reading it, expressed horror and surprise that such a work should have crept into our Negro schools. All professed ignorance of its existence. C. K. Reiff, who was then acting as Superintendent, ordered all copies confiscated and prohibited its further use.

"The theme of the book," declares the Oklahoma white paper, "is found in one of its full page illustrations, a picture of a 'mixed' jury, half Negro and half white, in the District of Columbia. The picture is captioned 'The New Freedom!'"

The Oklahoma white newspaper then goes on to recite, as follows, the further grievances of Oklahoma's intellectual white lights against Dr. Carter's book:

OKLAHOMA CULTURE ROCKED BY NEGRO HISTORY BOOK

New York, July 31.—Evidence that one small book has rocked Oklahoma civilization to its very foundations has come to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Oklahoma school officials and the local American Legion are in a panic and the gravest apprehensions are felt for the culture of this highly intellectual state.

The offending article is Dr. Carter G. Woodson's "The Negro In Our History" which was discovered by whites in use in a Negro Manual Training High School of the State.

"Members of the school board," says the Muskogee Daily Phoenix, "after reading it, expressed horror and surprise that such a work should have crept into our Negro schools. All professed ignorance of its existence. C. K. Reiff, who was then acting as superintendent, ordered all copies confiscated and prohibited its further use.

"The theme of the book," declares the Oklahoma white paper, "is found in one of its full page illustrations, a picture of a 'mixed' jury, half Negro and half phite, in the District of Columbia. The picture is captioned 'The New Freedom.'"

The Oklahoma white newspaper then goes on to recite, as follows, the further grievances of Oklahoma's intellectual white lights against Dr. Carter's book.

"The author speaks bitterly of America's treatment of the Negro soldier and condemns the government for frowning upon the intermingling of Negro soldiers and French women. Negro soldiers, it declares, were often more courageous than their 'superior' white officers.

"The closing pages of the book deal with the race war that broke out in Washington, D. C., after the close of the world struggle. The author comments boastingly upon the fact that in the second day of the fighting the Negroes killed more white people than the whites killed Negroes."

ATLANTA'S ECONOMIC AND RETRENCHMENT PROGRAM

For the past four years there has been a distressing appeal from the people to the city fathers for retrenchment, tax reform and a more economic administration of municipal affairs. The people have complained of high tax and extravagance in public expenditures The public believes that the revenue levied and collected every year to meet the expenses of the city is ample and adequate for all practical purposes—that if our finances were wisely and economically expended, every department of the government could be cared for without any raise in tax. The public believes that politics and incompetency are largely responsible for our municipal poverty.

The city politicians, in and out of office, use our school system to throw dirt in the eyes of the public, while they waste public funds in every other department of the municipality. They tell the people about the dire necessity of the schools, while they give every other department whatever it may ask for. The boot ought to be on the other leg—they should give the schools what they ask for, and then tell the people about the dire necessity of the other departments. Our city government is in the hands of politicians, and the city will be lacking in the necessary funds to meet its expenses, it matters not how high the tax rate is, so long as the politicians are at the helm.

Every administration on giving up the reins of government, claims that there is a surplus in the treasury—and every administration that comes into power, claims that there is a deficit in the treasury—and between these two statements, the people suffer and groan under ourdensome taxation, while the out-going and in-coming administrations juggle figures to cover their point—each trying to shake the responsibility to the other.

The annual increase in tax raises does not affect the result—the higher the tax rate, the bigger the deficit, and it is hard to express the opinion, whether the city is afflicted with dishonesty or incompetency.

The question of preparing a budget to adequately cover Atlanta's obligations annually, is a grave one, and cuts far deeper than dropping forty-eight Negro cart drivers from the pay roll to save $23,000 a year. The question is one that rises above the petty politician's stock in trade—"Nigger, Nigger," and challenges the best judgment of the citizen-body.

Our city affairs must be rescued from the hands of the ward politicians and secret orders. It must be placed in the hands of a set of men who believe in real economy—who do not think the dropping from the pay roll of forty-eight Negroes to save $23,000 out of an $8,000,000 budget will satisfy the people. Economy must be based upon sound economic principles, and not upon race prejudice. It is a shame and a disgrace to our city to have a councilman to announce that the city has saved $23,000 a year out of a budget of $8,000,000 by dropping forty-eight faithful old Negro cart drivers who have worked for the city long enough to be pensioned.

There are two ways open to the city to raise the necessary revenue to support the government:

First—By decreasing the expenditures and applying the knife to all surplus and unnecessary employes and sinecures—cut positions

Atlanta Independent

1-29-25

Atlanta Georgia

Economy in the expendi- / good government. / principles of / trust funds ought / of public funds; / are economic, financial / high grounds. / The present administration came into office on a wave of race / and religious intolerance, and it has sought to make good its / by keeping up the same dogmas. / When our mayor was a member of the city council, he introduced / olution to prevent Negroes and whites from worshiping God in / ame house. In the white primary last December, his campaign / er again introduced the race question in order to defeat former / . Key. The campaign manager went so far as to buy one thou- / copies of the Atlanta Independent and paid for them in advance / the pretense that he was the representative of the Key interest, / at he was sent to our office by Mr. J. R. Bachman to get these / Thinking that the representative was telling the truth, we / im the papers, but when the truth was revealed, it was a man / amed himself, "Mr. Johnson" from Sims' headquarters, and he / to use the papers to prove to the white folk that the only / in the city supporting Jim Key was a Negro sheet. And the

everywhere a dollar can be saved, without regard to whether they are / white or black. The interest of all the people first, and of individuals / last. Retrenchment and economy ought not to depend upon whether a / man has a vote or not, or whether he is white or black, but whether the / saving can be effected without impairing the efficiency of the gov- / ernment.

Second—By raising the tax rate and increasing the burdens of / taxpayers. These are the only two methods of raising the necessary / revenue to meet the expenses of the government wisely and econom- / ically administered.

What Atlanta needs, is a common sense administration of public / affairs—with overhead and political sinecures cut to the bone. The / higher the tax, the more the people must work for the government; / and the lower the tax, the more the people can work for themselves. / What the people want, is to work more for themselves and less for / the city. This is the Calvin Coolidge common sense idea of economy / in public expenditures. The government will always be in a hole so / long as it expends more money than it collects.

Racial and religious questions ought to be cut out of our politic / Our political battles and differences ought to be fought out upon a

Race Problem - 1925.

United States, — Book Reviews.

NEGRO HISTORY BOOK ROCKS OKLA. CULTURE

New York, July 31.—Evidence that one small book has rocked Oklahoma civilization to its very foundations has come to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Oklahoma school officials and the local American Legion are in a panic and the gravest apprehensions are felt for the culture of this highly intellectual state.

The offending volume is Dr. Carter G. Woodson's "The Negro in Our History," which was discovered by whites in use in a Negro Manual Training High School of the state.

"Members of the school board," says the Muskogee Daily Phoenix, "after reading it, expressed horror and surprise that such a work should have crept into our Negro schools. All professed ignorance of its existence. C. K. Reiff, who was then acting as Superintendent, ordered all copies confiscated and prohibited its further use.

"The theme of the book," declares the Oklahoma white paper, "is found in one of its full page illustrations, a picture of a 'mixed' jury, half Negro and half white, in the District of Columbia. The picture is captioned 'The New Freedom!'"

The Oklahoma white newspaper then goes on to recite, as follows, the further grievances of Oklahoma's intellectual white lights against Dr. Carter's book:

OKLAHOMA CULTURE ROCKED BY NEGRO HISTORY BOOK

New York, July 30.—Evidence that one small book has rocked Oklahoma civilization to its very foundations has come to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Oklahoma school officials and the local American Legion are in a panic and the gravest apprehensions are felt for the culture of this highly intellectual state.

The offending article is Dr. Carter G. Woodson's "The Negro In Our History" which was discovered by whites in use in a Negro Manual Training High School of the State.

"Members of the school board," says the Muskogee Daily Phoenix, "after reading it, expressed horror and surprise that such a work should have crept into our Negro schools. All professed ignorance of its existence. C. K. Reiff, who was then acting as superintendent, ordered all copies confiscated and prohibited its further use.

"The theme of the book," declares the Oklahoma white paper, "is found in one of its full page illustrations, a picture of a 'mixed' jury, half Negro and half phite, in the District of Columbia. The picture is captioned 'The New Freedom.'"

The Oklahoma white newspaper then goes on to recite, as follows, the further grievances of Oklahoma's intellectual white lights against Dr. Carter's book.

"The author speaks bitterly of America's treatment of the Negro soldier and condemns the government for frowning upon the intermingling of Negro soldiers and French women. Negro soldiers, it declares, were often more courageous than their 'superior' white officers.

"The closing pages of the book deal with the race war that broke out in Washington, D. C., after the close of the world struggle. The author comments boastingly upon the fact that in the second day of the fighting the Negroes killed more white people than the whites killed Negroes."

ATLANTA'S ECONOMIC AND RETRENCHMENT PROGRAM

For the past four years there has been a distressing appeal from the people to the city fathers for retrenchment, tax reform and a more economic administration of municipal affairs. The people have complained of high tax and extravagance in public expenditures The public believes that the revenue levied and collected every year to meet the expenses of the city is ample and adequate for all practical purposes—that if our finances were wisely and economically expended, every department of the government could be cared for without any raise in tax. The public believes that politics and incompetency are largely responsible for our municipal poverty.

The city politicians, in and out of office, use our school system to throw dirt in the eyes of the public, while they waste public funds in every other department of the municipality. They tell the people about the dire necessity of the schools, while they give every other department whatever it may ask for. The boot ought to be on the other leg—they should give the schools what they ask for, and then tell the people about the dire necessity of the other departments. Our city government is in the hands of politicians, and the city will be lacking in the necessary funds to meet its expenses, it matters not how high the tax rate is, so long as the politicians are at the helm. 1-29-25

Every administration on giving up the reins of government, claims that there is a surplus in the treasury—and every administration that comes into power, claims that there is a deficit in the treasury—and between these two statements, the people suffer and groan under burdensome taxation, while the out-going and in-coming administrations juggle figures to cover their point—each trying to shake the responsibility to the other.

The annual increase in tax raises does not affect the result—the higher the tax rate, the bigger the deficit, and it is hard to express the opinion, whether the city is afflicted with dishonesty or incompetency.

The question of preparing a budget to adequately cover Atlanta's obligations annually, is a grave one, and cuts far deeper than dropping forty-eight Negro cart drivers from the pay roll to save $23,000 a year. The question is one that rises above the petty politician's stock in trade—"Nigger, Nigger," and challenges the best judgment of the citizen-body.

Our city affairs must be rescued from the hands of the ward politicians and secret orders. It must be placed in the hands of a set of men who believe in real economy—who do not think the dropping from the pay roll of forty-eight Negroes to save $23,000 out of an $8,000,000 budget will satisfy the people. Economy must be based upon sound economic principles, and not upon race prejudice. It is a shame and a disgrace to our city to have a councilman to announce that the city has saved $23,000 a year out of a budget of $8,000,000 by dropping forty-eight faithful old Negro cart drivers who have worked for the city long enough to be pensioned.

There are two ways open to the city to raise the necessary revenue to support the government:

First—By decreasing the expenditures and applying the knife to all surplus and unnecessary employes and sinecures—cut positions everywhere a dollar can be saved, without regard to whether they are white or black. The interest of all the people first, and of individuals last. Retrenchment and economy ought not to depend upon whether a man has a vote or not, or whether he is white or black, but whether the saving can be effected without impairing the efficiency of the government.

Second—By raising the tax rate and increasing the burdens of taxpayers. These are the only two methods of raising the necessary revenue to meet the expenses of the government wisely and economically administered.

What Atlanta needs, is a common sense administration of public affairs—with overhead and political sinecures cut to the bone. The higher the tax, the more the people must work for the government; and the lower the tax, the more the people can work for themselves. What the people want, is to work more for themselves and less for the city. This is the Calvin Coolidge common sense idea of economy in public expenditures. The government will always be in a hole so long as it expends more money than it collects.

Racial and religious questions ought to be cut out of our politic

Our political battles and differences ought to be fought out upon a

platform of good government. Economy in the expendi
ture of trust funds ought to be as clean of race prejudice as the col
lection of public funds; and the distribution of public rights, whether
they are economic, financial or political, should be disbursed upon the
same high g
The pr

hatred and
record by k
When c
a resolution
the same h
manager ag
Mayor Key
sand copies
under the p
and that he
papers. T
old him th
who named
wanted to
paper in th

matter that the Mayor's representative had reference to, was an article clipped from the Constitution.

Now, the administration has again injected the race question by councilman Sanders' announcement that the administration has effected a great economy by dropping from the pay roll forty-eight poor old Negroes, which would save $23,000 a year to the city out of a budget of $8,000,000, more or less. This is a wonderful showing—a wonderful step in the direction of economy and retrenchment. Yes, the present administration has saved $23,000 by taking bread out of the mouths of forty-eight faithful old Negroes and their dependents—wonderful statesmanship. This wonderful achievement should be advisedly sent to the President that he might learn a lesson in financing the government of the nation.

There is one thing that Mr. Sanders forgot to tell the people, and that was what it would cost the city to buy the four high-powered trucks, gas and up-keep with which he purposed to displace the forty-eight Negroes. He should have figured out the two propositions so the people would know whether it cost $23,000 or $40,000 to pay and keep up these trucks a year.

Had these Negroes been white men and had votes, they never would have been dropped. Let the administration tell the public what other retrenchments they have made. They have struck the sanitary department—now, let them explain what they have done for the overhead expenses in the offices, the construction department, the water department, the law department, the administration and every other department. What the public wants and needs, is real retrenchment and tax reform. The public will not be satisfied with the grandstand play that "we have turned off forty-eight Negroes and saved $23,000." Not a single white man has been dropped—if so, it was not announced in block letters as were the forty-eight Negroes.

Give us some real reform—some real economy, and cut out race hatred and religious intolerance.

The High Cost of Keeping the Negro Inferior

By JOHN C. WRIGHT

THE South has definitely committed itself to the task of keeping the Negro in his place. That place, by all accepted teaching and belief, is and must be for all time, an inferior one. Every now and then we are brought face to face with the tremendous cost of keeping alive this illusion so dear to the heart of the Bourbon South. By some figures recently published, we learn that two-thirds of Florida's prison population is Negro. Of the 2,477 prisoners in the county prison camp, state prison farm and state prison road camps in Florida, 1,802 are Negroes; 675 are Whites.

By these figures there hangs many a tale. To the superficial observer they prove exactly what the average white Floridian and white Southerner desires to establish: that the Negro is naturally trifling, dishonest, low and vicious. To the deeper student of social conditions, they tell in no mistakable terms, who pays for keeping the "nigger" in his place. If we grant that the whites, with their superior educational, recreational, housing and economic advantages are superior to the Negro, were the Negro given similar advantages his quota in the prison population would be cut in half, and fifty per cent of the tremendous cost of maintaining the State's penal institutions could be diverted into more constructive channels for the public good.

A large percentage of the Negroes in Florida's penal institutions are there today because of injustice, discrimination in the courts, and inability to secure proper legal aid. They come out hardened, brutalized, hating the society at whose hands they have suffered. They mingle in their community and spread the disease of bitterness among the hundreds of others. To keep them inferior they must be huddled in segregated ghettos without drainage light, pavements or modern sanitary conveniences They must be denied justice and the right to make a decent living. They must be insulted and bullied and mobbed, discriminated against in public places and denied access to parks and recreational centers. In dollars and cents the cost of this system is tremendous to the Commonwealth which sponsors it. In the effect upon those who put it into practice the price is too high to be paid in this generation. It must be paid by the children unto the third and fourth generation.

White Women To Spread Literature In Europe On Negro Progress In States

Chicago School Principal And Social Worker Will Distribute Pamphlets Of Race's Progress At Convention.

MOVE SPONSORED BY 50 PROMINENT WHITES

When Miss Florence Holbrook white, and a principal in a Chicago school, goes to Europe this summer as a delegate to the convention of the World Federation of Education Associations, she will include in her mission a definite plan for counteracting much of the propaganda against American Negroes spread over that country by prejudiced tourists from the states. Her endeavor Miss Holbrook will be backed by 50 white women, prominent in Chicago's social service.

Prominent In Chicago

Miss Holbrook, who is prominent in Chicago not only for her educational contributions but for her work in the peace movement, has made public advance copies of a pamphlet which she is planning to distribute at the convention. This pamphlet shows the progress of the Negroes in the United States as made both through their own initiative and with the aid of their white friends. It is published by the "Every Day Club" of Chicago, consisting of the 50 social workers.

The purpose of the club in publishing this pamphlet, Miss Holbrook explained, is to inform Europeans about progress of the Negro in America. She is principal of a junior high school in which the majority of children are Negroes, and feels that she has more than theoretical solution of the race problem.

DENIES RACIAL INSULT.

Dr. Plecker to Be Fired on Complaint of Negroes.

RICHMOND, Va., March 31.—Denial that bulletins distributed through his office cast reflections on the negro race, as charged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a letter to Secretary of Labor Davis, was made by Dr. W. A. Plecker in a statement published here today.

The statement of Dr. Plecker, who is registrar of vital statistics of Virginia, said:

"It is untrue that any of the literature I have sent out is insulting or offensive as the propaganda letter sent out by the press bureau of the association relates. The pamphlets which have been termed offensive deal with educational and health matters and are designed to be helpful to the negro. But supersensitive persons seem to have found them objectionable. Very well. We shall continue to educate against miscegenation and the mixture of negro blood with the white race in Virginia and elsewhere. If they want to dismiss me, let them go ahead. I suppose they will take the salary away from me, too. The salary is one dollar a year."

The letter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was said to have resulted in Secretary Davis taking steps to have Dr. Pleckler's "nominal appointment" as special agent of the children's bureau, revoked.

WHITE FARMER CAUSES NEGROES FALSE ARREST

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 3.—Alfred Dow, a white farmer, who accused Dave Holloway, Martin Roberts and Solomon Crawford, three Negroes, of robbing him of $500 which he obtained from a hog sale, admitted that he drank and gambled the money up and accused the Negroes to shield himself. The Negroes were released and the farmer lockd up to answer to the charge of larceny.

Race Problem - 1925.
United States—Book Reviews.

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
OCTOBER 14, 1925

It Seems to Me

By Heywood Broun

Among the most fascinating of recent books is "Porgy," by Du Bose Heyward. This is a short novel of great beauty and violence. It adds appreciably to the exceedingly small stock of American literature dealing with Negro life.

Mr. Heyward is, I understand, a native of Charleston. The jacket adds that he is a "member of an old Southern family," and when the blurb goes on to say that he writes of "the Negro with kindly detachment and understanding" one might well expect the worst. I was fully prepared for another of those condescending books about fine old black mammies and such like. But this is not the book.

Very probably Negroes will not like what Mr. Heyward has written, for the people of "Porgy" are savage aliens. Indeed, the effect of life in Catfish Row reminds me most of the teeming existence which was seen in Gorky's play "The Lower Depths." There is a like fierceness of thought and action.

And in recognizing an alien quality in the Negroes of his story, Mr. Heyward takes a step forward beyond the usual attitude of white writers in the South who deal with Negro life. The thing which is here spread out as a strangeness is generally set forth as an inferiority and that does not follow. This, indeed, seems to suggest a way out for the embattled and inveterate Nordic. By now he is so deeply committed to a theory that he can hardly live and admit the equality of the Negro. But, after the manner of Du Bose Heyward, he can sidestep that problem by granting that he is superior.

I hasten to add, lest I distort the intent of Heyward's book, that it is pretty generally free from propaganda. Nor do I mean that he suggests superiority in the sense of Binet tests, savings bank balances, or political acumen. I mean that from a poet's point of view, and Du Bose Heyward is better known as poet than as novelist, he finds Negro life more colorful and spirited and vital than that of the white community. If the two cultures do not readily mix, as many maintain, it may well be that it is the Nordic who lags.

Heyward writes, for instance, of the annual grand parade and picnic of "The Sons and Daughters of Repent Ye Saith the Lord." He says:

"For its one brief moment out of the year the pageant had lasted. Out of its fetters of civilization this people had risen, suddenly, amazingly. Exotic as the Congo, and still able to abandon themselves utterly to the wild joy of fantastic play, they had taken the reticent, old Anglo-Saxon town and stamped their moods swiftly and indelibly upon its heart. Then they passed, leaving behind them a wistful envy among those who had watched them go—those whom the ages had rendered old and wise."

But "wise" is not precisely the right word for this paragraph. Unconsciously, at any rate, Mr. Heyward means something else. In the few contacts between whites and Negroes which occur in the book it is always the white man who meets the problem stupidly and by set rule. Intuition and shrewdness are endowed wholly to the black men of the book. And without these two qualities wisdom is so much Confederate currency. The value of the label is meaningless.

Understand, no very flattering picture is painted of the people of Catfish Row. They love and kill without license. Drugs and drink are not unknown in this rowdy courtyard. But none of this is presented as the fruit of criminal tendency—or rather that mood is seen in another light. If the law is transgressed by these people, it is because they are more adventurous, more daring, more alive than the community which made the law. It is an unfortunate fact, known to some of our wisest criminologists, that those lands which know never a crime wave may be less buoyed up with sound morality than merely weighted down with weariness.

And it must be seen that in certain instances Catfish Row has a more intelligent comprehension of what law should be than the white community of Charleston round about. There is an incident, for instance, in which a benevolent white attorney calls a Negro practitioner in law to account. This Negro, Simon Frasier, has no official standing at the bar, but has been allowed to practice among his own people. One of his chief sources of revenue is selling divorces. This is accomplished by the simple process of collecting one dollar from the two contending and agreeable parties and then issuing a certificate of divorce stamped with a great seal obtained from a junk shop. Alan Archdale, representative of a civilization "old and wise," tells Frasier that this cannot go on. "Don't you know," he says severely, "that there is no such thing as divorce in this State?"

"I hyuh tell dere ain't no such t'ing fuh de white folk; but de nigger need um so bad, I ain't see no reason why I can't mek up one wut satisfy de nigger? He seem tuh work berry well, too, till dat sof' mouf' gentleman come 'roun' an' onsettle all my client."

Du Bose Heyward does not step out of his role as narrator to editoralize upon this conflict in custom, but he can hardly be unaware of the fact that he is presenting the Negro community as behaving in an intelligent and civilized fashion in spite of the incredible stupidity of the white law which surrounds them.

As a matter of fact, Du Bose Heyward sticks pretty closely to his role as narrator. There is one rather silly incident, when a mulatto (and Mr. Heyward follows the Southern literary tradition of making him a villain) is rebuked in Catfish Row because he happens to say that the white women of Charleston are beautiful. This particular episode rang upon my ear as phoney, but the rest carries the effect of authenticity. The dialect, as you may gather from a brief excerpt above, is a little difficult. I am not qualified to pass upon its phonetic accuracy, but that does not matter. It did not bother me much after the first two pages.

It is a full, fast story, which includes the most magnificent description of a hurricane I have ever read since Conrad's "Nigger of the Narcissus." Knives flash and there are too superb murders. Love is violent and chaotic. There is humor in the book, but Heyward never makes his Negroes funny. He is sensitive to their emotion and understands to the full the tragedy of his characters.

A literary advance in the South must be acknowledged when the writers of that land come to realize, as Heyward does, the incredibly rich material in Negro life which has been so largely neglected. For too long a time they have frittered away their fiction in pallid stories wound round mint juleps on front porches. And all the time drama was slipping away from them through the kitchen door and back home to the racy life of the Negro community. I hope that others will be influenced by Heyward's raising the slogan "Out of the parlor." He leads the way with a magnificent novel.

Copyright (New York World) Press Publishing Company, 1925.

Race Problem – 1925
United States; – Book Reviews.

much like that of Forster's masterpiece, and it leads up to an ever more tragic inconclusiveness, a dramatic cul-de-sac from which even the backward path is blocked.

F. V.

WASHINGTON POST
JANUARY 25, 1925

ROGER W. BABSON.

NEGRO RACE SITUATIONS WELL CITED

"The Everlasting Stain," by Kelly Miller (Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington), is a presentation by a widely known member of the faculty of Howard university of the pressing negro problems from one who writes with what is regarded as one of the most gifted pens of his race.

As essayist, economist and pamphleteer of the negro race, Mr. Miller easily holds first place, having distributed more than a half million documents in this form. Few writers of this age have reached his stage of perfection in the epistolary style of polemics. His open letters to Thomas Dixon, jr., and to Presidents Roosevelt, Wilson and Harding rank high in this field of literature.

The period with which the author deals is that immediately following the world war when the negro necessarily shared in the economic and industrial adjustments that ensued.

Mr. Miller makes his first appeal, and rightly, to race pride. Lack of this has harmed the negro greatly in his relations with the world. With trenchant pen the author challenges the record of Woodrow Wilson in regard to the negro and adds a new phrase to Wilsonia in this striking characterization; "hiscome the volume and the general single-track, double-acting mind." reader will find much useful data

Mr. Miller is very hopeful of the ultimate literary development of the negro race in America and points to statistics to support his claim. As he says, beginning at that, was the zero point of literary, at the time of his emancipation, the rate of literacy had risen to 70.6 per cent in 1900.

* * * *

"White Blood," by Vara A. Majette (The Stratford Company, Boston), disguises in fiction situations, real or imaginary, that one can find little justification for articulation in the form of literature.

Miscegenation is an unpleasant and dangerous topic at all times and especially when handled lightly and not from a scientific viewpoint. Unfortunately, this racial crime has existed to some degree in America, but if the word of serious thinkers is to be taken, it is decreasing as the negro race cultivates racial pride and becomes more economically independent and the white people become more considerate of their own welfare and that of the negro race as well.

It is difficult to discover the useful purpose of such books as "White Blood." They inflame the race passions of all who read them and yet do not offer plausible or possible solutions to the problems involved. America is big enough for all and the white man has a definite debt and duty to the negro who, in turn, must learn to judge his white fellow citizen by the general fair play he receives rather than from the happily isolated cases where the white man forgets his own racial duty and status.

Vara A. Majette is frank at least and fearless in this book and, aside from what many might consider bad judgment in choice of themes, has written a readable story, abounding in thrilling scenes and much fine descriptive matter. The conflict of the alien bloods within the octoroon Lissa is particularly well done.

* * * *

"The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction," by A. A. Taylor (The Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington), is one of the first fruits of a research made into this subject by the author through a gift from the Laura Speelman Rockefeller Memorial.

It is claimed that his is a disinterested account of the negro in the drama of reconstruction. It is certainly remarkably free from bias and is phrased in temperate language, a pleasing novelty in this regard from many works on this subject.

The student of history will welcome the volume and the general reader will find much useful data in it. It is a vivid picture of the forces at work in South Carolina during the reconstruction and it is not confined to the political situation but embraces the religious, social and economic as well.

It is understood that Mr. Taylor will write the history of the role played by the negro in the rehabilitation of other Southern Commonwealths. A post-graduate of Harvard, a teacher at Tuskegee and the West Virginia Collegiate Institute he brings a trained mind to the task.

N. Y. C. HERALD TRIBUNE
APRIL 26, 1925

An Omission

The following paragraphs were omitted by mistake from Alice Beal Parson's review of the "Problems of Citizenship" (Henry Holt and Company), in "Books," April 5, 1925.

We call attention to them since the review as published did not indicate that the book dealt with anything but "The Woman Question."

THE EDITORS.

The other problems discussed are "The Nation's Ideals," "The Newspaper," "Immigration," "The Negro," "The Industrial Problem," "Civil Liberty," "International Relations" and "War and Peace." They are all presented with the same admirable compression and competence, with a propensity for looking at a problem from all sides that might lay the authors open to the charge of radicalism, if it were not joined to an equally persistent habit of drawing conservative and static conclusions. Thus, in discussing the Negro, they find that the school of Moton is possibly more far-sighted than that of Du Bois. In reading their account of Booker T. Washington I wonder if they know that while he advocated Negro schools for Negroes he sent his own daughter to a conservative New England white boarding school for girls.

Altogether, the book is an astonishingly good piece of work. And although it is designed to guide college students gently toward an understanding of the madly whirling world in the center of which they walk with cheerful unconcern, it resembles the volume of which a nine-year-old girl said enthusiastically to her mother: "It's a book that any one would like even grown-ups like you." Even feminists, even free speech advocates, even dyed-in-the-wool capitalists and socialists will find here new light on their hobbies.

NEW YORK CITY LEADER
FEBRUARY 21, 1925

The Negro in South Carolina

A Review by FRANK CROSSWAITH

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION. By A. A. Taylor Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. $2.00.

FOR generations yet unborn, the American Negro will be plagued by the survival of many myths and half truths told about him during the period of slavery and in the days immediately following the overthrow of that system.

These mythical ideas about the Negro were turned loose upon the world, mainly by the slave-holders and those who defended them—in a natural desire to justify the social and economic system rooted in chattel slavery.

The conduct of the slave-holders in this instance is not new; on the contrary, it is the age-long method employed by those who occupy a position of dominancy, to discredit those dominated and thereby perpetuate their domination. History literally bubbles over with examples of the false philosophy of ruling classes. Religion, color, nationality and other differences have been utilized in this scheme of "protective coloration" used by the master-class in all ages to make secure and permanent its rulership. But I question whether history affords another example of such propaganda being conducted with the vehemence and consistency, and with such utter disregard for at least a semblance of truth, as in the case of the American Negro.

Science, theology, history, all have been perverted and drawn upon to contribute their quota in the defense of chattel slavery; until today, over a half a century after emancipation, men yet cling to these false notions about the Negro, and many people still firmly believe them true. One of the most outstanding and persistent falsehoods charged against the Negro is, that during the period of reconstruction, having been freed and elevated to citizenship, he proved his incapacity for full exercise of the duties and responsibility of such citizenship by instituting, in those states where he was elected to office, a veritable reign of terror and thievery. Those who make these charges either ignore completely or minimize greatly the wholesome and lasting contributions of the Negro during the hectic days of reconstruction in the South.

Little by little, however, these myths and falsehoods are giving way to facts and truths, and the part played by the American Negro in the reconstruction of the South following the Civil War is being given its rightful place in the literature and history of our country.

Dr. Taylor's book "The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction" is one of many books dealing with the subject generally, which have made their not too widely observed appearances within the past few years; Dr. Du Bois' "Gift of Black Folk" is another of these that is worthy of mention.

This work of Dr. Taylor is a monumental accomplishment in the interest of truth and accuracy. The book is an arsenal filled with facts which the friends of the Negro and lovers of truth can effectively use to offset the false claims of chronicling of important facts, the interest of man by his fellows, tively use to have the well-educated element of the white race participated in the government of the State, was discontinued and, consequently, refused to cooperate and assist in the work of reconstruction. Their refusal, he points out, contributed very largely to the much emphasized and over-exaggerated corruption of this period.

In distinct contrast to the majority of the various contributions on this subject, Dr. Taylor's work does not bear the earmarks of the controversialist. The author apparently has no axe to grind and seeks to convey only a true picture of this immensely interesting period in American history by an exhaustive and searching study of contemporaneous sources, free from prejudices and racial partisanship. He neither accuses nor excuses, he simply states the facts as they are. In this lies the great merit of his work and the service which he renders not alone to the conscientious student of history but also to his race.

Dr. Taylor marshals the facts to show that the Negro in South Carolina largely was desirous, and even anxious, to have the well-educated element of the white race participate in the government of the State. This element, having lost the war, made their not too widely ob-When in due time prejudice and grossly misrepresented Negro race in particular will remember with the organized and unorganized

Race Problem – 1925

United States; — Book Reviews.

much like that of Forster's masterpiece, and it leads up to an ever more tragic inconclusiveness, a dramatic cul-de-sac from which even the backward path is blocked.

F. V.

New Republic 3-18-25

ROGER W. BABSON.

NEGRO RACE SITUATIONS WELL CITED

"The Everlasting Stain," by Kelly Miller (Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington), is a presentation by a widely known member of the faculty of Howard University of the pressing negro problems from one who writes with what is regarded as one of the most gifted pens of his race.

As essayist, economist and pamphleteer of the negro race, Mr. Miller easily holds first place, having distributed more than a half million documents in this form. Few writers of this age have reached his stage of perfection in the epistolary style of polemics. His open letters to Thomas Dixon, jr., and to Presidents Roosevelt, Wilson and Harding rank high in this field of literature.

The period with which the author deals is that immediately following the world war when the negro necessarily shared in the economic and industrial adjustments that ensued.

Mr. Miller makes his first appeal, and rightly, to race pride. Lack of this has harmed the negro greatly in his relations with the world. With trenchant pen the author challenges the record of Woodrow Wilson in regard to the negro and adds a new phrase to this striking characterization; "his single-track, double-acting mind." Mr. Miller is very hopeful of the ultimate literary development of the negro race in America and points to statistics to support his claim. As he says, beginning with the zero point of literacy that, was the rate of literacy had risen to 70.6 per cent in 1900.

* * * *

"White Blood," by Vara A. Majette (The Stratford Company, Boston), disguises in fiction situations, real or imaginary, that one can find little justification for articulation in the form of literature.

Miscegenation is an unpleasant and dangerous topic at all times and especially when handled lightly and not from a scientific viewpoint. Unfortunately, this racial crime has existed to some degree in America, but if the word of serious thinkers is to be taken, it is decreasing as the negro race cultivates racial pride and becomes more economically independent and the white people become more considerate of their own welfare and that of the negro race as well.

It is difficult to discover the useful purpose of such books as "White Blood." They inflame the race passions of all who read them and yet do not offer plausible or possible solutions to the problems involved. America is big enough for all and the white man has a definite debt and duty to the negro who, in turn, must learn to judge his white fellow citizen by the general fair play he receives rather than from the happily isolated cases where the white man forgets his own racial duty and status.

Vara A. Majette is frank at least and fearless in this book and, aside from what many might consider bad judgment in choice of themes, has written a readable story, abounding in thrilling scenes and much fine descriptive matter. The conflict of the alien bloods within the octoroon Lissa is particularly well done.

* * * *

"The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction," by A. A. Taylor (The Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington), is one of the first fruits of a research made into this subject by the author through a gift from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

It is claimed that his is a disinterested account of the negro in the drama of reconstruction. It is certainly remarkably free from bias and is phrased in temperate language, a pleasing novelty in this subject. The student of history will welcome the volume and the general reader will find much useful data in it. It is a vivid picture of the forces at work in South Carolina during the reconstruction and it is not confined to the political situation but embraces the religious, social and economic as well.

It will write the history of the role played by the negro in the rehabilitation of other Southern Commonwealths. A post-graduate of Harvard, a teacher at Tuskegee and the West Virginia Collegiate Institute he brings a trained mind to the task.

N. Y. C. HERALD TRIBUNE
APRIL 26, 1925

An Omission

The following paragraphs were omitted by mistake from Alice Beal Parson's review of the "Problems of Citizenship" (Henry Holt and Company), in "Books," April 5, 1925.

We call attention to them since the review as published did not indicate that the book dealt with anything but "The Woman Question."

THE EDITORS.

The other problems discussed are "The Nation's Ideals," "The Newspaper," "Immigration," "The Negro," "The Industrial Problem," "Civil Liberty," "International Relations" and "War and Peace." They are all presented with the same admirable compression and competence, with a propensity for looking at a problem from all sides that might lay the authors open to the charge of radicalism, if it were not joined to an equally persistent habit of drawing conservative and static conclusions. Thus, in discussing the Negro, they find that the school of Moton is possibly more far-sighted than that of Du Bois. In reading their account of Booker T. Washington I wonder if they know that while he advocated Negro schools for Negroes he sent his own daughter to a conservative New England white boarding school for girls.

Altogether, the book is an astonishingly good piece of work. And although it is designed to guide college students gently toward an understanding of the madly whirling world in the center of which they walk with cheerful unconcern, it resembles the volume of which a nine-year-old girl said enthusiastically to her mother: "It's a book that any one would like, even grown-ups like you." Even feminists, even free speech advocates, even dyed-in-the-wool capitalists and socialists will find here new light on their hobbies.

NEW YORK CITY LEADER
FEBRUARY 21, 1925

The Negro In South Carolina

A Review by FRANK CROSSWAITH

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION. By A. A. Taylor. Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. $2.00.

FOR generations yet unborn, the American Negro will be plagued by the survival of many myths and half truths told about him during the period of slavery and in the days immediately following the overthrow of that system.

These mythical ideas about the Negro were turned loose upon the world, mainly by the slave-holders and those who defended them—in a natural desire to justify the social and economic system rooted in chattel slavery.

The conduct of the slave-holders in this instance is not new; on the contrary, it is the age-long method employed by those who occupy a position of dominancy, to discredit those dominated and thereby perpetuate their domination. History literally bubbles over with examples of the false philosophy of ruling classes. Religion, color, nationality and other differences have been utilized in this scheme of "protective coloration" used by the master class in all ages to make secure and permanent its rulership. But I question whether history affords another example of such propaganda being conducted with the vehemence and consistency, and with such utter disregard for at least a semblance of truth, as in the case of the American Negro.

Science, theology, history, all have been perverted and drawn upon to contribute their quota in the defense of chattel slavery; until today, over a half a century after emancipation, men yet cling to these false notions about the Negro, and many people still firmly believe them true. One of the most outstanding and persistent falsehoods charged against the Negro is, that during the period of reconstruction, having been freed and elevated to citizenship, he proved his incapacity for full exercise of the duties and responsibility of such citizenship by instituting, in those states where he was elected to office, a veritable reign of terror and thievery. Those who make these charges either ignore completely or minimize greatly the wholesome and lasting contributions of the Negro during the hectic days of reconstruction in the South.

Little by little, however, these myths and falsehoods are giving way to facts and truths, and the part played by the American Negro in the reconstruction of the South following the Civil War is being given its rightful place in the literature and history of our country.

Dr. Taylor marshals the facts to show that the Negro in South Carolina largely was desirous, and even anxious, to have the well-educated and consistently elemcut of the white race participate in the great merit of his work and the service which he renders not alone to the conscientious student of history but also to his race.

This work of Dr. Taylor is a gratifying contrast to the major-ity of the various contributions on this subject, Dr. Taylor's work does not bear the earmarks of the controversialist. The author apparently has no axe to grind and seeks to convey only a true picture of this immensely interesting period in American history by an exhaustive and searching study of contemporaneous sources, free from prejudices and racial partisanship. He neither accuses nor excuses, he simply states the facts as they are. In this lies the great merit of his work and the service which he renders not alone to the conscientious student of history but also to his race.

Dr. Taylor marshals the facts to show that the Negro in South Carolina largely was desirous, and even anxious, to have the well-educated and consistently elemcut of the white race participate in the great merit of his work and the service which he renders not alone to the conscientious student of history but also to his race.

This work of Dr. Taylor is a gratifying contrast to the major-ity of the various contributions on this subject, Dr. Taylor's work does not bear the earmarks of the controversialist. The author apparently has no axe to grind and seeks to convey only a true picture of this immensely interesting period in American history by an exhaustive and searching study of contemporaneous sources, free from prejudices and racial partisanship. He neither accuses nor excuses, he simply states the facts as they are. In this lies the great merit of his work and the service which he renders not alone to the conscientious student of history but also to his race.

Dr. Taylor marshals the facts to show that the Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction" is one of many books dealing with the subject generally, which have made their not too widely observed appearances within the past few years; Dr. Du Bois' "Gift of Black Folk" is another of these that is worthy of mention.

"The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction" is a masterpiece of painstaking and careful chronicling of important facts. The book is an arsenal filled with monumental accomplishment in the interest of truth and accuracy. The facts which the friends of the Negro and the lovers of truth can effectively use to offset the false claims and derogatory charges constantly being made against the Negro by grossly misrepresented Negro race organized and unorganized. This element, having lost the war, was disgruntled and, consequently, refused to cooperate and assist in the work of reconstruction. Their refusal, he points out, contributed very largely to the much emphasized and over-exaggerated corrup-

Problems of Race Assimilation in the United States

THE BASIS OF RACIAL ADJUSTMENT. By Thomas Jackson Woofter Jr., Ph. D. 258 pp. New York: Ginn & Co.

THE MENACE OF COLOR. By J. W. Gregory, F. R. S., D. Sc. With illustrations and maps. 264 pp. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

When one considers the almost hopeless degeneracy not alone of the great masses of the Negro but also of the so-called poor whites—"then there were the lowest of all classes, commonly known as 'the whites,' who rivaled the Negro in ignorance but surpassed him in vice and cunning. These numbered about 150,000"—one is almost astonished at the not inconsiderable progressive measures which were affected during this period, and of which so little is known generally.

If one bears in mind, also, the forlorn economic condition of the Negro at the end of the Civil War, one can well understand the feeble resistance which the half educated Negro of more or less influence among his own people offered to the wiles of that past-master in political corruption—the Northern Carpet-bagger. How anyone can expect that immediately following emancipation, the Negro race as a whole would show all the fitness and aptitude for citizenship and self-government that come only with experience and years of unhampered development is beyond the imagination of this reviewer. That he—the Negro—did well is attested to by many fair-minded writers on the subject.

Carl Schurz, writing from the scene in South Carolina in 1865 said: "The transition of the Southern Negro from slavery to freedom was untarnished by any deeds of blood and the apprehension so extensively entertained and so pathetically declaimed upon by many, that the sudden and general emancipation of the slaves would at once result in 'all the horrors of St. Domingo,' proved utterly groundless ..... in this respect the emancipated slaves of the South can challenge comparison with any race long held in servitude and suddenly set free."

"The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction" should find wide circulation and meet with ready readers throughout the length and breadth of this land and wherever men thirst for truth and knowledge.

The book deals with the political, social and religious forces at work in South Carolina during the reconstruction period, and is divided into fourteen chapters covering over 300 pages, between which the author has painted a vivid and arresting picture of all the elements at work in the State. To quote from the jacket of the book: "There were missionaries proselytizing the freed men, teachers enlightening them, speculators defrauding them, and, of course, politicians corrupting them."

HOW the different races of mankind are to dwell together in peace and harmony, or at least with as little friction as possible, and whether eventually they are to be amalgamated into one composite race or are to remain forever distinct from each other—these are some of the questions discussed in the two books whose titles appear at the head of this article.

Dr. Thomas Jackson Woofter in his book, "The Basis of Racial Adjustment," which is designed primarily for use as a textbook, concerns himself solely with the negro problem in the United States. Dr. Woofter, by the way, dislikes the term "negro problem," as indicating that the negro is a problem which the white man must solve. The real problem, as Dr. Woofter points out, is that of the relations between the two races, and it is one whose best hope of solution lies in cooperative effort on the part of leaders of both races. The Civil War and the period of reconstruction, he finds, aroused passions and prejudices which made cooperation between whites and negroes all but impossible, and for that reason very little was done during the years immediately following the war to place the relations between the races upon a footing pass. Miscegenation, in his opinion, is on the decrease, and the sentiment against it is growing in both races. Dr. Woofter ignores one possibility mentioned by Dr. J. W. Gregory in his book, "The Menace of Color." Dr. Gregory points out that the migration of Southern negroes to the Northern States will make laborers so scarce in the South that it will become necessary to import cheap white laborers either from Europe or from recent European immigrants to the North. The greater number of such laborers are likely to be from the Mediterranean countries, where the feeling against intermarriage with the black race is not so intense as in the more Northern countries of Europe. This might, in Dr. Gregory's opinion, lead to a racial amalgamation whose consequences it would be difficult to foresee. Curiously enough Dr. Gregory has failed to take into consideration the further possibility that the members of these same Mediterranean races who are already domiciled in the North may intermarry with the negroes who are flocking thither from the South. This would make the problem one of even graver import than he suggests.

The scope of Dr. Gregory's book is much wider than that of Dr. Woofter's volume, for the former considers the whole subject of the relations of various races in all parts of the world. When he speaks of persons of color he means all those who do not belong to the white race. In his study of conditions in the United States, for example, he takes up not only the negro problem but also the problem of Asiatic immigration on the West coast. On this subject he says:

> The intensity of the objection to Asiatic immigration in the Western coast States may appear difficult to understand in consideration of the many admirable qualities of the Chinese and Japanese and their high efficiency as workers. The feeling is due to recognition of the strength in organization and adroitness in negotiation which render the Eastern Asiatic a more serious industrial competitor than the negro. The Chinese labor guilds are managed with consummate ability; the Japanese are masters of the art of boycott and of ruining competitors by acts of commercial war. The orientalization of Hawaii is a standing warning to the Pacific coastland.

In differentiating the races of mankind, Dr. Gregory finds that:

> The color classification is of more value in political guidance than that based on the skull or hair, as its divisions coincide more nearly with the continents. The white race includes, with the exception only of the Lapps, all the Europeans and their descendants in other continents. The yellow or Mongolian race includes the people of Eastern and Northern Asia, the Malays, and the American Indians. The brown race includes all Asiatics who are not Mongolian, all Africans who are not negroes, the Australian aborigines, and the South Sea Islanders or Polynesians. The negro race includes all the frizzly-haired, thick-lipped, broad-nosed inhabitants of Africa and an offshoot of the same race in New Guinea and further east in the Melanesian Islands.

Regardless of the merits of this classification as compared with the classifications of other authorities, the author's statement of it in the introductory chapter of his volume makes it easier for the reader to follow him and to understand precisely what he means. And in a subject that is so befogged by conflicting theories and varying methods of approach, anything that brings about a closer understanding between author and reader is distinctly worth while.

In his chapter on "Miscegenation and the Result of Racial Interbreeding," Dr. Gregory presents the views of various authorities ranging from those who believe that the intermingling of races is both inevitable and desirable and that the world will eventually be inhabited by one composite race to those who hold that each race should work out its own destiny by itself. To this connection he quotes from a letter written by Herbert Spencer to Count to in 1892:

> To your remaining question respecting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese, which you say is "now very much agitated among our scholars and politicians," and which you say is "one of the most difficult problems," my reply is that, as rationally answered, there is no difficulty at all. It should be positively forbidden. It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriages of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree the result is invariably a bad one in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking at the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past and my conviction is based upon numerous facts derived from numerous sources. This conviction I have within the last half-hour verified, for I happen to be staying in the country with a gentleman who is well known as an authority on horses, cattle and sheep, and knows much respecting their interbreeding, and he has just, on inquiry, fully confirmed my belief that when, say of different varieties of sheep, there is an interbreeding of those which are widely unlike the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one—there arises an incalculable mixture of traits and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing happens among human beings—the Eurasians in India and the half-breeds in America show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life and every other variety similarly acquires its own special adaptation. The consequence is that if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither—a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatever. By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.

In his final chapter, which is a "Summary of Conclusions," Dr Gregory sets forth his views as to what the future will bring forth. In his opinion the white man's political supremacy over most of the habitable lands of the earth is nearly at an end. He considers it probable that Europe, North America and Australia will continue to belong to the white race, Asia to the yellow and brown races and Africa to the black. South America is already occupied in large part by a composite Iberian-Indian-negro race, and the author thinks it unlikely that Europeans will ever be able to hold more than the southern part of the continent.

Each of these books contains an extensive bibliography, which should be of value to the student who wishes to make an exhaustive study of the subject of interracial relations.

Race Problem — 1925

United States, — Book Reviews.

Book Chat

by

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

The Latest Negro

The New Negro. Edited by Alain Locke. Albert and Charles Boni. $5.

Nation

THIS book marks an epoch in the hectic career of the American Negro. It illuminates an intellectual revolution which owes its origin and expression to a multiplying series of social changes during the past decade. In undermining and annihilating the Negro myth it functions as a clarifying and signal contribution to contemporary thought.

12-30-25

What is the new Negro? The old Negro, according to the common conception, was an indolent, docile creation without the spirit of resistance or the desire for independence. Like most common conceptions, this one is wildly erroneous. Before the American Revolution alone, for instance, over twenty-five rebellions of black slaves occurred. After the revolution the rebellions multiplied. The struggle in Haiti under the courageous leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the aid rendered Bolivar in his vivid victories in South and Central America, the reaction of the Negro in the past war all parade in formidable contradiction to the conception. These insurrections, however, were evidences of primitive recalcitrancy and aggressiveness rather than of a provocative and intelligent rebelliousness. They were the frantic, futile struggles of a suppressed race. The new Negro represents a different reaction. He is rebellious likewise, but his passions have become subtilized, his primitivism refined. He has discovered a new weapon—the pen. A new culture is in the process of evolution. And the present volume is an expression of that culture. The great diversity among the topics it treats is a sound indication of the versatility of the Negro genius. Here is represented the effervescence of a new spirit in an ancient people.

The cultural growth of the Negro since the Civil War went through two evolutions before it reached its present culmination in the philosophy of the new Negro. The first stage was characterized by a passionate imitation of the culture of the white race. White mores, white conceptions, white ideals became for the Negro the source of both inspiration and aspiration. Negro leaders fell in line with this servile, goose-step procession. The second stage revealed a revolution in attitude. This period was marked by the literature of protest. Imitation was transformed into antagonism. Things white were denounced and things black were eulogized. In Negro fiction, for example, the heroes were black and the villains white. It was a period of melodramatic sentimentality. This stage reached its apex of extravagance and fanaticism in the Garvey movement with its "back to Africa" slogan, its Black Star Line and Walker, is not as great as it was. Men who were close to the Southern Negro must have found there difficulty in the very richness of their material, in knowing what to choose out of so much right at hand, vivid, alive. No wonder that Florence Mills, with all her charm, failed last year to satisfy New York in her "Revue," written by white people around white plays. New York had seen her in something far better and realized it.

Edwin Muir tells us that the Scotch poet, unlike the English, is a peasant, uncultivated. He speaks directly, not reflectively. These Negro songs are like that and link these black peasants with the Scotch ballads and Burns.

"The Negro and His Songs"

By Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson. Published by The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. Price, $3. By mail, $3.15.

Amsterdam News

WITHOUT question the Negro is coming into his own. Here we have a Southern university printing a careful collection of hundreds of Negro songs, collected chiefly in southern Georgia and northern Mississippi, and promising us more books to come. We are assured that "for every song in this volume there are twenty that have never reached the ears of one who realizes their unexplored value for the sociologist and the social psychologist as materials for the objective study of race problems." This is the somewhat ponderous style of the sociologist and psychologist, and one gasps a little at such comments as, "The Negro employs synizesis in its freer usage," "Asyndeton is most marked, etc." But if the volume is a little heavy it is written in a friendly spirit, evinced, among other ways, in its capitalizing of the word Negro.

New York, N. Y.

9-27-25

There is no music in this volume, only the words to the songs which are arranged under three divisions, 91 religious, 91 social and 21 work songs. It would seem that the black man has sung his way through life, working as he sings, playing and courting as he sings, assiduously singing his way to Heaven. And he is doing this today. One does not have to think of the Negro song as folk lore. This may be true of the spirituals, but the social songs and the work songs are still in the making, and today some Negro "songster," or "musicianer," or "music physicianer," may be composing a new song, perhaps a train song, with the fiddle and the knife, "the train made to whistle by a prolonged and consecutive striking of several strings, while the bell is rung by the striking of a single string." "Little incidents of every day life constitute an inoxhaustible source of song." One of the contributions of this volume is the account of the song in the making, the multitudinous ways in which the singer finds himself humming over some line that will later be taken up by his fellows and used throughout his countryside. Not only the cultivated music that we see transcribed and for sale in our shops, but also folk music that is never written down continually comes to us out of the full throat and the fertile imagination of the black man.

The social songs are the great contribution of this book. There are lovely lines given among the spirituals, new to Mank of us, as "Mas' Jesus gib me little broom fer to sweep my heart clean." "I was los' in de wilderness; Jesus hand me de candle down," and the Grade Song among the work group.

"Well, I tole my captain my feet wus cold,

'Po' water on fire, let wheelers roll!'

'Told my captain my han's wus cold.

'God d—— you' hands, let the wheelers roll!'"

But the social songs have very much that will be a surprise certainly to the great majority of Mr. Odum's readers. Talley and Bladyes have made us familiar with simple verses of Negro life, but here we have songs of highwaymen and hobos. Stagolee may have originated with the whites, but he is essentially Negro as he is presented to us in this book.

Stagole, Stagolee, what's dat in you' grip?
Nothin' but my Sunday clothes, I'm goin' to take a trip.
Oh, dat man, bad man, Stagolee done come.

And there are the train songs, the K. C., the L. and N.

Fireman, put on a little mo' coal;
Run dat train in some lonesome hole.

I confess that my amazement at the cleverness of the colored shows, particularly those of the old days of Williams

A ROMANCE OF NEGRO LIFE

PORGY. By Du Bose Heyward. 196 pp. New York: George H. Doran Company. $2.

New York Herald Tribune

DU BOSE HEYWARD challenges attention and evokes a mood with his initial daring stroke: "Porgy lived in the Golden Age." It is a timeless, innocently grotesque world that Porgy knows, and the reader through Porgy. It is a Southern seaport, possibly Mr. Heyward's own Charleston, S. C., though the geography is not insisted upon. More specifically, it is Catfish Row, the clamourous retreat of the crippled Porgy, Bess and his friendly neighbors. The white world but vaguely impinges upon their absorptions, their sorrows, their tragedies and their rude but satisfying justice. The interventions of the whites are often meaningless, often disastrous, always impertinent. Mr. Heyward establishes by implication an antithesis in civilization which is not wholly to the glory of the white race. He conveys an intimate and authentic sense of the dignity, the pathos, the unending minor chords of a folk-melancholy, the latent high spirits, the primitive passion, the color, the movement, the intrinsic energy, the superstitions and the religious faith, the very essence of his chosen community. It is a noteworthy achievement in the sympathetic and convincing interpretation of negro life by a member of an "outside" race.

Although it is matter for wonder that Mr. Heyward has seemed to have gotten inside his characters and their surroundings, it is cause for rejoicing that he has communicated these things he has found to the reader. Porgy is at no time an alien

being; his author has magically insinuated him into the very quick of attention. He deserves to rank with the fantastic Italian puppet, Pinocchió; such a creation as bankrupts in reality the next-door neighbor. Mr. Heyward's method is diametrically opposed to that of Ronald Firbank in "Prancing Nigger"; there was a delectable, a charming, a gay spectacle. Porgy is understood and his eyes are the eyes we see through, his ears the ears we hear by. Yet, amazingly, Porgy is merely an ingredient in the larger aspects of Mr. Heyward's intention: the evocation of a curious, wistful, day-dreaming mood.

Porgy is a beggar with a very subtle "line." There is an arresting look of contained power about him and an air of incessant, quiescent, yet intensified, waiting for something, some vision beyond experience, or some fulfillment transcending wish. The other beggars are envious of him, for, without apparent effort, pennies and nickels and dimes come to Porgy's unasking hands. His own kind are almost suspicious of this strong man with the wasted legs, who beseeches the dice: "Oh, little stars, roll me some light! Roll me a sun an' moon!" making his points and taking the winnings with that same calm, unquestioning silence.

It is almost a legend that grows up about Porgy. When his friend is jailed and he can no longer count on a lift in the friendly wagon, he is saved from threatened starvation by a goat and cart of his own, in which royally to make his rounds. Naturally, the penetrating qualities of the goat's smell complicate Porgy's leisure a bit and compel him to adopt the hustling tactics of an alien philosophy. In spite of himself, Porgy has become a "go-getter," and his reputation goes abroad in Catfish Row. In the casual manner of those childlike peoples, Porgy one night finds himself adopted as provider and protector to Bess, untamed, hard-living woman, who is temporarily widowed. Crown, her husband, in hiding until his last murder is forgotten, comes back for Bess one dark night. He is found with a knife in his ribs and Porgy's floor has a suspicions wetness for the early morning hours. And Bess has a shine of wonder in her eyes for the strength of Porgy's arms.

The law comes for Porgy and he runs away, racing the motor-driven patrol wagon in his absurd goat-cart, to the keen delight of the entire populace. He is wanted, it develops, merely to identify Crown for the Coroner's inquest, and is jailed for contempt of court. When he comes out Bess has been lured away by her all but forgotten cravings for gin and "happy dust." Porgy's Indian Summer of life is over.

Crap games, savage, moonlit fights, incongruous funerals, a terrifying hurricane sweeping over the harbor and battering at the frail houses of the darkies, a boat excursion and picnic, interventions of white man's justice and the close-mouthed loyalty of the negroes, rough-and-ready justice among the colored people, and, above all, the unforgettable character of Porgy, move through Mr. Heyward's pages in a lavish, yet reticent, magnificence of highly organized prose. Maria, the Amazonian fish-fry woman; the patient, hard-working Serena, the shifty yellow negro from New York, with his strange vices and insinuating ways, and Bess and Crown are all vividly individual. Maria's methods of adjusting matters more nearly to her liking are a delight; her effective cure of the dope-peddling New York mulatto, with the help of a well-aimed brick and a few well-chosen epithets and threats, is wholly satisfying. Even Porgy's goat is a person, a strong person, indeed, on its own account.

N. Y. EVENING WORLD
OCTOBER 31, 1925

USING THE NEGRO FOR PROPAGANDA

We are hearing much to-day of an alleged plan perfected in Moscow for the enrolment of the colored people of America into a Communist organization for the overthrow of American institutions. It is quite possible that in Moscow some one is foolish enough to imagine that the colored race here is ripe for some sort of "rising."

However, the Negro has been a prolific source for the propagandists of terror for more than a century. Ever and anon, some controversy pending, some one puts forth a weird, wild tale of a rising of the Negroes. During the madcap days of propaganda when the politicians were seeking to force a war with France in 1798, "Peter Porcupine," the most imaginative and consummate propagandist in American history, ran a series of wild circumstantial stories to prove that the French, together with the United Irishmen, were organizing the Negroes for an insurrection in the interest of France. Not many believed it. Some did.

The truth is that while there may be an occasional Communist among the Negroes they are, as a race, the most ultra-conservative in the country. For generations they have voted almost en masse for the party of ultra-conservatism. As a race they have seldom if ever been otherwise aligned in the most clear-cut contests between progressivism and reaction. To assume that the Communists of Moscow can move this essentially conservative race under the red flag is to ask too much of the imagination.

Race Problem—1925.

"United States"—Book Reviews.

Burlesquer of Negro Life Under Quiz For Narrowing His Stories To One Type

Octavus R. Cohen, Birmingham Fiction Writer Explains That He Writes About the Type of Negro He Knows; Can't Understand Why No Attention Is Given His White Romance Stories

NEW YORK, April 30.—Octavus R Cohen, of Birmingham, Ala., story writer of Negro life, who has been subject to severe criticism, and who has received many protests against the type of stories of which he is author from prominent citizens all over the country, declared in a statment made public today that he attempted to write only the type of Negro that he knew, and not about the Negro as a whole. Mr. Cohen's stories appear in different magazines thruout the country. He repeatedly says "that people who think Negroes are sad and have a hard time don't know the Southern Negro.

"What some Negroes in the North who are cultured do not understand is that I am writing about only one type of the race," Mr. Cohen said recently at Hotel Pennsylvania in speaking of his stories. "My tales are concerned with the African Negroes of the South, who are the descendants of slaves. They are the happiest people on the face of the globe, and their lives far from being filled with sorrow, are extremely happy throughout, unless they have sickness or death with which to contend.

"I did some writing about white people long before I started on Negro stories, but I discovered there was a lot of material around me that had never been touched in the fiction world. It is utterly unlike the plantation material. The Negroes of the plantation I know nothing about, and could not write about to save my life.

"One of the oustanding characteristics of the race is their fondness for meeting a lot of people. This explains the popularity of lodges in the South. When the Southern Negro comes North, he is often unhappy because he cannot get the companionship he likes. I have known of Negroes who can get from $30 to $45 a week at jobs in the North returning to the South and working for $8 or $9 a week, perfectly happy because they can get all the social life they want.

"The cultured Negro is quite right when he says my stories do not portray this feeling. The more subtle Negro who goes to college, and whom members of the white race are most apt to meet, is a different individaul altogether. This type of Negro quite possibly does have characteristics entirely foreign to the Southern Negro, but I have never pretended to write about the whole Negro race.

"It is funny, but my Negro stories seem to be the only variety that is well known. I have written several white love stories for a half dozen magazines, but people never speak of them."

PIONEERS OF THE SOUTH

SOUTHERN PIONEERS. Edited by Howard W. Odum. 221 pp. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. $2.

THE Northerner as well as the Southerner can get considerable food for thought out of this book, although it seems to have been prepared with especial expectation that it would be read by the men and women of the South. One wonders what they will make of it and how they will take the admonitions addressed to them by its editor in his introduction. At first glance it seems innocent enough. It attempts to pin-prick or to attack beloved prejudices or preposessions of any sort. Nothing could seem more running truer to form than such a collection of biographical sketches of Southern men and women who have done important work along lines that made them intellectual or social or economic pioneers in Southern life, written, all of them, in the mood of admiring appreciation with a touch here and there of still warmer feeling or of intimate acquaintance.

But all that does not take into account the editor, who has studied, lived and worked a good many years outside the environment of the South and so can look upon it and its problems objectively. Mr. Odum is a member of the Faculty of the University of North Carolina, where he is Kenan Professor of Sociology and director of the School of Public Welfare. He has apparently embraced with enthusiasm the opportunity of saying some things that he thought needed to be said. With diplomacy and skillful use of some of the psychologic features of the environment, he considers the question of why the South no longer produces such leaders as formerly sprang from that region, and he answers it with frank indictments of several phases of her present-day life. With no mincing of words he points out limitations, shortcomings, fears, low standards, provincialisms, reactionary tendencies that form handicaps to progress of any sort and render impossible the breeding and training of men and women capable of leadership. Sometimes he sugar-coats a criticism by casually making it nation-wide or giving it international value. But in the main he is talking straight from the heart to "home folks." There is much in what he says, however, that might be taken to themselves by the "home folks" of other sections.

The nine pioneers whose biographical sketches form the body of the book are Woodrow Wilson, Walter Hines Page, Charles Brantley Aycock, Seaman A. Knapp, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Joel Chandler Harris, Booker T. Washington, Madeline McDowell Breckinridge, and Edward Kidder Graham. Those who write about them are, respectively, Gerald W. Johnson, Robert D. W. Connor, Edwin A. Alderman, Jackson Davis, John Donald Wade, Julia Collier Harris, Monroe N. Work, S. P. Breckinridge, Robert D. W. Connor.

The Reconstruction Negro

The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction. By Alrutheus Ambush Taylor. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. $2.15.

THIS is the first of a series of volumes, prepared with the aid of funds granted by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in which the history of the Negro in the South during the reconstruction period, and of the free Negro before the Civil War, is to be "definitively" recorded. Undoubtedly there is room for such a study, for the history of the Negro in America, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, still offers a rich field for the investigator. The reader of the present volume, however, will not get further than the first page of Mr. Taylor's introduction without discovering that the author has a bone to pick with his predecessors. Hardly anything that has been written of late about the Negro under reconstruction is, according to Mr. Taylor, to be trusted. Certain treatises which he does not name, but which students of the subject may easily identify since they are ascribed to Johns Hopkins and Columbia universities, evoke severe condemnation. "They were written," Mr. Taylor asserts, "to prove that the Negro is not capable of participation in government and to justify the methods of intimidation instituted to overthrow the reconstruction governments of the Southern commonwealths." Many of the writers were partisans interested in "trying to make a case before the world," selecting "such facts as would establish their point of view" and ignoring those to the contrary, and their books are "practically worthless." They further err in magnifying politics at the expense of economics, and in relying upon newspapers and other material "made by the very men who constituted the party of opposition."

These are serious charges. They would constitute, if proved, a deplorable reflection on American historical scholarship and the work of university departments of history. Unfortunately for the reputations of the writers whom he attacks but does not name, Mr. Taylor does not go on to support his allegations by citing, either in text or in footnotes, the offending statements or conclusions; he even omits reference to the meretricious treatises in his bibliography, and proceeds to write a history of the Negro in South Carolina under reconstruction from such sources as he deems worth while, leaving the erring writers who have preceded him to defend themselves as best they may.

The belligerent temper and superior air of the introduction, however, have not prevented Mr. Taylor from writing an extremely important book. He has made industrious use not only of the better-known sources but also of such material as newspapers, church records and histories, school announcements, diaries, letters, travels, and memorials of temporary political bodies which previous writers have somewhat neglected. The narrative, too, has a moderation and an impartiality which contrasts sharply with the tone of the introduction.

Mr. Taylor makes it clear that the Negroes of South Carolina as a whole did not become, at the close of the war, the shiftless, migratory, and quasi-criminal mass that they were widely believed to be. "The exception was the very degraded class of Negroes on the Sea Islands, rivaled only by the 150,000 poor whites of the upper counties in ignorance and excelled by

them in crime." The economic situation improved even while the congressional plan of reconstruction, well calculated to embitter the relations between the races, was being carried out, the principal obstacles being the lack of capital, the derangement of prices as well as of agricultural methods, and the transition from the large plantation system to a system of small holdings. "After 1868 there was no serious disturbance of Negro labor until the whites injected politics into the question in 1876." Even the attempt to "revitalize" slavery by resort to vagrancy laws did not check economic recovery and readjustment.

Two chapters on educational and religious work among the Negroes, rich in statistical data not hitherto available in such systematic form, throw light upon the intellectual preparation of the Negro for citizenship and suffrage. Most of the Negro political leaders in the years when Northern adventurers were organizing the Negroes against the whites "were men of fair education," and many "showed adequate knowledge of politics and labored for the progress of the State, as attested by the native whites themselves." The actual frauds perpetrated upon the State by the reconstruction governments, and the part played by the Negroes in connection with them, appear to Mr. Taylor to have been grossly exaggerated. He quotes a contemporary writer in *The Nation* to the effect that "in the distribution of spoils the poor African gets the gilt and plush, the porcelain spittoons, the barbaric upholstery, while the astuter Caucasian clings to the solider and more durable advantages." The power of the ring was broken under Governor Chamberlain, but when the opposition, led by men like Butler and Gary, ceased to be a reform party and became "a racial-superiority-asserting group determined to eliminate the Negro from politics," the way was prepared for the corrupt careers of Wade Hampton and Tillman and the exclusion of Negroes from voting and office-holding.

A reading of the book leaves the impression that Mr. Taylor, in addition to making a painstaking study of the subject, has given the Negro greater credit for spirit and accomplishment than most writers on the reconstruction period have done, that both the political and the economic relations between the races have been set in a more friendly light, and that the conclusions, in the main at least, are justified by the facts. The broad outlines of events remain, of course, the same, but the additional details which Mr. Taylor is able to present, joined to the social relationships which he points out, at least make the story pleasanter and more hopeful reading.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Race Problem – 1925.
United States; — Book Reviews.

Book Chat

— by —

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

"Black Cameos"

By R Emmet Kennedy. Published by Messrs. Albert & Chas. Boni 39 West 8th Street, New York City. Price $2.50 Postpaid.

"BLACK CAMEOS" are sketches of black people living in southern Louisiana and whom this author, a white man, speaks of with kindly affection. Mr. Kennedy tells us in his preface that he began to collect Negro spirituals at the age of thirteen, and it was easy work, living, as I did, in a small town, where the primitive types of Negro were all about and showed great willingness to let me take down their songs and comments and conversations." This book is made up of notes, bits here and there, songs, sometimes with the music, amusing anecdotes. It takes its place with Gonzales' "Black Border," the collection of Gullah tales.

Mr. Kennedy's preface is simmun pleasing, his emphasis on the Negro's habit of "thinking in pictures," "his naive, unhampered imagination," "his natural disregard for syntax and correct pronunciation, his graceful elisions and gentle eliminations of any harsh consonants," that one has a right, perhaps to expect more than one receives in the bulk of the book. For the stories that he tells us, while probably wholly charming when recited by a master of the dialect, are not extraordinary when read to one's self. They often turn upon the misuse or misunderstanding of English. Take, for example, this one called "Chivalry":

The Saturday night "feesh fry" was in full swing. Everybody was having a good time except one lanky, lonely looking colored girl sitting over in the corner of the room. She had been a wall flower all evening.

After a while a tall, dandy, black-velvet complexioned young colored man walked over to her and said:

"'Scuse me, Miss young lady, but ain't yo' name Miss Magnolia Johnson?"

"Yas, suh, mah name Miss Magnolia Johnson."

"Well, Miss Magnolia, is yo' program fill' yet?"

"No, suh. Gawd knows mah program ain' fill'. No, suh, 'cause all I bin had to eat dis evenin' was one slice o' watuh

service. There are 16 given with the music and many more with only the words. These are woven into the stories, often are a large part of the stories. In his prefeace Mr. Kennedy tells us "the spirituals or hymns, or 'ballets' of the Southern Negroes, are original productions which the authors go about singing from church to church, the congregations learning them by word of mouth. If they become popular, the authors have them printed on narrow strips of paper, and they are sold to the church members at five cents each. . . . Many of them attain to almost gigantic proportions in number of stanzas, 15 to 20 being considered a small number to tell a Bible story with every intimate detail."

Mr. Kennedy believes that while some of the Creole songs of Louisiana Negroes may have a relationship to old Spanish and Provencal compositions, the devotional songs are essentionally spontaneous. "They are the unpremeditated melodies that have never been learned or pondered over and worked out for artistic effect.' To which we say "amen" and wish that the Hampton and Fisk quartets, and others less famous, could take this to heart and cease to make great music commonplace by their imitation of Glee Club forms. How one does hate education when it lays irreligious hands on this noble primitive music.

Gretna, the village of which Kennedy writes, is just across the river from "big New 'Leens." The stories bring to remembrance the beauty that has come out of that great city from Cable, Kato, Chopin and many others. It is a land of picturesque and lovely things to which the Negro, as depicted in this book, brings his share.

BOOK CHAT

By MARY WHITE OVINGTON
(For N. A. A. C. P.)

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM." By J. H. Oldham. Published by The Doran Company, 244 Madison Avenue, New York City. Price, $1.75. By mail, $1.85.

"This book was undertaken at the request of the United Council for Missionary Education and is being published for them by the Student Christian Movement." But let no one think this reads like a missionary publication. It is of broad humanitarian interest and recognizes the fact that race prejudice is rife in Protestantism, and that the Catholic Cathedral and the Moslem Mosque are more democratic than the Evangelical Church. It is an effort to get at the reason for race prejudice, to describe something of its history, and to propose certain practical steps for its diminution.

"The fundamental issues on racial relations are not ethnological or biological but ethical. Our difficulties do not arise primarily from the fact that differences exist. They are created by false ideas in our own minds." This is the keynote of the volume. The chapters are given up largely to probing these ideas, to see how far they are false and what truth if any, is in them.

The author brings out with clearness the sufferings of men under humiliating conditions. It is not whether a man is poor but whether he is respected, that is of prime importance. If a man lose half his crop by flood it is hard, but it is not insupportable as it is, when a conqueror takes half his crop from him in taxes, lording it over him in the meanwhile. The un-Christian, petty insults that the white practices against the black, the author condemns in no uncertain words. He scores such men as Prof. Josey of Dartmouth, whose book I reviewed last summer, who would have the white race deliberately deny the advantages of civilization to the colored. "To settle things by the callous pursuit of material interests, and the use of superior force," he says, "and to settle them by reasoned appeal to justice and equity are two irreconcilable modes of procedure and the world must make its choice between them. The one leads to an ordered and civilized society, the other to anarchy and ruin."

Mr. Oldham gives us five practical suggestions:

1. The conversion of our own minds.
2. The growth of right knowledge on racial matters.
3. Cooperation between the races.
4. The creation of a right public opinion.
5. The spreading of the Christian gospel.

These are vital suggestions and while practical, are difficult enough to carry out. To have correct knowledge on racial matters, Mr. Oldham points out some of the vital errors of our scientists, especially our psychologists, is no simple matter. Scientists as well as other folks think in propaganda. They test the ability of the colored child on a basis of the capability of the white child. To create a right public opinion. Who has not dreamed of this and waked to see its impossibility? To spread the gospel. One may question that. Apparently the only Western nation free from prejudice, anti-imperialistic, is atheist Russia. Certainly in those parts of the United States, where the church flourishes the most, there is the most racial intolerance. It is likely that if the doors of every Christian church were to close for good tomorrow, there would not be a whit's difference between the relations of colored and white. But the appeal to men's humanity is always worth while, and this book in sane, kindly fashion insists on the fundamental doctrine of all great religions, that all men are equal in the sight of God. With this truth in his heart Mr. Oldham examines the relations of the English speaking peoples to the colored races and for the most part argues wisely and convincingly regarding what he sees.

INDIAN BLOOD

MARTHA. By Percy Marks. New York: The Century Company. 338 pp. $2.

IT is rather a coincidence that, within the past few months, two novels have been published, one in England and one in America, the theme of which is miscegenation, and in both of which the tragic solution of the problem is the return of its victim to the savage race whose blood tinges the European strain. In "God's Stepchildren," by Sarah G. Millin, a wealthy college-bred young man, under whose fair skin the latent taint, after four generations, is imperceptible, can only find peace of mind by leaving his English wife and becoming a sort of vague missionary among the African bush tribe to which his great-grandmother had belonged. In Mr. Percy Marks's "Martha" the same heart-rending situation reappears and is solved in similar terrible fashion. When one looks back no further than forty years and remembers that a short novel by William Dean Howells could close happily with a stanch and honest lover consoling his dark-haired mistress for the harsh luck of possessing a great-grandparent who was "a horrible African negress" and reassuring her against possible freaks which atavism might have in store, one is certainly forced to register a keener sensitiveness where racial accidents are concerned. It is true that Howells's story passed in Boston, and a Boston of the '80s, from which the ardor of abolitionist ideals had not entirely departed.

Martha Baker is the result of a passing liaison between a young English remittance man who has come out to California in the wake of the gold rush and a pretty maiden of the Pomo tribe. Martha "throws light," and when her mother leaves her to become the wife of a middle-aged "squaw man" in the mountains the child is reared as their own by a missionary and his wife of Covelo, a small town in the cow country, with a few years of bleak and loveless life and a strong though timid affection for the girl's resolution. Motherhood through which she is supported amid the ill-will of her whitestruck by her voice, dark beauty and her lover is killed in a cattle-raiding from San Francisco, and disillusionment follow speedily, as plentiful a crop of spites, scandals and prejudices as any village of similar size in the effete East.

Martha's beauty, which is of Spanish type, brings her many beaus and one husband. But the husband, a brutal young cowpuncher, who has been more or less forced into marriage with the "breed" girl by the women neighbors and the advances of her white neighbors, and after one more vaudeville stage in fortuitous amour which robs her of even in Europe. Both the last ounce of self-respect the brought to nothing by tragedy pursues its course to the inen, unreasoning pas- evitable end. We have a final ing "vaquero," him- glimpse of proud and dainty Martha blood, whose tempes- when fate has come "full circle." proves too much for A squaw sat by a tree idly watch-

Race Problem – 1925.
United States; — Book Reviews.

Book Chat

— by —

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

"Black Cameos"

By R Emmet Kennedy. Published by Messrs. Albert & Chas. Boni
39 West 8th Street, New York City. Price $2.50 Postpaid.

"BLACK CAMEOS" are sketches of black people living in southern Louisiana, and whom this author, a white man, speaks of with kindly affection. Mr. Kennedy tells us in his preface that he began to collect Negro spirituals at the age of thirteen, and it was easy work, living, as I did, in a small town, where the primitive types of Negro were all about and showed great willingness to let me take down their songs and comments and conversations." This book is made up of notes, bits here and there, songs, sometimes with the music, amusing anecdotes. It takes its place with Gonzales' "Black Border," the collection of Gullah tales.

Mr. Kennedy's preface is smaller. It is in the collection of spirpleasing, his emphasis on the pictures," "his naive, unhampered imagination," "his natural disregard for syntax and correct pronunciation, his graceful elisions and gentle eliminations of any harsh consonants," that one has a right, perhaps to expect more than one receives in the bulk of the book. For the stories that he tells us, while probably wholly charming when recited by a master of the dialect, are not extraordinary when read to one's self. They often turn upon the misuse or misunderstanding of English. Take, for example, this one called "Chivalry."

The Saturday night "fesh fry" was in full swing. Everybody was having a good time except one lanky, lonely looking colored girl sitting over in the corner of the room. She had been a wall flower all evening.

After a while a tall, dandy, black-velvet complexioned young colored man walked over to her and said:

"'Scuse me, Miss young lady, but ain't yo' name Miss Magnolia Johnson?"

"Yas, suh, mah name Miss Magnolia Johnson."

"Well, Miss Magnolia, is yo' program fill' yet?"

"No, suh, Gawd knows mah program ain' fill'. No, suh, 'cause all I bin had to eat dis

Mr. Kennedy's preface is smaller. It is in the collection of spirituals that the writer seems to have done most valuable service. There are 16 given with the music and many more with only the words. These are woven into the stories, often are a large part of the stories. In his prefeace Mr. Kennedy tells us "the spirituals or hymns, or 'ballets' of the Southern Negroes, are original productions which the authors go about singing from church to church, the congregations learning them by word of mouth. If they become popular, the authors have them printed on narrow strips of paper, and they are sold to the church members at five cents each. . . . Many of them attain to almost gigantic proportions in number of stanzas, 15 to 20 being considered a small number to tell a Bible story with every intimate detail."

Mr. Kennedy believes that while some of the Creole songs of Louisiana Negroes may have a relationship to old Spanish and Provencal compositions, the devotional songs are essentionally spontaneous. "They are the unpremeditated melodies that have never been learned or pondered over and worked out for artistic effect.' To which we say "amen" and wish that the Hampton and Fisk quartets, and others less famous, could take this to heart and cease to make great music commonplace by their

mitation of Glee Club forms. How one does hate education when it lays irreligious hands on this noble primitive music.

Gretna, the village of which Kennedy writes, is just across the river from "big New 'Leens." The stories bring to remembrance the beauty that has come out of that great city from Cable, Kato, Chopin and many others. It is a land of picturesque and lovely things to which the Negro, as depicted in this book, brings his share.

BOOK CHAT

BY MARY WHITE OVINGTON
(For N. A. A. C. P.)

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM." By J. H. Oldham. Published by The Doran Company, 244 Madison Avenue, New York City. Price $1.75. By mail, $1.85.

"This book was undertaken at the request of the United Council for Missionary Education and is being published for them by the Student Christian Movement." But let no one think this reads like a missionary publication. It is of broad, humanitarian interest and recognizes the fact that race prejudice is rife in Protestantism, and that the Catholic Cathedral and the Moslem Mosque are more democratic than the Evangelical Church. It is an effort to get at the reason for race prejudice, to describe something of its history, and to propose certain practical steps for its diminution.

"The fundamental issues on racial relations are not ethnological or biological but ethical. Our difficulties do not arise primarily from the fact that differences exist. They are created by false ideas in our own minds." This is the keynote of the volume. The chapters are given up largely to probing these ideas, to see how far they are false and what truth if any, is in them.

The author brings out with clearness the sufferings of men under humiliating conditions. It is not whether a man is poor but whether he is respected, that is of prime importance. If a man lose half his crop by flood it is hard, but it is not insupportable as it is, when a conqueror takes half his crop from him in taxes, lording it over him in the meanwhile. The unChristian, petty insults that the white practices against the black, the author condemns in no uncertain words. He scores such men as Prof. Josey of Dartmouth, whose book I reviewed last summer, who would have the white race deliberately deny the advantages of civilization to the colored. "To settle things by the callous pursuit of material interests, and the use of superior force," he says, "and to settle them by reasoned appeal to justice and equity are two irreconcilable modes of procedure and the world must make its choice between them. The one leads to an ordered and civilized society, the other to anarchy and ruin."

Mr. Oldham gives us five practical suggestions:

1. The conversion of our own minds.
2. The growth of right knowledge on racial matters.
3. Cooperation between the races.
4. The creation of a right public opinion.
5. The spreading of the Christian gospel.

These are vital suggestions and while practical, are difficult enough to carry out. To have correct knowledge on racial matters, Mr. Oldham points out some of the vital errors of our scientists, especially our psychologists, is no simple matter. Scientists as well as other folks think in propaganda. They test the ability of the colored child on a basis of the capability of the white child. To create a right gospel. One may question that. Apparently the only Western nation free from prejudice, anti-imperialistic, is atheist Russia. Certainly in those parts of the United States, where the church flourishes the most, there is the most racial intolerance. It is likely that if the doors of every Christian church were to close for good tomorrow, there would not be a whit's difference between the relations of colored and white. But the appeal to men's humanity is always worth while, and this book in sane, kindly fashion insists on the fundamental doctrine of all great religions, that all men are equal in the sight of God. With this truth in his heart Mr. Oldham examines the relations of the English speaking peoples to the colored races and for the most part argues wisely and convincingly regarding what he sees.

INDIAN BLOOD

MARTHA. *By Percy Marks. New York: The Century Company.* 338 *pp.* $2.

IT is rather a coincidence that, within the past few months, two novels have been published, one in England and one in America, both theme of which is miscegenation, in both of which the tragic solution of the problem is the return of its victim to the savage race whose blood flows the European strain. In "God's Stepchildren," by Sarah G. Millin, a wealthy college-bred young man, under whose fair skin the latent taint, after four generations, is imperceptible, can only find peace of mind by leaving his English wife and becoming a sort of vague missionary among the African bush tribe to which his great-grandmother had belonged. In Mr. Percy Marks's "Martha" the same tragic situation is solved in similar terrible fashion. When one looks back no further than forty years and remembers that a short novel by William Dean Howells could close happily with a stanch and honest lover consoling his dark-haired mistress for the harsh luck of possessing a great-grandparent who was "a horrible African negress" and reassuring her against possible freaks which atavism might have in store, one is certainly forced to register a keener sensitiveness where racial accidents are concerned. It is true that Howells's story passed in Boston, and a Boston of the '80s, from which the ardor of abolitionist ideals had not entirely departed.

Martha Baker is the result of a passing liaison between a young English remittance man who has come out to California in the wake of the gold rush and a pretty maiden of the Pomo tribe. Martha "throws light," and when her mother leaves her to become the wife of a middle-aged "squaw man" in the mountains the child is reared as their own by a missionary and his wife of Covelo. a girl's resolution. Motherhood follow speedily, disillusionment follow and is killed in a cattle-raiding by her voice, dark beauty and her lover is killed in the point of mak- ament at a little church enter- feud when he is on the more ent, paints dazzling visions of ing reparation, and after one eer on the vaudeville stage in fortuitous amour which robs her of ica and even in Europe. Both the last ounce of self-respect the pects are brought to nothing by tragedy pursues its course to the in- ha's sudden, unreasoning pas- evitable end. We have a final for a young "vaquero," him- glimpse of proud and dainty Martha of mixed blood, whose tempes- when fate has come "full circle." s wooing proves too much for A squaw sat by a tree idly watch-

ng the dancers. She was very fat and very dirty. Her straight hair was clipped at the nape of her neck * * * and a papoose, bound in a basket, lay in her lap. Beside her sat a little girl about 10 years old, with black hair and brown eyes, a pale skin and an upturned nose such as no full-blooded Indian ever had. The baby began to cry, and the squaw opened her waist and lifted it to her breast.

The squaws clacked the willow sticks and sang softly—all except the one squaw; she sang with a full, rich voice that soared high and clean above the others. There was no happiness in her voice, no spirit, no fire; but there was contentment, there was peace. * * *

It would be a mistake, in closing a review of Mr. Percy Marks's fine novel, to leave the impression that it is a depressing book, even though it is a little disquieting to find an infusion of aboriginal blood, with one imagines, was not an uncommon occurrence on all the American frontiers, treated in such catastrophic fashion. The author of "The Plastic Age" has a fine feeling for the beauties of a country which, it is quite evident, he knows at first hand. The free, devil-may-care life which had not yet learned that its picturesqueness was a commercial asset is drawn by him with a skillful hand. His theme, fine as fate, is the pathos of a lovely and loving girl brought low by the traitor that lurked in her very blood. This alone is sufficient to lift "Martha" immeasurably above the ruck of Western fiction, of which it has all the best of the atmosphere, without any of the cheap attendant "thrills."

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION
FEBRUARY 25, 1925

THE WORLD WAR AND THE NEGRO.

THE EVERLASTING STAIN. By Kelly Miller. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc.

For a score of years or so the name of Kelly Miller has been conspicuous among writers and pamphleteers discussing the race question in most of its aspects from the viewpoint of colored men. His late volume, "The Everlasting Stain," treats of the World War and the "effect of this world-changing epoch upon the fate of the negro race." The war resulted in some geographical and political changes, otherwise that epoch was not a "world-changing one," it rather complicated than solved the race question, and its effect upon the destinies of the American negro race was nil. Mr. Kelly Miller is naturally disappointed in the shipwrecking of his high expectations. His disillusionment, however, is shared by millions of all races and nationalities, who ingenuously believed in the phrase that the war would make the world safe for democracy.

While the World War has failed to bring justice for the colored race in America, it has certainly not aggravated the position of the negro in the United States. For that reason the author's reflections of the war and its aftermath are out of date, to say the least. Besides, he rejects most solutions of the negro question proposed by other writers of his race, but does not offer any tangible solution of his own.

In discussing the negro situation in the South, Mr. Kelly Miller absolves the Southern capitalist of all blame, maintaining that it is only the po' white trash that persecutes the children of Ham.

The book to a large extent is a reprint of articles and essays written by Mr. Miller for various magazines and periodicals. Before their incorporation into the volume they ought to have been edited; as it is, they are replete with anachronisms, such as that "Ireland is in revolt against Anglo-Saxon dominion" or "Italy is dominated by the Socialists."

Included in the collection are some open letters written by Mr. Miller, one to President Wilson on the "Disgrace of Democracy," another to President Harding in reply to the latter's address at Birmingham in November, 1921, wherein he spoke of the "eternal difference of race." Mr. Miller's letter contains over 7,000 words, filling thirty pages of bookprint. Replying to that 'long and interesting letter," President Harding wrote on Dec. 6, 1921: 'I am sure you will not be disappointed if I say that you have not convinced me or if I add that I do not believe you will succeed in convincing a majority of the American people of either the white or black race."

Book Chat

— by —

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

"Hell's Playground"

Ida Vera Simonton. Published by The Brentano Company, Fifth Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street, New York City. Price, $2.00. By mail, $2.10.

"THE famous novel," the cover reads, "upon which is based the famous play, 'White Cargo.'" Doubtless many of my readers have seen this immensely popular drama, now in its third year in New York. Play and book are alike, though differing in the working out of the plot. In both pictures we have white traders, one a man of fine character deteriorating in the tropics, and in both we have the seductive African woman. In the play the hero wins the end is moral and sinned against, the African woman becoming a murderer. The book makes a more human hero, at least at the last, and gives a revolting scene, in which he has his mistress nearly flogged to death when he finds that she has been unfaithful. Both book and play flavor strongly of melodrama, but they are exciting and to some extent convincing. One must in reading them forget Conrad's tale, in his volume "Youth," of the white man's deterioration in the tropics. This masterpiece makes other attempts on the same theme clumsy and artificial. But Miss Simonton knows her Africa at first hand and her story, printed originally in 1912, warrants this reprint.

One wonders after finishing it, whether the time is not near when such pictures as she draws will be false. Will the French (for this is a French colony) continue to treat the natives with such cupidity that they defeat their own ends of trade? "When we've destroyed the rubber vines in a district, and scoured it clean for ivory, and robbed the natives of everything else they possess, we desert the land and cast the natives aside like squeezed lemons." So an Englishman says to another Englishman; but still harder words are given to the French. The "concessionaire" forbids open trade and casts free natives into prison for gathering the products of their own lands. "It's natural for a nation to fight for commercial supremacy, but where that fight narrows into a crushing, paralyzing trade monopoly, it becomes robber economy, fatal in the end to the robber." Cape Lopez, where "Hell's Playground" is laid, is as horrible as Ubangi-Shari, the scene of Batuala. It would seem that the ignorant, unimaginative peasant-mind, manifesting itself in extreme penuriousness rules French Africa. White traders "revel in tyranny, licentiousness and brutality; they are a law unto themselves; a law of menace and destruction; they out-savage the very savage.

The picture Miss Simonton draws of the native woman is the most terrible part of her book. Girls are a commercial asset—the chief wants daughters for the purpose of selling them to the highest bidder. Women are used and then cast aside as one might cast off an old dress.

To the author the missionary is a mistake, and the English do best when they recognize native custom and superstition. "The so-called civilized, Christianized savage is as subtle as a Brahmin and as much to be feared.' And yet we all know that the African will not be left to his tribal customs. The Rockefeller Institute before long will be a substitute for the witch doctor and Western law will supersede native convention. If the Negroes were fewer they might be eliminated in the process, but it is likely that they will increase in numbers. The real battles will come when they turn and attempt using the weapons of the white to rule their land again. 'Hell's Playground,' with its stupid traders who drink themselves to death, and its enslaved blacks cannot last much longer.

God's Stepchildren

God's Stepchildren, by Sarah G. Millin. New York: Boni and Liveright. $2.

THE important fact about this book is that it is a good novel. The cover tactlessly calls it "a story with a purpose that burns like a beacon," which is enough to frighten off all the people who would most enjoy it, but despite the fact that blood plays the leading rôle—white blood and black blood capriciously mixed in the veins of five generations of South Africans—the novel suffers no violence by propaganda. It is not, in fact, a novel with a purpose. It is a novel with a theme. The mixture of races is exploited, not exposed, by Miss Millin. If she takes advantage of what is, except India, the most tangled jungle of social distinctions, color barriers, taboos, and race hatreds in the world, and makes a strong absorbing book out of it, it is because she uses artistic and not advertising sense. She smothers moral indignation with the ironic humor, the compassion and the gentle lucidity of a balanced mind.

The book begins with the arrival (in 1824) of the Rev. Andrew Flood among the Hottentots, and his unfruitful labors for the redemption of their souls. In desperation he conceives the idea of marrying into his flock so that the Hottentots may feel he is a brother, and be a little less derisive of his religion. But the Hottentots only despise him more, and a chocolate colored daughter Deborah is born to him to begin the confusion of a mixed race. As she herself was fathered by a fanatic white man, Deborah's son, Hans, is idly begotten by another, and the Rev. Andrew's blood begins a slow process of bleaching.

> He [Hans] despised a man in proportion as he was brown. Just physical lightness or darkness was the only test. . . . And indeed, it was, in general, the chief test in Kokstad—how a man arrived at lightness of skin did not matter. What mattered was simply his pigmentation, and he was respected just in so far as his white blood expressed itself visibly. If . . . there were several members in a family of different shades of brown, they were socially graded according to whether they were lighter or darker.

With each generation, by accident or by design, the white strain in the Rev. Andrew's descendants becomes more dominant, and the humiliations of the ebbing strain more difficult to bear, until the last high crisis is reached when Barry Lindsell, whose blood is almost pure, brings home his new young bride from England. Miss Millin creates these characters with imagination and restraint, and keeps her narrative moving down its century-long course with gathering momentum.

God's Stepchildren is not a book like the Passage to India, subtle, chameleon-like, brilliantly superficial to the point of being profound. It is simply conceived, simply and relentlessly written. But the impossibility it deals with is

Race Problem—1925.
West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS have a new Governor, Captain Martin E. Trench, United States Navy. He is the sixth governor that the islands have had in the eight years since we bought them of Denmark. Captain Philip Williams, whom Captain Trench succeeds, was probably neither better nor worse than his predecessors. One of his last official acts was to get in a squabble with the Colonial Council of St. Croix over his appointments to that body, in consequence of which he dissolved it, thus taking away from the people of St. Croix such slender rights of representative government as the council possessed. We know nothing of Captain Trench, the new executive, but we have no hope that he will be able to end the political dissatisfaction and industrial depression which have developed since America took hold. What the Virgin Islands need is not a new governor—of whom they have already had too many—but a new government. It is impossible for any man to succeed so long as he comes as a representative of a war-making branch of our government and applies naval discipline to a people previously accustomed to a representative civil administration. How much longer are American citizens going to see all our traditions of democracy violated in our overseas possessions before they demand that Congress shall supersede naval autocracy in the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Samoa with civilian governments and a fair measure of popular rights?

Civil Liberties Union Would Aid Editor Francis

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 28.—(C. P. B.)—Rev. John Haynes Holmes, representing the American Civil Liberties Union of New York, has filed a petition with President Coolidge asking that the thirty-day jail sentence imposed upon Rothschild Francis, editor of "The Emancipator," a native paper of the Virgin Islands, be suspended.

The petition also protests against the sentence passed upon the editor who was charged with libel, asserting that the prisoner did not have a fair trial, inasmuch as he was denied the consideration of a jury.

VIRGIN ISLANDS COUNCIL AGAIN IS DISSOLVED

"Governor Williams again dissolved the St. Croix, Virgin Islands, Colonial council, upon the ground that they refused to recognize the credentials of two of his appointees," is the substance of a cablegram received by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The council refused to seat A. E. Stakeman, a lawyer and judge of the St. Croix Police Court, and one Armstrong, two of the governor's appointees. The council based its refusal upon an act of Congress passed in July, 1921, which states that only citizens of the United States or of the Virgin Islands shall be eligible as council members.

The dissolution of the council by the governor places the governmental machinery of the islands in a state of chaos.

"Stakeman failed to acquire citizenship in either the United States or the Virgin Islands, when he renounced his allegiance to Denmark, in order to acquire status for his appointment to the Colonial Council," is the unofficial opinion obtained by the Amreican Civil Liberties Union from Government authorities.

An official Government ruling, defining the status of Stakeman and others is being sought by the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations interested in the welfare of the Virgin Islands

D. Hamilton Jackson and Jean Hestres, members of the colonial councils of St. Thomas and St. Croix.

Jackson and Hestres, as members of the committee now in this country, working for an autonomous civil government for the islands, went to Washington Monday to begin the Congressional campaign for the Islands. Mr. Hestres has just returned from a brief visit to the Islands and reports a change for the better in the attitude of the naval authorities toward the islanders.

"A distinctly friendly, even conciliatory attitude has replaced the old arbitrary conduct of government," Mr. Hestres said. "The change has been so marked that it has caused general comment in the Islands; particularly coming as it does just before a vigorous effort to bring conditions in the Islands before Congress."

The Virgin Islands have been without a civil government since their acquisition by the United States from Denmark in 1917. No provision was made at the time for the institution of a representative government and the Virgin Islanders have been without effective civil status under the government of the Navy Department.

U. S. A. RULE IN VIRGIN ISLES IMPROVES

New York.—Distinctly improved government in the Virgin Islands under the regime of Naval Governor Trench was reported today by

Race Problem- 1925.
West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

TROUBLE IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS NOW INTENSE

Free Speech and Trial by Jury Denied in the Administration of the Government — Rothschild Francis Appeals

Freedom of the press in the Virgin Islands from arbitrary interference by white officials will be tested in the U. S. Circuit court at Philadelphia in the appeal of Rothschild Francis, editor of the Emancipator, sentenced to thirty days on January 10 on a charge of criminal libel for an article charging brutality against a policeman.

The American Civil Liberties Union which will assist in carrying up the appeal states that Francis was tried without a jury before District Judge Washington Williams at St. Thomas, who is "known to be his political enemy." According to the Union the conviction is "the climax of a long political feud between Francis and the naval administration, particularly Judge Williams, whose appointment the editor opposed."

Efforts on behalf of Francis will also be made by the Associated Virgin Island Societies of New York, headed by Casper Holstein. He will be represented by A. A. Berle, Jr., New York attorney, who has specialized in Virgin Island matters.

The article for which Francis was indicted appeared in the December 27 issue of the Emancipator under the heading "A Native Batesko," and read as follows: "'Something is wrong with our police force,' everybody is saying. Recently a policeman fired a shot which lodged in the tub of a private citizen, then he attempted a false arrest, and before we are about to go to press he used his club in a brutal manner on a woman that he was ordered to take home. we understand. Merchants and other citizens are indignant. How long, O Justice, how long?"

Francis was arraigned before Judge Washington Williams on January 6. He pleaded not guilty and was tried on January 9 and 10. The indictment filed by Government Attorney Charles H. Gibson named Phillip Mathias, a member of the St. Thomas police force as the policeman meant in the Emancipator article. Francis was charged with publishing "a certain false, scandalous, defamatory libel of and concerning him, Phillip Mathias, containing false, scandalous, wicked, malicious, and defamatory and libelous words and matters." Francis' request for a jury trial was denied.

The following statement on the case was issued today by the Civil Liberties Union: "Rothschild Francis was tried and found guilty by a man whom he has opposed as hostile to the welfare of the Virgin Islands. In reply to criticisms by Francis appearing in the New York Times Current History Magazine, Washington Williams, when Government Attorney and Police Judge of the Virgin Islands, published an article in the January 26, 1924, issue of the St. Thomas Mail Notes, attacked Francis as 'the loudest-mouthed howler on the subject of the freedom of the press' and a 'calamity howler and publicity seeker.'

"On July 7, 1924, Francis published in the Emancipator two protests against the appointment of Williams to his present post of district judge. One protest was addressed to President Coolidge by the Associated Virgin Islands Societies of New York, the other to Governor Phillip Williams by the Civil Liberties Union, specifically warning that 'the feeling between Williams and the inhabitants of the islands has been so notoriously bitter that they fear he would use his new post to settle old scores.'

"Articles criticising the naval administration appeared in the Emancipator in August and September. Attempts to punish Francis were made several times unsuccessfully. Government Attorney Charles H. Gibson, who filed the present indictment, threatened Francis with a libel suit following articles of election irregularities appearing in the Emancipator on Sentember 27 and 29.

"Under these conditions it is a travesty on justice for Judge Williams to try Francis without a jury. The article for which Francis was indicted is purely political. His conviction by a political foe is a dangerous form of press censorship."

Judge Washington Williams is a native of Maryland. He has often been accused by Virgin Island papers of anti-Negro prejudice. Frequent protests against naval rule in the islands have been sent to the government by Virgin Islanders and their friends. A bill establishing a permanent civil government in the islands is now pending in Congress.

SERIOUS TROUBLE THREATENED IN VIRGIN ISLES

St. Thomsa, V.I., May 23—Reports from the Virgin Islands chronicle the latest exploits of the Naval administration, to wit: Captain P. Williams Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States, recently addressed the Legislature a letter to the effect that unless the present tax rate upon Real Property be increased 100 per cent (from one to two per cent on assessed value) and Personal Property from one quarter to one half per cent. by the Legislature he would request Congress to pass legislation making this increase, regardless of the fact that the people of these Islands are now overburdened with taxes.

Frequent arrests of violators of the 18th Amendment, have been recently made and trial without jury given. Fines ranging from $20 to $300 have been imposed and no notice given of the disposal of the liquor confiscated.

The latest demonstration of battleship administration is the dissolution of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, V.I.U.S.A. because this body thru its chairman, refused, to correct a blunder made by Captain Williams, the Governor. The people are indignant over this showing of autocratic powers and shows our contention that civil, military and judicial powers should be wrested from thes Naval students sent here to manage our affairs.

The colored press of the United States should feature the necessity for a remedy to this disgrace to the American nation by advocating a civil form of government for these islands, to be operated along American lines—not Navy Rule.

There is a strong demand for qualified colored attorneys here to assist the people in having "their day in court."

VIRGIN ISLANDS GOVERN'R CLASHES WITH LAWMAKERS

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Ids., March 23—(Special)—Tension between Governor Philip Williams of the Virgin Islands and the Colonial Council of St. Thomas has developed over the Council's resolution calling for an investigation of the police force, a new form of government to replace the naval administration and a new franchise law, according to information received today by the American Civil Liberties Union. The governor refused to act on the resolutions, and also failed to give the Council "sufficient satisfaction," as requested by the resolution, for the statement recently made by Police Chief Nolan that "these niggers down nere don't want law and order."

In response to the three resolutions calling for "the appointment of a committee to investigate the Police Department," a committee "to investigate the matter of a new organic act," and a committee "to inquire into the matter of the franchise," Governor Williams wrote that he proposes "to take no action on them." The Governor said: "After mature consideratio of the matter contained in these resolutions, I can not help feeling that the interest of the people of these islands would be better served in some other way. I think we all agree that our first needs are commercial. . . . In view of this well known and urgent necessity I cannot help but feel that any step of the Colonial Council which might lead to political agitation at the present time would be unwise."

The Colonial Council has challenged the Governor's attempt "to fetter its legitimate political activities." J. E. Kuntz, chairman of the Council, replied to the Governor declaring that "the political affairs of the municipality are by nature the domain of the Colonial Council," and that the three committees formed to investigate the Police Department, a new organic act and the franchise "will in due time report to the Council."

Further difficulties are expected as a result of the Council's getting together on a program in opposition to the naval officers who now control the islands.

NAVY DEPT. IS ASKED TO CURB V. I. JUDGE

New York.—An appeal to the Navy Department to intervene to end the friction in the Virgin Islands between the natives and the American administrative officers has been sent to the American Civil Liberties Union.

This action was taken following receipt of a cablegram on April 22, from Rothschild Francis, editor of the Emancipator, a native paper, who has been cited for contempt by District Judge George Washington Williams for an article in his paper. Williams is a southerner and comes from Baltimore, Md.

The Civil Liberties Union characterizes the article as "innocuous" and charges that the Judge's action is due to "animus against the editor because of the editor's opposition to the Judge's appointment." The article discussed in general language, without mention of names or circumstances, the conviction of Francis last January for criminal libel before Judge Williams.

Francis was sentenced at that time to 30 days in jail for an article which Judge Williams held libeled a native policeman. The case has been appealed to the U. S. District Court at Philadelphia, which handles Virgin Island appeals. Francis is being represented by A. A. Berle, Jr., a New York attorney. The request to the Navy Department to intervene is being made through Howard Gill, Washington Representive of the Civil Liberties Union.

In response an inquiry has been made of the governor of the Virgin Islands by the Navy Department. It is reported that the governor has disqualified Judge Williams from handling the case of contempt against Francis because of his prejudice.

Virgin Islands Commissioner Appointed Dep. Recorder

(Columbia Press Bureau)

Washington, D. C.—Jefferson S. Coage of Delaware, has just been named Deputy Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia by Recorder Arthur G. Froe. The new appointee entered upon his official duties, April 1st.

HELP IS NEEDED IN THE VIRGIN ISLES FOR CORRECTION OF ABUSES

High-Handed Methods of the Naval Government Compromise the Constitution and Good Faith of the Great Republic—When Conservative New York Times Can Speak Out in Behalf of Black Peoples, Who Can Stand Aside?

By CASPER HOLSTEIN

President Virgin Islands Congressional Council

When the staid, respectable and conservative New York Times devotes an editorial two-thirds of a column long to a plea for simple justice to black people contending against whites, all those who know America will concede that something significant has come about and that those black people have a tremendous case. Even Philip Williams, "naval governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States," and that other Marylander, Judge George Washington Williams, who pays off personal scores by crude convictions and jail sentences, must feel ill at ease when they read the Times editorial of June 9 on "The Virgin Islanders." For not even these twin sons of thunder dare deny that the New York Times is one of the very few great and most powerful morning papers in the United States. Nor can they pretend that that "classic organ of conservatism" is open to the influences of "propaganda," whether emanating from Virgin Islanders or elsewhere. Yet the Times editorial advances with crushing judicial weight every one of the main contentions which we of the Virgin Islands Congressional Council have been urging with unabated vigor for the last three years—every one! The facts which the Times editor digested in the editorial have penetrated to the moral sensibilities of every influential American, and like a stench in the nostrils, they cry aloud for abatement.

The recent high-handed and tyrannical act of the governor in dissolving the Colonial Council (local legislature) of St. Croix, when that body was adhering to the Colonial law, might well have been the element that precipitated such an editorial as that in the Times. The facts are now available and we present them here for our friends, sympathizers and readers of The Negro World.

The Colonial Council of the island of St. Croix consists of 18 members elected and appointed; the appointed members by the governor under the present organic act of 1917, lightheartedly devised by Congress when its deliberative wisdom was distracted by the pressing problems of an impending war with Germany. On the first and second of May the three hundred or so voters (out of sixteen thousand inhabitants) had an election for positions on the Council. The result of this election was that the People's Party were enabled, in poker parlance, "to fill their hand." They captured enough seats to give them the majority vote. This result made it less easy for the "naval party" to control the Council as they had previously done with their appointive members, plus a few elective.

When the Council convened it was discovered that the absent-minded governor had neglected to send his customary letter of appointments (of the two newly appointive members) in time to have them entered upon the published agenda of the Council, as required by the law regulating the business of the Council. The government members strove desperately to get the acting chairman to depart from the regular order of business and insert the belated letter of appointments in the fore-front of the agenda, which would have seated their two members at the outset, giving the government an equal number of voters as the People's party, and thereby enabling a government's party man to take the chair again, as has been the custom from the rule of seniority as applied in the Council. But the matter could not then be added to the order of business without a violation of that very law which both the governor and the members of the Counucil had sworn to faithfully uphold.

In stating his side, the chair said among other things, "I shall act in accordance with the Colonial law and the rules of business (of the House) . . . If the Government makes blunders I am not to be blamed for it." He therefore refused to depart from the law, in which resolution he was supported by all the members excepting those in favor of the government.

Let it be noted here that in due time the letter of appointments would have been reached before the close of that same day's session. But this did not meet the impetuous wishes of another Marylander who was acting as government whip. Upon the refusal of the acting chairman to digress from the regular order of business a snappy wireless was sent to the governor, who was then in the island of St. Thomas. At once, and without any investigation, this monarch of naval rule radioed a peremptory order dissolving the Council. Under the Danes there had been but one dissolution of the Council in its 53 years of existence, and that was only done to give those persons who had become voters under the newly-revised franchise an opportunity to elect their representatives. What a commentary upon the ways in which the prejudiced southerners of the navy department are distributing spurious samples of America's democracy to the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands.

In the meanwhile another election has been held in St. Croix and the voters have again returned the People's Party to the Colonial Council as an answer to the governor. But the governor's czarist methods should be met by a gigantic petition for his recall. His proper place is on one of the Navy's ships and not at the head of a colonial government. Thus the government, as the Times puts it, is naval with a tendency to arbitrary power. Something more handsome and more American than a casual temporary government should be provided for the inhabitants.

Congress may not dodge much longer its plain duty to the Virgin Islands without compromising the self respect of the nation.

Judge Who Opposed Rape of the Virgin Isles Fired by Cal

WASHINGTON, June 14. — Judge Lucius J. M. Malmin, who was appointed for life as federal judge of the Virgin Islands by the Admiral—Oman—whom President Wilson put in charge of that purchased territory in 1917, has been trying to get possession of his bench by appealing to the law. Admiral Oman, acting as governor, dismissed Judge Malmin, and the third circuit court of appeals, at Philadelphia, issued a writ of mandamus requiring that the navy permit Malmin to hold court. President Harding ordered Admiral Kittelle, who followed Oman as governor, to obey the appellate court. Then he sent a radiogram ordering Kittelle to disregard the court.

Malmin, appealing to Secretary Wilbur on June 9, asked for the removal of his successor and for obedience to the appellate court's writ. Wilbur replied "we didn't think that was good law," and turned the whole thing off as a joke. The navy dictates in the islands. Wilbur was recently chief justice of the California supreme court, which has upheld the imprisonment of Mooney and the persecution of the I. W. W.

Malmin tried to protect local self-government in the islands to some extent.

Protest Tyranny of Military Rule of Virgin Isles

WASHINGTON, June 12.—(FP)—Captain Philip Williams, the navy governor of the Virgin Islands by arbitrary appointment, has dissolved the native advisory body, the St. Croix Council, in a fashion which the Civil Liberties Union has protested to President Coolidge as "high handed."

Williams, who had already antagonized native sentiment, revived an old Danish law in order to get rid of the council because that body had refused to accept at once the credentials of certain new appointees of his own.

This is the second dissolution which has been ordered by American naval governors during the eight years of "temporary" government of the islands by the navy; during more than a century of Danish rule the order was invoked only once.

VIRGIN ISLAND SEETHE WITH DISCONTENT

Taxes Raised, Liquor Confiscated And Assembly Dissolved

St. Thomas, V. I.—Reports from the Virgin Islands chronicle the latest exploits of the Naval administration, to wit: Captain R. Williams, Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States, recently addressed the Legislature a letter to the effect that unless the present tax rate upon Real Property be increased 100 per cent (from one to two percent on assessed value) and Personal Property from one quarter to one half per cent, by the Legislature he would request Congress to pass legislation making this increase, regardless of the fact that the people of these Islands are now overburdened with taxes.

Frequent arrests of violaters of the 18th Amendment have been recently made and trial without jury given. Fines ranging from $20 to $300 have been imposed and no notice given of the disposal of the liquor confiscated.

The latest demonstration of battleship administration is the dissolution of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, V. I. U. S., because this body thru its chairman refused to correct a blunder made by Baptain Williams, the Governor.

A civil form of government for these Islands, to be operated along American lines—not Navy Rule is advocated.

There is a strong demand for qualified colored attorneys here to assist the people in having" their day in court."

PROTEST SENTENCE OF VIRGIN ISLES EDITOR

Washington, May 18, 1925.—A protest was filed with resident Coolidge today by the American Civil Liberties Union, through John Haynes Holmes, acting chairman, claring that the courts are not functioning well in the Virgin Islands.

The protest arises over the sentence of Rothschild Francis, editor of the Emancipator, a native paper. He was charged with libel and sent to jail for 30 days for a paragraph in his paper criticising a native policeman.

The protest asserts that the editor criticised the police department and that Washington Williams, a judge whom Francis had opposed politically, tried the case and sentenced him to jail. The protest charges that the judge acted in an arbitrary manner, refused Williams a trial by jury and had him sentenced for contempt when he attacked his method, that of refusing a trial by jurv.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS WANT CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR ISLES

(Preston News Service)

Washington, D. C., June 18.—Declaring that only a naval officer may drink in the Virgin Island, former Judge Lucius J. M. Malmin, of the islands, has arrived in Washington to wage a fight for civil government for the islands, which now are under naval jurisdiction.

Prohibition laws are being enforced on the island, he told Secretary Wilbur, under the guns of the navy. The possessions, he asserted, are "virtually going back to the bush and becoming less and less valuable to the United States."

The English flag, he declared, is the only one carrying mail to the islands. Oil burning vessels, he added, have taken away sourre of revenue formerly available. Virgin min declared the navy dominated coal loadings. The Volstead act, he the administration of justice in the said, has killed off the manufac- islands and that he would seek to ture of rum and bay rum, with un- have this situation changed. favorable reaction on sugar and molasses production. Judge Mal-

Race Problem - 1925.
West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

"CRACKER" JUDGE IN VIRGIN ISLES MAKES BAD CASE WORSE

Rebuked by the Nation for Unjudicial Conduct in the Case of Editor Rothschild Francis—Should Be Removed

BY CASPER HOLSTEIN

President Virgin Islands Congressional Council

If any member of an "inferior" race wants to see just how distressingly stupid a member of the "superior" race can be at his worst let him peruse the propaganda article sent to various periodicals in New York from the office of the Judge of the District Court, Virgin Islands, U. S. A. The sender is none other than our old friend, George Washington Williams, the same who prevented the little black boy from reciting the peroration of Wendell Phillips speech on Toussaint L'Overture. Mr. Williams is now a judge, but there has come to him no increase of either dignity or intelligence. Let me explain.

The "Nation" carried some time ago a news item setting forth the following facts: That a Negro editor in St. Thomas had ventured to comment mildly on certain brutal acts perpetrated by policemen against defenseless people in the island of St. Thomas; that this editor and George Washington Williams had been political enemies for a long time; that nevertheless and notwithstanding George Washington Williams as Judge issued the warrant on which the Negro editor was brought before him for trial; that in this trial Judge Williams dispensed with the services of a jury; that he sentenced the editor to jail, and thus even up old scores. The facts, by the way, are facts of record. The "Nation," commenting on these facts, expressed itself as surprised and indignant at such public pursuit of the private vendetta and condemned Judge Williams for the judicial indecency of trying his enemy without a jury and for the crude injustice (alias rough stuff) of condemning an editor to jail in the United States Virgin Islands for a mild comment which no judge or jury outside of a crazy house would ever take juristic cognizance of in the continental United States.

How does Judge Williams proceed to square himself with American public opinion? First, he quotes the case of another Negro editor in the islands to the effect that in another case "his Honor Judge Williams displayed an even and fair-minded attitude toward the evidence adduced," and adds that "with this master stroke he has made friends of all his enemies." And Judge Williams fails to see the humor of the thing! The clear implication of the last-quoted sentenced is that for Judge Williams to display fair-mindedness is so unique, so unusual a procedure that it constitutes a "master stroke" on his part. Then there is the further implication that it was his failure to display fair-mindedness that had made him enemies among the people. These implications are clear and striking. Yet the able naval Judge is just so dense that he can't see it, and even cites it as an argument in a case where, even without these implications, its evidential value would be nil. But we must remember that Judge Williams hails from the South (from Baltimore), and that the South (as H. L Mencken, himself a Southerner, tells us), is the most backward section of the country intellectually and spiritually.

The second "argument" of the unlearned Judge is even funnier; certainly it is more dishonest: He cites an article published in the Baltimore Sun by a correspondent ashamed to disclose his identity, which he hides carefully behind the initials "H. O.," and which identity Judge Williams carefully conceals, although he professes to have met the man from his own city and talked and dined with him. Personally, I suspect that the correspondent is none other than Judge Williams himself. But that is only my suspicion. Be that as it may, the unlearned Judge says that the nameless newspaper man says that there was no disagreement about the fairness of the conviction of Francis, the editor. Of course, there wasn't—between him and the Judge, between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. But that is as near as Judge Williams gets in his long screed to the facts "touching on and appertaining to" the case for which he was censured by the "Nation" and every other decent American periodical.

We on this side believe that if Judge Williams' screed to the various periodicals could be laid before President Coolidge, without a single word being uttered in rebuttal for the side of the people whom he attacks, the President would see such obvious brainlessness, such lack of legal logic, such ignorance of judicial propriety, that he would realize how great a blunder was made when Williams was made Judge; and he might even be moved, in the interest of preserving respect for white men's intellects, to remove this ignorant and incompetent naval propagandist from the bench of the island. For it is not seemly that black men should see how pitifully poor in brains some white men can become. If we must have white men to rule over us let them at least be of such caliber that even if we don't like them we can't despise them.

SEC'Y. WILBUR MAY PROBE THE VIRGIN ISLAND FIGHT

Preston News Service.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 18.—According to an announcement made by an official of the U. S. Navy Department, Secretary Wilbur has indicated that he might give his personal attention to questions which have arisen concerning the administration of the Virgin Islands as a result of representations made to him by the Civil Liberties' Union, which directed charges against the American Judge and the Governor of the Islands.

It has been charged that the Governor arbitrarily disbanded the Council of St. Croix because it had refused to recognize or seat his appointees but it is said here that no question had been raised of the Governor's legal right to take such accourse. The charges against the Judge involve his alleged course in sentencing a native editor to jail on charges of criminal libel. Secretary Wilbur, it is said has asked the Island authorities for reports on the incidents.

Virgin Islands Delegate Arrives

H. Berg Will Head Delegation to See Coolidge on Naval Misrule

Vigorous steps to end the present chaos in the Virgin Islands, due to the recurring dissolutions of the St. Croix Colonial Council by Governor Williams, will be taken following the arrival in New York this week of H. Berg, a member of the St. Croix Council, according to the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been active in behalf of the Virgin Islanders in their conflict with the naval administration.

A conference between representative Virgin Islanders, officials of the American Civil Liberties Union and other interested organizations will be held to plan ways and means for assuring the exercise of civil rights in the Islands.

A delegation will probably visit President Coolidge at the Summer White House at Swampscott, Mass., as he is the only official designated by law to pass on Virgin Island matters. Two memoranda urging action to replace the naval administration by a civil government have been submitted to the President and referred by him to the Navy Department for report.

The issues have also been put before Senator Borah at the instance of the Civil Liberties Union through its Washington representative, Isabelle Kendig.

DISSOLVE V. I. GOVT.

VIRGIN ISLAND COUNCIL AGAIN DISSOLVED BY U. S. A. GOVERNOR

New York, N. Y., July 14, 1925:—"Governor Williams again dissolved the St. Croix, Virgin Islands Colonial Council, upon the ground that they refused to recognize the credentials of two of his appointees", is the substance of a cablegram received by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Council refused to seat A. E. Stakeman, a lawyer and judge of the St. Croix Police Court, and one Armstrong, two of the Governor's appointees. The Council based its refusal upon an act of Congress passed in July 1921, which states that only citizens of the United States or of the Virgin Islands shall be eligible as Council members.

"Stakeman failed to acquire citizenship in either the United States or the Virgin Islands, when he renounced his allegiance to Denmark, in order to acquire status for his appointment to the Colonial Council", is the unofficial opinion obtained by the American Civil Liberties Union from Government authorities.

VIRGIN ISLES HAVING TROUBLE WITH WILLIAMS

New York, July 14.—"Governor Williams again dissolved the St. Croix Virgin Islands Colonial Council, upon the ground that they refused to recognize the credentials of two of his appointees," is the substance of a cable gram received to day by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Council refused to seat A. E. Stakeman, a lawyer and judge of the St. Croix Police Court and one Armstrong, two of the Governor's appointees. The Council based its refusal upon an act of Congress passed in July 1921, which states that only citizens of the United States or of the Virgin Islands shall be eligible as Council members.

The dissolutio nof the Council by the Governor places the governmental machinery of the islands in a state of chaos.

"Stakeman failed to acquire citizenship in either the United States or the Virgin Islands, when he renounced his allegiance to Denmark, in order to acquire status for his appointment to the Colonial Council," is the unofficial opinion obtained by the American Civil Liberties Union from Government authorities.

An official government ruling, defining the satus of Stakeman and others is being sought by the American Liberties Union and other organizations interested in the welfare of the Virgin Islands.

Continue Fight To Oust Virgin Island Judge

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 18.—Demand that George Washington Williams, of Baltimore, district judge in the Virgin Islands, be "presidentially and pre-emptorily removed from office," is being made of high Government officials here by Lucius J. M. Malmin, Chicago attorney, who contends that, although he still is technically the district judge of the islands, he has been prevented twice by the navy from sitting on the bench.

Mr. Malmin conferred yesterday with Curtis D. Wilbur, Secretary of Navy, whose department has jurisdiction in the islands, and with Assistant Attorney General Letts. Later, he described, in an interview, conditions, as he alleged, they txist in the islands.

Says Navy Is Dominant

Mr. Malmin, a Democrat, said he had been appointed to the Circuit Court bench for a life term in 1920 by Rear Admiral Oman, then naval governor of the islands. He resigned after having served two years "out of disgust," over conditions in the islands, but his resignation never has been accepted by the White House, he asserted. James Hamilton Lewis former Senator from Illinois, was one of those who had recommended his appointment.

"The navy is dominant, autocratic, tyrannical," he said. "What the navy tells the judge to do, the judge does. But I refused. When it comes to jumping through a hoop, the judge jumps or he loses his official life.

Says Oman Approached Him

"The navy attempted to tell me what to do in several instances. When a suit was to be brought against the Government by the Bethlehem Sugar Company, a concern in the island, for $30,000, arising out of war transactions, the navy told me what I was to do. I refused to say that I would act in favor of the Government, as I had been told to do. The case never was filed."

Mr. Malmin said he had been approached in this matter by Rear Admiral Oman.

Because he would not follow orders, he asserted, the naval authorities succeeded in having President Wilson "emasculate the judicial code of the islands, believing that this would be retroactive and end my life-term appointment." The "emasculation of the code," however, did not effect his tenure, he said, and this, he declared, was upheld by the appellate court for the third district at Philadelphia in proceedings brought by Attorney General Palmer.

Ordered Back to Bench

"The appellate court held that I was the district judge, and ordered me to go back and resume the bench," he said. "I went back and Rear Admiral Sumner E. W. Kittelle, who was then naval governor, said he was the high judicial officer of the Virgin Islands, and that he didn't give a damn what the appellate court said. He dared me to sit on the bench or any of my officers to aid me, and threatened that if I did so he would throw me in jail."

"Judge Williams, who claims to be my successor, should be presidentially and peremptorily removed," he asserted. "He was a justice of the peace and succeeded to the district judgeship shortly after my resignation, when he was appointed by Capt. Philip Williams, now governor of the islands. That is maladministration of justice in the islands and litigation has absolutely ceased."

Mr. Malmin said that because of conditions in the islands, 8,000 natives had left within the last two years—most of them going to New York.

Allegations made by Mr. Malmin were denied last night by Rear Admiral Kittelle, now a member of the Naval Examining and Retiring Board. He said Mr. Malmin had not been appointed for life, that no judge in the islands had ever been, and denied catagorically that such conditions as Mr. Malmin described exist in the islands.

Admiral Kittelle admitted that he had declined to permit Mr. Malmin to conduct court, even though the case had been taken to the appellate court.

"The government of the Virgin Islands, is most honest, just and economical," he said. "I might add that it is kindly and beneficent. I raise my voice loudly against any change."

Refused to Allow Him to Sit

Asked whether it were true that he had refused to allow Mr. Malmin to hold court, he replied:

"Certainly; I was sent down there as governor by presidential appointment, confirmed by the Senate, to see that the interests of the United States were looked after, and I did what I thought was for the good of those interests. When I was governor, I was governor. I would brook no interference from the outside. My idea was that if the Government that sent me and which I represented did not like the way I was running things it could recall me.

"There is nothing in the charges Judge Malmin made regarding maladministration of justice or dictation by the navy officials to the court. But I did refuse to let him hold court, because I thought it to the best interest of the United States.

GIVE VIRGIN ISLANDERS CITIZENSHIP

America's imperialistic attitude toward her island possessions is not serving to strengthen good will for us, either here or abroad. Our activities in Haiti from 1916, when the marines were first landed there under Woodrow Wilson's administration, until the present have served merely to prove to the rest of the world that America also has ambitions to rank as a colonial power.

In 1917 the United States acquired the Virgin Islands from Denmark. In this transaction a trick treaty was employed which led the islanders to believe that they would be granted American citizenship as soon as they relinquished all claims on the Danish government. But the highest recognition they have received to date is the designation: "Entitled to the protection of the United States," which, in essence, means nothing to the individual.

Perhaps there is no situation in American history exactly parallel to the Virgin Island situation. Here are approximately 30,000 inhabitants forced to live under American domination and abide by our laws, but not allowed a voice in the making of laws which govern them and not allowed to govern themselves. One of the chief instances of a havoc wrought by this arrangement resulted from the 18th amendement to our Constitution. This law killed rum manufacture, by far the largest industry on the island group. For a while a near famine resulted.

According to a letter sent to Senator Frank B. Willis, chairman of the senate committee on territories and insular possessions, the islanders are not seeking home rule, but full citizenship right to which all are entitled. As the situation now stands a Virgin Islander has difficulty in traveling in any foreign country because, being a citizen of no country, he has no passport, consequently is accorded no courtesy. As an American citizen this difficulty at least can be eliminated.

And because America has promised this to the islanders, if for no other reason, citizenship should be granted them.

Race Problem — 1925

West Indies.

Haiti.

A Reply to Dr. Carl Kelsey on American Military Occupation in Haiti

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Editor The Messenger.

"A CONTEMPTIBLE skunk" was the main argument offered by Dr. Kelsey, head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Pennsylvania, to my charge that Haiti is in the hands of American imperialists, at the symposium on Haiti at the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School, Tuesday evening, June 9th. Needless to say that I was amazed, though not in the least disturbed, at the use of such intemperate and ungentlemanly language by a responsible (?) head of the Department of Sociology of a leading university in refutation of views with which he disagrees.

Dr. Jesse Holmes of Swarthmore is to be congratulated upon the calm, masterly and gentlemanly manner in which he handled a delicate situation.

Contrary to the report of the Philadelphia Inquirer, which I trust this fair paper, in justice to the Berean School, will correct, there was no near riot. The audience was perfectly orderly. Dr. Kelsey, who, I understand, has visited Haiti and written a brochure on the country, was the only visibly unstable person in the meeting. Nor were there any jeers. The audience treated Dr. Kelsey like that which it assumed him to be, a gentleman. This was all the more natural, too, since I learn that he is considered a friend of the Negro in Philadelphia.

Upshot of the Clash

Dr. Kelsey's ire was roused when I pointed out that Haiti had been ruthlessly and wantonly exploited and mismanaged by the United States military occupation forces; that Haiti the first Latin-American republic, established in 1804 by the brave Toussaint L'Overture, was wiped out in 1915 by Woodrow Wilson, William Jennings Bryan and Josephus Daniels; that Presidents Harding and Coolidge have been as callous as was Wilson; that Hughes and Kellogg have been as contemptuous as were Bryan, Lansing and Colby. No lesser diplomat than Hon. Pierre Hudicourt, who was Haiti's delegate to the second Hague conference, and afterward a member of the Hague Court of Justice and member of the American Institute of International Law, is authority for these facts.

Free Speech Abolished

I also showed that the free expression of opinion was banned by our irresponsible and prejudiced marines, the generals of whom hailed from the South. The policy of placing Southerners in charge of the United States occupation in Haiti is doubtless based upon the erroneous claim that Southerners know the Negro, know what he wants, know what he ought to have and what he ought not to have.

Now, Southerners are opposed to free speech among Negroes in the United States. Is there any wonder then that they, when in auhtority, would suppress it among Negroes in Haiti? Of course, it is a commonplace that an imperial power will suppress freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage among its subject peoples. Great Britain has done as much in Ireland, India and Egypt.

Six journalists, according to Mr. Hudicourt, are in jail at the order of the fake, hand-picked government of "President" Borno, who is upheld by American machine guns. These news writers and editors have dared to point out that Borno's regime is one of force, that it is unconstitutional and in defiance of the will of the people. One of them was jailed after printing an account of the fate that befell a Swedish king four centuries ago when he oppressed his people.

Think of it! Does Dr. Kelsey regard this as a beneficent species of democracy of which he boasts our country has carried to these ignorant, lazy people? This reference to Swedish history was called an incitement to murder of President Borno.

"Oh, democracy, what tyranny is committed in thy name!" No indictment has yet been lodged against any of the prisoners who were arrested in December and January. While Dr. Kelsey would doubtless condemn this high handed despotism among the alleged superior Nordic race, it is perfectly all right among Negroes.

Haitian Officials' Tools

Dr. Kelsey said in rebuttal to my criticism of the United States military occupation that the Haitians are in the offices and run the government machinery. Yes, that's true. But at the behest of the American marines. A Haitian government official dare not oppose the will of the American high commissioner. If he does he is summarily deposed.

Smedley D. Butler, new director of police in Philadelphia, was the officer who, in the spring of 1917, entered the hall of the Haitian National Assembly with a score of armed gendarmes and dispersed the members therof. Dr. Kelsey may verify this statement by referring to General Butler. Since 1917 a council of state, whose 21 members are nominated and dismissed by the President of Haiti, who is a puppet of the American commander, have performed the legislative jobs. On April 10, 1922, 14 of these appointed officials chose Borno as President for a four-year term. This is the sort of constitutional government which Dr. Kelsey would commend and uphold for Haiti.

Election a Farce

The Haitians have appealed to Secretary Kellogg to have President Borno instructed to hold a real election for a constititonal legislative body by issuing a call on October 10, making it possible to inaugurate a new government on January 10 next. But Borno proposes to have his own re-election assured by his own hand-picked council.

He changed the constitution by personal decree on March 18 and dismissed seven of his councillors because they were not loyal enough to himself.

"In fact," says Hudicourt, "the American general now high commissioner to Haiti concentrates in his own hands all the powers of the country." Thanks to our military occupation! The de facto president, highly praised as a cultured gentleman by Dr. Kelsey, depends upon him for everything.

Under the provision of an agreement signed in 1918 by the same Borno, then Secretary of State, and Mr. Bailey Blanchard, Minister of the United States to Haiti, no act, no law can be enacted by the Council of State without the preliminary consent of the American legation (now the American high commissioner). Even the nomination of members of the council should receive the previous approval of General Russell. Will any fair-minded person stamp such a regime as in any respect democratic or representative? Well, Dr. Kelsey does so stamp the American occupation in Haiti.

"Natives Lazy"

That a weaker people are lazy and ignorant has ever been the reason assigned by the intellectual gendarmes of the powerful nations for taking over their government and land.

Thus Dr. Kelsey cites this alleged fact as an excuse for our government overthrowing the black Republic. But the reason is very insubstantial. For it is a notorious fact that the masses of America are ignorant and lazy. Would Dr. Kelsey argue that Japan or Germany would be justified in establishing a miiitary occupation of this country? The plain truth is that the masses of every country are ignorant and lazy.

'Upper Class Proud'

He further stated that the upper classes of Haitians are proud. In proof of that he cited the instance of a Haitian from whom he bought some books, requiring a peasant to carry them. Granted that's true, what of it? The same thing is true of upper classes of whites in the South and also in Europe. That's no good reason for robbing a people of their liberty.

Lawlessness

But the big reason for the United States going into Haiti is to establish law and order. Says Dr. Kelsey: "The Haitians have assassinated president after president." But as Dr. Jesse Holmes said, we Americans have assassinated presidents, too. Another specious reason of Dr. Kelsey's goes a-flying. Nor are we a model nation of law and order. Witness the depredations of the great American institution, the Ku Klux Klan. Note the existence of mob law in Georgia and Florida.

Through Deception Conquered Haiti

I also pointed out that the United States conquered Haiti through chicanery and betrayal of the trust and confidence of the people. What are the facts? On August 10, Secretary Lansing's orders to the American minister were, in part, as follows: **The Government of the United States considers it a duty to support a constitutional government. . . . It has no designs upon the political and territorial integrity of Haiti.**

Forcible Intervention

In the interval granted, American naval officers in the capital sought a candidate who would agree in advance to sign and support a treaty which the United States would sub-

mit. Several thus approached refused. Among them was the Hon. J. N. Leger, for many years Haitian Minister at Washington, characterized by Lord Pauncefort as 'the ablest diplomat I have ever known." He could not agree to such conditions, he said; he was "for Haiti, not for the United States." Finally Philip Sudre Dartiguenave, President of the Senate, appeared as a candidate and offered, if elected, to accede to any terms the United States desired, including customs control and cession of Mole St. Nicholas. Upon being apprised of this fact, the Navy Department notified Admiral Caperton that it preferred the election of Dartiguenave. Under American supervision, he was elected August 12."

Two days later, August 14, a draft of a treaty was presented. It contained all the clauses which the Haitians had rejected in previous peaceful negotiations—and further conditions. The American legation was instructed to advise the Haitian President that "the Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution authorizing the President-elect to conclude, without modification, the treaty submitted to you." The legation transmitted the message. Negotiations for the acceptance of the treaty were thenceforth carried on by Admiral Caperton and his naval officers, acting jointly with the legation. On August 19 Secretary Daniel ordered the seizure of the Haitian Custom Houses, adding: "Confer for purposes of having Dartiguenave solicit above action. Whether President requests or not, proceed." By September 2 the ten principal Custom Houses had been taken over. The Haitian Government protested in the strongest terms in a series of notes, but in vain. (Extract from a brochure by Ernest H. Gruening, manager editor of The Nation, who visited Haiti).

(To be concluded next week.) Read next week of Haitian 'slavery at the hands of American capitalists.

In September "Crisis"

An editorial in "The Crisis" for September, commenting on the "evolution trial" in Dayton, Tennessee, asserts that it was evidence of the ignorance of Nordic America, the same ignorance which brings about oppression of the Negro.

"The folk who leave white Tennessee in blank and ridiculous ignorance of what science has taught the world since 1859," asserts the editorial, "are the same ones who would leave black Tennessee and black America with just as little education as is consistent with fairly efficient labor and reasonable contentment; who rave over the 18th Amendment and are dumb over the 15th; who permit lynching and make bastardy legal in order to render their race 'pure'. It is such folk who when in sudden darkness they descry the awful faces of the Fanatic, the Fury and the Fool try to hide the vision with gales of laughter.

"But Dayton, Tennessee, is no laughing matter. It is menace and warning. It is a challenge to Religion, Science and Democracy."

The September "Crisis" also contains a vigorous attack upon General Bullard's slander of the American Negro soldier, in which the Army's Anti-Negro conspiracy is outlined: "Up North," an essay by "A Mulatto"; "Negro History, Harvard Style" by Augustus Granville Dill; and illustrations, poems, and other essays.

MESSENGER EDITOR RILES DR. KELSEY IN TALK ON HAITI

Head Of Sociology Department of University of Pennsylvania Calls Fellow-speaker "Contemptible Skunk."

Philadelphia, Pa.,—Severely arraigning United States rule in Haiti in a speech he delivered at an educational symposium on Haiti at the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School here, A. Philip Randolph, editor of the Messenger, so riled Dr. Carl Kelsey, head of the Sociology Department of the University of Pennsylvania, whom Mr. Randolph had just preceded on the platform, that Dr. Kelsey turned from his prepared speech long enough to brand as a "contemptible skunk" any man who would make such remarks as Mr. Randolph had made without offering the proof. Mr. Randolph calmly replied, "I have the facts."

The bitter personal debate between Dr. Kelsey and Mr. Randolph in which the symposium had developed was ended by Dr. Kelsey leaving the platform and marching indignantly out of the auditorium to the accompaniment of scattered jeers and occasional "Stay, brother, stay." Dr. Jessie Holmes, of Swathmore College, who pserided essayed the role of peacemaker, but without success.

Mr. Randolph was the first speaker, and took as his subject, "Haiti, in the Hands of Imperialism." He charged colossal mismanagement and exploitation of the country by the United States since 1915, and, among others, implicated Presidents Wilson Harding and Secretaries of State Bryan and Lansing and General Smedley D. Butler, whose regime, as head of the marines stationed in that country, he described as highly imperialistic.

Dr. Kelsey Rebukes Edtior

All this was too much for Dr. Kelsey, who rebuked Mr. Randolph in no uncertain terms when it came his turn to speak.

"Any man who makes such statements on the same platform with me without supporting them with facts is to be classed as a contemptible skunk," said Dr. Kelsey.

"I can prove them all right," said Mr. Randolph, but he made no effort to do so.

At this juncture there was a pronounced stir among the members of the audience, and Dr. Holmes, chairman of the meeting, saw that something should be done and that promptly. He called upon Dr. Kelsey to apologize for calling a fellow-speaker "such a name." This Dr. Kelsey did quite graciously, but it was plain to be seen that he still was very much riled.

This became more and more evident as he continued with his address, the subject of which was "A Visit to Haiti." He denied any great mismanagement or exploiting by United States officials, but did admit that mistakes had been made. He held that this was only natural and that all high officials erred now and then.

In concluding his address, Dr. Kelsey said that unsupported statements such as the previous speaker had made in regard to Haiti "made his blood boil."

Tell Him to "Let It Boil"

"Let it boil," called out a member of the audience.

Dr. Holmes again sought to spread oil on the troubled waters, but this time was unsuccessful. "I am very sorry," he said, "that any personal feelings have entered into this discussion."

"Nothing personal about it," spoke up Dr. Kelsey, interrupting Dr. Holmes.

"I am sorry," began Dr. Holmes again, but this time Dr. Kelsey rose from his chair and started out. As several voices requested him to stay, several others called out "Let him go! Let him go!

GEORGES SYLVAIN is dead—and who in the United States recognizes even his name? Sylvain had for five years been the leader of the band of Haitian patriots who in season and out of season have proclaimed their determination that their country shall be rid of the American incubus. Educated in France, he belonged to the elite of the black republic. He served it in various posts before American marines destroyed its century-long independence—among others, as Minister to the Holy See and to the French Republic. France made him a member of the Institute and an officer of the Legion of Honor. After the collapse of the military effort to repel the American invaders Sylvain organized the Patriotic Union of Haiti, which twice sent missions to the United States in the vain hope of awakening the American people to the brutalities being committed in Haiti in their name. With unfailing hope he told his people that in the end right must win. But the American troops have remained, and the domination of American business has grown more and more complete. Last year, after another futile effort to win a regular election of a new Senate to replace that which General Smedley Butler, brandishing his gun, dissolved eight years ago, Sylvain organized an irregular election and himself became a member of the rump Senate which again proclaimed Haiti's rightful independence. *The Nation* is proud that it was privileged to aid Sylvain in his long fight as a patriot, but its pride is mixed with shame that Haiti is not yet free.

NEW YORK CITY SUN
NOVEMBER 6, 1925

Negro Labor Bill in Cuba.

HAVANA, Nov. 6 (A. P.).—The Chamber of Deputies adopted a bill introduced by Representative Lombard, a negro, nationalizing the personnel of all companies and business houses which are compelled to employ at least 50 per cent. natives.

It is the opinion in political circles that the law will be passed by the Senate and signed by President Machado.

Race Problem—1925.
West Indies.
Haiti.

Hayti Under the Marines

(From the New York World.)

In 1915 the United States forced through the Haytian Senate the ratification of a treaty with this country. To quote the words of Admiral Caperton of the United States Navy, who was then under instructions from Washington, in charge of affairs there: "The status of our administration in Hayti was at this time purely one of military control." The marines are still in control there, with a Haytian President as figure-head to carry out orders.

The Haytian treaty by its terms was to remain in effect for ten years after exchange of ratifications, and for a further term of ten years if for reasons offered by either parties its purposes had not been fully accomplished. There is nothing to indicate that next year the United States will relinquish the military control which it imposed before the treaty went into effect.

But to the appeal of Haytians, speaking through their nationalist organization, that the restoration of regular forms of government be hastened and American supervision reduced to a minimum, Americans cannot remain indifferent except through ignorance of the facts.

Since 1917, when President Dartiguenave dissolved the two Chambers, there have been no elections and no sessions of the Chambers, which for all purposes under American control have been abolished. Louis Borno was named President in 1922 by the Council of State, a body of twenty-one appointed and subject to removal at the President's will—in other words, at the will of the American High Commissioner, backed by Gen. Russell and his marines.

President Borno's term expires next year, but with a Council of State of his own appointment he will have power to elect himself, regardless of the disfavor in which he is held by the Haytian people with the approval of the commanding officer of the marines. Since the Haytian Constitution prescribes that legislative elections shall be in an "even" year and that the date shall be fixed by Presidential decree three months in advance, Haytian nationalists are demanding that forty members of the Chamber of Deputies and sixteen Senators be elected next January; otherwise representative government in Hayti cannot be restored until 1928 or later.

If this demand is met, President Borno will have to issue his decree next October. He is not a free agent; he will act as American advisers dictate. What reason can be given for blocking this step toward democratic self-government? The election of a Haytian Legislature would in no way affect the American convention with Hayti. It would occur with the American marines still in occupation, guaranteeing complete order. What is to be the Administration's attitude toward Hayti? Is it to be indefinite military control or a return to representative government by the Haytian people under reasonable safeguards?

Haitian Question Brought To Attention of The World

NEW YORK, April 6—(A. N. P.)—Two significant moves were made this week that bring to the fore again the question of Haiti and the American occupation of the island. One was in France and the other concerned itself with the dispatching of a letter to the new Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, by Joseph Mirault, correspondent of the Haitian Courier.

The League of Rights of Man, one of the most powerful organizations in France, its membership comprising 75 percent of the French senators and deputies, including the leaders, demanded that the French government bring up the American military occupation of Haiti before the league of nations. The resolution says that the United States arbitrarily seized the mandate of Haiti, a nation whose sovereignty never before was questioned, that the military occupation by America has become brutal and abusive and that Haiti is unable to make its protest heard. This resolution was signed by many members of the powerful association and submitted to the executive committee session, which adopted it and sent the motion to the cabinet of Edouard Herriot, urging immediate action.

The letter of Mr. Mirault to the American Secretary of States sets forth that "during the last ten years that there has been an American occupation of the island, countless crimes have been committed in the name of the American people; that the poor people in the country are sometimes forced to disguise themselves as cannibals and to suffer themselves thus to be photographed; that twenty-five high schools have been closed, and the press gagged to such an extent that a journalist who dares to raise a voice to denounce misappropriation of public funds or exactions of any kind will be thrown into jail where he will be subjected to all kinds of suffering and humiliation."

Mr. Mirault further states that the present president, Borneo, is no more than a tool, appointed by the American High Commissioner, Russell, despite the protestations of the Haitians who claim that he is not even a Haitian, but a French subject.

The action in France and the sending of the Mirault letter are expected to converge in producing an influence in the American State Department. The French attitude will be warmly resented in many American quarters, and, inasmuch as the League of Rights of Man has put the matter in such a way that the League of Nations will be faced with the task of adjudicating, bringing thereby other nations into the controversy, there is bound to be a flare-up among the anti-leaguers in America, of whom there are many.

It is not sad to predict that either move will result tangibly to the advantage of Haiti. France, faced as she has been by a declining population and dependent for her very existence upon her black subjects, has been put in a position somewhat apart from the rest of the white subjects. Her fight for Haiti might be a lone battle, with England and other strong countries, quietly but firmly working against her.

The American occupation of Haiti is regarded by many white Americans as a military necessity and by others as a necessity in the accumulation of private wealth. That the natives are being abused, exploited and robbed there is no abundant evidence to prove but there is no easy way to make America turn loose its hold.

Fights For Removal Of U. S. Troops

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 29.—Notwithstanding his characterization of the American occupation of Haiti as imperialistic, the Senate last Wednesday rejected the amendment of Senator William H. King, Democrat, of Utah, which provided that no part of the Navy Department appropriation should be used to keep or maintain any marines in the Haitian Republic.

U. S. Intervention Justified

Senator Tasker L. Oddie, Republican of Nevada, replied. He sought to justify the intervention of the United States into the internal affairs of Haiti upon the ground that it was undertaken as a duty.

In July, 1915, when the United States landed troops in Haiti, "the President of Haiti had been brutally murdered, his government overthrown and the steadying presence of a foreign military force was imperatively necessary," he said.

After the Senate had voted to reject his amendment, Senator King grew sarcastic toward that body. "I shall not say the Senate is imperialistic. That would be unparliamentary. It might be untrue. I shall say, however, with due respect to my colleagues, that I think they fail to appreciate the great opportunity which we have in this particular instance to emphasize the high purposes of this government," he declared.

Senator Bruce, Democrat of Maryland, asked him how many roads were in Haiti when American occupation took place.

Senator King conceded that "the roads were limited in number and that large sums have been expended since the Americans have been in control of Haiti in the construction of roads and highways, but as I have heretofore stated the payment for these improvements must be made by the Haitian people."

HAITI PAYS THE BILLS

Former Representative William A. Rodenberg of Illinois, who represented the East St. Louis district in Congress for almost twenty-five years, returned last month from a trip to Haiti. In a Washington letter printed in the Christian Science Monitor of Boston, Mr. Rodenberg was quoted at length as giving the result of his personal impressions and views concerning the island. His interview was intended to bolster up the argument for a continuance of the American occupation. Among the tissue of misinformation and misrepresentation embraced in the occupation propaganda fathered by Mr. Rodenberg, we find one statement which appears to have the ring of truth. It is this

> What our forces of occupation have wrought for good has not been at the expense of the taxpayers of America. Not a dollar of the cost has come from the Treasury at Washington, for the Haitian government pays the bills.

That is probably true. From all accounts received from Port-au-Prince, the Haitian government pays and pays and pays to support the horde of hungry Southern officeholders set loose upon them under the Wilson administration and retained under President Harding and President Coolidge. This tribe of white usurpers, suddenly elevated to posts of authority over the helpless Haitians, through the backing of American marines and their machine guns, are said to roll around the capital in costly motor cars paid for through the extortion of taxes from the conquered people against whom they raise the color line. Extortion of taxes and the inciting of race prejudice are among the by-products of the American occupation.

Mr. Rodenberg perhaps did not know that the splendid roads which he refers to as built by the American marines, were about Haiti and its sufferings under American forced or otherwise.

If he wants to know the truth of the matter he should read the testimony given before the special committee of the United States Senate.

Mr. Rodenberg is more interested in the forced labor of Haitian peasants, many of whom paid the penalty for their construction.

Rodenberg evidently repeated only what he was told by the officers of the American occupation. But, perhaps, Mr. Rodenberg is more interested in the possibilities for the cultiva-

Race Problem—1925.
West Indies.
Haiti.

Hayti Under the Marines

(From the New York World.)

In 1915 the United States forced through the Haytian Senate the ratification of a treaty with this country. To quote the words of Admiral Caperton of the United States Navy, who was then under instructions from Washington, in charge of affairs there: "The status of our administration in Hayti was at this time purely one of military control." The marines are still in control there, with a Haytian President as figure-head to carry out orders.

The Haytian treaty by its terms was to remain in effect for ten years after exchange of ratifications, and for a further term of ten years if for reasons offered by either parties its purposes had not been fully accomplished. There is nothing to indicate that next year the United States will relinquish the military control which it imposed before the treaty went into effect.

But to the appeal of Haytians, speaking through their nationalist organization, that the restoration of regular forms of government be hastened and American supervision reduced to a minimum, Americans cannot remain indifferent except through ignorance of the facts.

Since 1917, when President Dartiguenave dissolved the two Chambers, there have been no elections and no sessions of the Chambers, which for all purposes under American control have been abolished. Louis Borno was named President in 1922 by the Council of State, a body of twenty-one appointed and subject to removal at the President's will—in other words, at the will of the American High Commissioner, backed by Gen. Russell and his marines.

President Borno's term expires next year, but with a Council of State of his own appointment he will have power to elect himself, regardless of the disfavor in which he is held by the Haytian people, with the approval of the commanding officer of the marines. Since the Haytian Constitution prescribes that legislative elections shall be in an "even" year and that the date shall be fixed by Presidential decree three months in advance, Haytian nationalists are demanding that forty members of the Chamber of Deputies and sixteen Senators be elected next January; otherwise representative government in Hayti cannot be restored until 1928 or later.

If this demand is met, President Borno will have to issue his decree next October. He is not a free agent; he will act as American advisers dictate. What reason can be given for blocking this step toward democratic self-government? The election of a Haytian Legislature would in no way affect the American convention with Hayti. It would occur with the American marines still in occupation, guaranteeing complete order. What is to be the Administration's attitude toward Hayti? Is it to be indefinite military control or a return to representative government by the Haytian people under reasonable?—Exchange.

Haitian Question Brought To Attention of The World

NEW YORK, April 6—(A. N. P.)—Two significant moves were made this week that bring to the fore again the question of Haiti and the American occupation of the island. One was in France and the other concerned itself with the dispatching of a letter to the new Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, by Joseph Mirault, correspondent of the Haitian Courier.

The League of Rights of Man, one of the most powerful organizations in France, its membership comprising 75 percent of the French senators and deputies, including the leaders, demanded that the French government bring up the American military occupation of Haiti before the league of nations. The resolution says that the United States arbitrarily seized the mandate of Haiti, a nation whose sovereignty never before was questioned, that the military occupation by America has become brutal and abusive and that Haiti is unable to make its protest heard. This resolution was signed by many members of the powerful association and submitted to the executive committee in session, which adopted it and sent the motion to the cabinet of Edouard Herriot, urging immediate action.

The letter of Mr. Mirault to the American Secretary of States sets forth that "during the last ten years that there has been an American occupation of the island, countless crimes have been committed in the name of the American people; that the poor people in the country are sometimes forced to disguise themselves as cannibals and to suffer themselves thus to be photographed; that twenty-five high schools have been closed, and the press gagged to such an extent that a journalist who dares to raise a voice to denounce misappropriation of public funds or exactions of any kind will be thrown into jail where he will be subjected to all kinds of suffering and humiliation."

Mr. Mirault further states that the present president, Borneo, is no more than a tool, appointed by the American High Commissioner, Russell, despite the protestations of the Haitians who claim that he is not even a Haitian, but a French subject.

The action in France and the sending of the Mirault letter are expected to converge in producing an influence in the American State Department. The French attitude will be warmly resented in many American quarters, and, inasmuch as the League of Rights of Man has put the matter in such a way that the League of Nations will be faced with the task of adjudicating, bringing thereby other nations into the controversy, there is bound to be a flare-up among the anti-leaguers in America, of whom there are many.

It is not sad to predict that either move will result tangibly to the advantage of Haiti. France, faced as she has been by a declining population and dependent for her very existence upon her black subjects, has been put in a position somewhat apart from the rest of the white subjects. Her fight for Haiti might be a lone battle, with England and other strong countries, quietly but firmly working against her.

The American occupation of Haiti is regarded by many white Americans as a military necessity and by others as a necessity in the accumulation of private wealth. That the natives are being abused, exploited and robbed there is no abundant evidence to prove but there is no easy way to make America turn loose its hold.

Fights For Removal Of U. S. Troops

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 29.—Notwithstanding his characterization of the American occupation of Haiti as imperialistic, the Senate last Wednesday rejected the amendment of Senator William H. King, Democrat, of Utah, which provided that no part of the Navy Department should be used to keep or maintain any marines in the Haitian Republic.

U. S. Intervention Justified

Senator Tasker L. Oddie, Republican of Nevada, replied. He sought to justify the intervention of the United States into the internal affairs of Haiti upon the ground that it was undertaken as a duty.

In July, 1915, when the United States landed troops in Haiti, "the President of Haiti had been brutally murdered, his government overthrown and the steadying presence of a foreign military force was imperatively necessary," he said.

After the Senate had voted to reject his amendment, Senator King grew sarcastic toward that body. "I shall not say the Senate is imperialistic. That would be unparliamentary. It might be untrue. I shall say, however, with due respect to my colleagues, that I think they fail to appreciate the great opportunity which we have in this particular instance to emphasize the high purposes of this government," he declared.

Senator Bruce, Democrat of Maryland, asked him how many roads were in Haiti when American occupation took place.

Senator King conceded that "the roads were limited in number and that large sums have been expended since the Americans have been in control of Haiti in the construction of roads and highways, but as I have heretofore stated the payment for these improvements must be made by the Haitian people."

HAITI PAYS THE BILLS

Former Representative William A. Rodenberg of Illinois, who represented the East St. Louis district in Congress for almost twenty-five years, returned last month from a trip to Haiti. In a Washington letter printed in the Christian Science Monitor of Boston, Mr. Rodenberg was quoted at length as giving the result of his personal impressions and views concerning the island. His interview was intended to bolster up the argument for a continuance of the American occupation. Among the tissue of misinformation and misrepresentation embraced in the occupation propaganda fathered by Mr. Rodenberg, we find one statement which appears to have the ring of truth. It is this

> What our forces of occupation have wrought for good has not been at the expense of the taxpayers of America. Not a dollar of the cost has come from the Treasury at Washington, for the Haitian government pays the bills.

That is probably true. From all accounts received from Port-au-Prince, the Haitian government pays and pays and pays to support the horde of hungry Southern officeholders set loose upon them under the Wilson administration and retained under President Harding and President Coolidge. This tribe of white usurpers, suddenly elevated to posts of authority over the helpless Haitians, through the backing of American marines and their machine guns, are said to roll around the capital in costly motor cars paid for through the extortion of taxes from the conquered people against whom they raise the color line. Extortion of taxes and the inciting of race prejudice are among the by-products of the American occupation.

Mr. Rodenberg perhaps did not know that the splendid roads in Haiti which he referred to as built by the American marines, were about Haiti and its sufferings under American occupation. If he wants to know the truth of sisal in Haiti by cheap native labor constructed by the forced labor of Haitian peasants, many of whom paid the penalty of their lives for their construction. Mr. Rodenberg evidently repeated only what he was told by the officers of the American occupation. But, perhaps, Mr. Rodenberg is more interested in the possibilities for the cultiva-

SEES NO CHANGE IN U. S. POLICY IN THE ISLAND REPUBLIC

Brigadier General Fuller Sees No Reason For Withdrawing Armed Forces; Says Politicians Are Agitators.

DID NOT COMMENT ON CHARGE OF ATROCITIES

(By Associated Negro Press.)

New York, N. Y., June 24—According to Brigadier General Fuller, commander of the United States Marines Brigade occupying Haiti, who was among the 194 passengers who arrived recently in the states, the marines are in Haiti to stay. The General in discussing the present attitude of the United States Government toward Haiti declared that he could see no change on the American policy toward the Haitian government and that only the politicians of the islands were hostile toward the presence of the marines. General Fuller did not comment on the atrocities with which the marines are charged.

GENERAL RUSSELL'S RECALL ASKED FOR BY THE HAITIANS

Patriotic Union Of Port-au-Prince, Sends Letter to Secretary of State Asking Recall of High Commissioner.

(By Associated Negro Press.)

Port-au-Prince, Haiti, June 25—The following letter has been sent to the Hon. Frank B. Kellogg American Secretary of State, in the name of Haitians by the Patriotic Union:

"We have the honor to write you this letter to pay our respectful homage to you and to take the liberty to call your attention on the necessity of the recall of Mr. John Russell, American High Commissioner to Haiti.

"Mr. Russell is the author responsible, or nearly of all that we are suffering actually under the regime of the Government of Mr. Borno, elected on the 10th of April, 1922, by incompetent councillors of State.

"If, in 1921, the Senatorial Committee of Investigation of the United States had taken account of the protestations and murmurs of the audience, which assisted here at its sessions when the name of Russell as pronounced the latter would not have been maintained in Haiti at any title whatsoever.

"It would be long to enumerate all the grievances against Mr. Russell. The Haitian Government or what replaces it, does nothing without first submitting it to the legation of the United States, and that, in virtue of a verbal note exchanged between the legation of the United States at Port-au-Prince, and the Haitian Government. Mr. Russell is the soul of the present regime of occupation. The people would be very happy if as preamble to the great measures of reparation the American Government decided to give them that satisfaction.

"But, that is not all: The Haitian people are deprived since 1917 of their legislative representation. Gen. Cole and Gen. Butler have related before the Committee of Investigation of the United States how they have taken part to the dissolution of the Chambers.

"That has been of course, an unconstitutional measure. Since then, we have no legislative chambers. It is a body of functionaries nominated by the President of Haiti, that functions in its place. You understand, Sir, what is the danger for us to see that our laws are made by individuals, dociles and serviles, nominated by the executive power, which itself dares not do anything without the approbation of the High Commissioner.

"We, therefore, beseech you to pass orders to your representatives in the Island, so that we might have the legislative elections on the 10th, of January, 1926, date foreseen for that by the Constitution, which Mr. Franklin Roosevelt has boasted to have given us."

French Urge League Quiz U. S. on Haiti

BY HENRY WALES.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

[Copyright: 1925: By The Chicago Tribune.]

PARIS, March 22.—The League of Rights of Man—one of the most powerful organizations in France its membership comprising 75 per cent of the senators and deputies, including Premier Herriot and other leading national figures—today demanded that the French government bring up the American military occupation of Haiti before the league of nations.

EDOUARD HERRIOT.

The resolution was signed by many members of the association and submitted to the executive committee session, which adopted it and sent the motion to the Herriot cabinet, urging immediate action.

Nothing can be done until the next session of the league council in June, but if the French government consents to take action, it is believed that a request that the matter be placed on the agenda will be sent to the secretariat in Geneva without delay. This would permit the league to notify the United States state department so a Washington representative can be present when the subject is discussed.

Haiti Belongs to League.

Haiti is a member of the league, and therefore, Frenchmen contend, the league has the right to interfere. No Haitian delegate has attended the assembly for the last two years on the ground that the government could not afford to participate by sending a representative.

At the first assembly of the league in 1920 a Haitian delegate named Bellegarde sought to bring up the question of America's occupation before the league, but was dissuaded by the big powers, who feared to offend the United States and believed America would soon join.

Britain May Oppose Move.

A member of the League of Rights of Man committee told THE TRIBUNE correspondent that it is doubtful if France could force a discussion of the affair, as England certainly will oppose any such action through fear that the league would intrude in Egypt and other affairs, which Great Britain wishes it to keep its hands off.

The resolution says the United States arbitrarily seized the mandate of Haiti, a nation whose sovereignty never before has been questioned, the military occupation by America has become brutal and abusive, and Haiti is unable to make its protests heard.

MARINES LANDED IN 1915.

American marines landed in Haiti, under orders of the late President Wilson, in 1915, following the assassination of President Guillaume Sam. This was done to protect American and foreign lives and property endangered by insurrection, or else leave that responsibility to European powers at the expense of infringement of the Monroe Doctrine.

France had already landed marines, but these were withdrawn when the Americans went ashore.

During the nine years of American occupation Haiti has been rescued from anarchy and insolvency and it has paid a debt of $16,000,000 to France.

HAITIANS ASK U. S. TO WITHDRAW TROOPS

New York, N. Y., June 13—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69th Fifth Avenue, New York, today announced that Pierre Hudicourt, former member of the Hague Peace Tribunal and now a member of the American Institute of International Law, who is representing the Haitian Patriotic Union in the United States, has sent memorandum to President Coolidge and the Secretary of State, asking the withdrawal of armed forces of this country from Haiti.

The memorandum charges that in violation of the Haitian constitution the country has been governed without regularly elected representatives of the people, the council of state nominated and dismissed by the President. Mr. Hudicourt charges that President Louis Borno of Haiti on March 18 of this year dismissed seven members of the council and appointed seven new members more favorably disposed toward himself, in order to make his continuance in office more certain.

Despite the fiction of a Haitian government, Mr. Hudicourt charges that General Russell, the American High Commissioner in Haiti, "concentrates into his sole hands all the powers of the country. The defacto President Borno depends upon him for all and everything."

Urging restoration of representative government in Haiti, Mr. Hudicourt says:

"The U. S. Government has always given the assurance that it does not intend to confiscate or to attempt to confiscate the sovereignty of a weak neighbor. Recently Secretary Hughes said: 'We recognize the equality of the American republics their equal rights under the law of Nations.'

"There is no reason not to believe such official declarations. However, the Haitian people believe that after almost ten years, a time has come for this Government to prove the efficiency of those various promises and declarations."

The Patriotic Union of Haiti, in whose behalf Mr. Hudicourt drew up and presented the memorandum, is a non-partisan organization with more than 20,000 members throughout Haiti.

BUDGET BALANCED IN HAITI, HE SAYS

General Russell, Returning to His Post, Paints a Rosy Picture of Island Republic.

PEASANTS LEARN TO FARM

Modern Methods Being Introduced —Good Roads an Aid to Peace and Security.

A balanced Government budget has recently become a fact in Hayti, according to Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, U. S. M. C., American High Commissioner to that Republic, who sailed yesterday for his post on the Panama liner General W. C. Gorgas. General Russell, who has just made his semi-annual report at Washington, will lay on May 25 at Port-au-Prince the cornerstone of a College of Agriculture established by the Service Technique of the island Government.

He said that thirty-six students in a class of fifty at the college passed their last examinations with high credit. The others were deficient because of hookworm, which soon may be eradicated by "the excellent work of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation." The students are the sons of Haitian peasants.

While the peasants still use their machetes in farming, according to General Russell, educational work is leading up to the introduction of modern farming implements. The Service Technique recently sent a shipload of fine livestock ofr breeding purposes from Texas to Haiti.

"The cows are to be distributed to those peasants who seem the most intelligent," the General said. "The first calf becomes the property of the peasant; the second goes to the Government, the third to the peasant, and the fourth to the Government. The fifth calf becomes the property of the peasant and at the sace time the cow. We expect to put stock-raising soon on a fairly sound basis.

"The peasants now have the services of a corps of experts of the Service Technique. They include botanists, veterinarians and animal husbandrymen, entomologists; pathologists, soil chemists, agronomists and foresters..

"We are considering now a project to irrigate between 80,000 and 100,000 acres of good plain land. We have 700 miles of good roads which daily augment the peace and prosperity of the island. A gendarmerie of 2,600 men with 30 native officers is exceedingly efficient. And finally through tropical waters. With a Haiti acknowledges her duty to marin-few more hotels to accommodate an iners by maintaining ten or more lightcrease in tourists, Haiti will be found to have everything in her favor."

Race Problem - 1925. I.
West Indies.

Porto Rico: The American Colony

THE gods have made Porto Rico the first colonial experiment of the United States. The slices taken from Mexico were empty or more American than Mexican in almost everything but political allegiance; the power exercised over the Philippines is explicitly temporary; Hawaii came as a motley of peoples dominated by an American business and planting group. In Porto Rico, on the other hand, the Americans acquired for permanent use a rather well-rounded civilization by means which, though questioned by not a few, are considered legal and virtuous by current international usage. Here for the first time the American people undertook to boss a foreign culture. What manner of place, then, is this first American colony, and what manner of colonizers are these Americans?

Though Columbus touched the west coast of Porto Rico during his second trip, it was not until 1509 that the King commissioned Juan Ponce de Leon to settle the island of San Juan, as Porto Rico was then known, lay hands on the fabulous treasures that were supposed to flow down the beds of its rivulets, and send him his fifth. Juan Ponce found, according to later estimates, about fifty thousand Indians on the island, fine-featured, lazy, somewhat nomadic. His coming decimated them through war, interbreeding, slavery, the *morbus gallicus*, small-pox, and the emigration to adjacent islands that the more warlike among the savages felt compelled to undertake. In thirty years Indians had become scarce and African slaves were brought to coax gold out of the increasingly hopeless rivers, and raise truck and cattle. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century the last Indian village had disappeared as such. The melting-pot seethed with a strong compound of Hispanic and African spiced with aboriginal blood. The Indian survives chiefly in the form of aquiline noses on copper-black faces and, some assert, in the melancholy strain that is supposed to underlie our temperament.

The story of Porto Rico is dull: politically, a succession of governors-general; militarily, the building of strong fortifications, a few pirate and foreign raids, nothing on a grand scale; economically, the triumph of after-dinner delicacies—coffee, sugar, tobacco—over the dinner itself. In the South American wars of independence we took no effective interest. A province of Spain culturally, we were an overseas backwoods of the motherland. Political life worth mentioning was non-existent until the latter half of the nineteenth century. When liberals got the upper hand in Spain, which was rarely, they relieved their feelings by granting reforms to the colonies, reforms that, so far as Porto Rico was concerned, were accepted gratefully and surprisedly, and relinquished when the time came dumbly and humbly. Distinguished men were sports of nature rather than fruits of a culture, and it was not until the middle years of the century that men of attainments born in Porto Rico began to think of themselves seriously as Porto Ricans.

Slavery was peacefully abolished in 1872, after many years of earnest propaganda by the slave-owners themselves. To their attitude Porto Rico undoubtedly owes in a great measure the admirable relationship that has prevailed there between the white and negroid races. Perhaps the island should be of interest to the American people chiefly as a laboratory experiment in racial ethics, as there you find the nearest approach to social equality of this sort within the supposedly permanent territory of the United States. From the middle class down, the union of white women to brown or black men is not unusual enough to astonish or enrage anybody, and the union of black or brown women to white men is of course more frequent. Discreet instances of both varieties of intermarriage may be found in the highest social pinnacles, where the prejudice against people of Negro extraction finds expression in drawing-room whispers of What are we coming to? Lynching and the humiliation of Negroes by statute are unthinkable. There are no segregated districts, though the general division of labor brought about by climatic conditions has assigned the mountains to the white man and the coast to the white and the black. Jim Crow cars would seem as freakish as a man with two thumbs on one hand and eight fingers on the other. A white Porto Rican Senator once traveled through Virginia with two Negro friends in the black man's car and justified his presence there to the conductor by claiming Negro blood. After close scrutiny the conductor decided to throw a curtain around the group anyway.

A good proportion of the school-teachers are of Negro and mixed extraction and they give their services to black, brown, and white indiscriminately. White, Negro, and mulatto lawyers, physicians, journalists, poets, politicians, philosophers lead a common professional and spiritual life. One of the ablest and most respected leaders of the Republican Party (the party that always stands for Americanism and usually for statehood) was Dr. Barbosa, a Negro physician. A newspaper in Ponce employed Carrion Maduro, a well-known Negro writer, as editor, with a white staff under him. Our most expressive composer was Campos, a light mulatto.

Men of both races get along quite well with one another in all social strata. It is the women of the upper classes who offer the most stubborn resistance to a complete acceptance of the tolerant spirit that dominates our racial relationships. This acts as a strong determinant of the tendency of whites to marry whites and of blacks to bring lighter blood into the family. The American authorities, in so far as they may act without fear of raising a hullabaloo, introduce segregation, as in the National Guard. And a desire is growing not to seem inferior to Americans by their own standard. Class distinctions are on the whole more vivid than race distinctions. *Blanquito* (little white) is applied to one who appears well off, whatever his color, while *negrito* (little Negro) does not mean the opposite, but is used by all as an expression of erotic tenderness.

You cannot consider the more articulate portion of the Porto Rican soul without getting the suggestion that it is afflicted with an inferiority complex. In an island where nothing grand ever happened everything happens in the grand manner. Graduating exercises, speeches about local officials, burial laudations of respectable people are performed with a genuine will to grandeur. Street-corner meetings are "grandiose."

As a young editor put it to the House Committee on Insular Affairs, one of our sorest economic troubles is that we have no bananas today. We used to have a lot of them; they grew all around and could usually be had for the picking, so that they made a very important item in the common diet. And what was true of bananas was true of many fruits and vegetables. But sugar-cane is elbowing all these out of the soil. Now we import our staples, with the result that not even the rich are well nourished in Porto Rico.

The tobacco industry is entirely under the tutelage of the American tobacco trust, and coffee-growing, the last refuge of the falling middle class, suffers from the fact that to the great coffee-drinking people of the United States all coffees taste alike! The consequences of all this have been the attainment of certain sections of a half dozen towns to a degree of opulence seldom tasteful enough to be a public good; the proletarization of great masses of people the debasing of a general standard of living that was never too generous; the elimination of certain ethical checks and cultural ideals that become untenable in sweated colonies and on rafts lost at sea.

As might be expected, the intensity of the struggle for existence is appalling. It has dulled our ancestral virtues —such as they were—and that it has not wiped them out altogether seems miraculous. Sham, trickery, flattery, beggary, mendacity are accepted means of getting along. Of course the quixotic gestures of Spain will flourish on any earth. Few people, for instance, will sell you things in which they do not regularly traffic. But such qualities are becoming segregated. Those who, if conservative, measure civilization by commercial and industrial growth, and, if radical, by labor-union activity, lament the mountain regions. You can't start anything there. But the bulk of the folk-poetry, the folk-pottery, the folk-hats, the folk-hammocks, and the folk-nobility comes from the mountains.

These forsaken *jibaros*, pale, frequently blond, always poverty-stricken, form the most consistently unmixed body of Europeans on the island. Whenever the hookworm permits they are more active physically and mentally than the people of the coast. And yet their ideals are of leisure while the ideals of the coast (not necessarily the practice)

are becoming those of activity and go-getting. Here the shade of the guava-tree still suggests the ham ; the moon calls out the singer and his *tiple*. Troubadours compete with songs for the love of barefoot girls, though machetes are thought good enough to cut to decisions, often within the limitations of a gentlemanly code. The *jibaros* are infantile, passionate, shrewd in their simple dealings, susceptible to religious quackery, and manage to carry a surprisingly heavy load of generosity along with that of their poverty. They have frequently been imposed upon by the outside world, and have developed a naive armor of suspiciousness that enrages the politicians and rural confidence men who try to prey upon them. Here is a song in which they unwittingly reveal a large part of their soul:

> Oh, I saw a Napoleon,
> Oh, I saw a Napoleon,
> That was being taken as a prisoner,
> But as I don't know anything about it,
> But as I don't know anything about it,
> I won't continue the versification.

There is the desire to appear in imagination as witnessing vague, important, and sad events, a certain laziness in not troubling to think up any more than the one flash scene, combined with a shrewd determination not to be compromised.

Religion plays a minor role in the Porto Rican scene. We don't fear hell, and heaven bores us. Atheism in Porto Rico, as elsewhere, seems to be a natural complement of Catholicism among the more sophisticated classes. Most of us will admit a vague allegiance to the church of Rome. But you will very seldom catch us at mass, you will almost never find us in the confessional, and you will but infrequently meet us when we are not on our way to or from the infringement of some of the commandments.

Perhaps the sharpest difference between Porto Rican development and that of the rest of Latin America lies in the fact that there has never been a serious movement for Porto Rican independence. Such political expression of a feeling for independence as we have had came—some say strangely, and some say naturally—under the American regime. In 1904, for the first time in our history, an enthusiast slipped an independence clause into the platform of a ruling party, and its leaders felt compelled regretfully to leave it there. From that time until 1922, when the clause went overboard, that party's most earnest efforts were devoted to placing independence in as innocuous a position as possible. A dream for the far future, the natural desire of all peoples, the last refuge of our dignity, were some of the formulas used. Indeed if it was kept alive so long the phenomenon must be ascribed to the persistence of José de Diego, a man too strong to override, who wished to hold in that solution before the Porto Rican people. But the sentiment for independence is real enough among young fellows and the common people, and it only waits to be organized by a politician with some poetry in his make-up.

I do not believe that American overlordship is Americanizing us to an important degree. We are proud of tall buildings, commercial activity, and prosperity more than of worthier things; but all Latin Americans tend to abandon their contempt for material prosperity whenever the possibility of achieving it becomes clear to them. We hastily adopted the California code, which, among other equally appropriate things, required us to place stoves in jury rooms; but we have managed to avoid cooking our jurors. Congress acquired by the Treaty of Paris the right to call us names, and proceeded to exercise it by calling us Porto Rico, which means nothing, instead of Puerto Rico, which means, however misleadingly, Rich Port; but none of us uses the legal name in Spanish, and I am using it here as a concession to the editor. Our first native commissioner of education considers Edgar Guest the best American poet and imitates his doggerel; but it was probably on account of the very exceptional qualifications indicated by that preference that the Bureau of Insular Affairs suggested that Harding appoint him. Women are freeing themselves through the influence of the United States; but then Latin-American women generally are throwing off their shackles at a great rate and largely because of "North American" influence. Shakespeare has replaced Cervantes as the greatest poet in the world, but Cervantes continues to be the better seller. Washington has been appointed the hero of a people who can cut down a forest of cherry trees and remain serenely silent about it. Lincoln is presented as the destroyer of slavery to the grandsons and grand-daughters of the slave-owners who requested Spain to free their slaves with or without compensation. The American Federation of Labor through my friend Santiago Iglesias is trying hard to Americanize Porto Rico; but what Mr. Iglesias understands by Americanism is a high standard of living, free speech, and free press; we have the last two to a greater extent than you have in the States, and the first is good rather than American.

In spite of this haphazard cultural attack and of the fact that most of us are proud to be officially part of a nation that does big obvious things, we continue subconsciously to class ourselves with Latin Americans. In the conflicts between the Unites States and Latin America our sympathies are with Latin America. I doubt if a hald dozen decent and intelligent Porto Ricans could be smoothly recruited for an expedition against, say, Mexico. There is relatively as much interest in the effort of the Venezuelan people to get rid of the tyrant Gomez as in that of the American people to change Presidents. Our literature, which in some branches is very copious, follows the general Latin-American currents where it does not show native or original traits. Llorens, our most popular and perhaps our greatest poet, is Porto Rico incarnate; Hostos is accepted by Latin-America as one of its greatest thinkers; De Diego, while acting as Speaker of our lower house, vigorously urged the formation of an Antillean Republic to consist of Cuba, Santa Domingo, and Porto Rico.

While the part of the United States is very generous toward the Government of Porto Rico--allowing it, among other privileges, that of keeping the customs receipts--the economic difficulty the execution of measures tending to correct it.

But the evident policy of the War Department here, as in the Philippines, is to discourage and make

On the basis of these realities, when and if the natural map begins to reassert itself in America, only a scrupulously unselfish policy--inaugurated soon-- on the part of the United States is likely to induce the Porto Rican people, as distinguished from their politicians, to remain loyal at heart to the United States.

are becoming those of activity and go-getting. Here the shade of the guava-tree still suggests the ham ; the moon calls out the singer and his *tiple*. Troubadours compete with songs for the love of barefoot girls, though machetes are thought good enough to put to decisions, often within the limitations of a gentlemanly code. The *jíbaros* are infantile, passionate, shrewd in their simple dealings, susceptible to religious quackery, and manage to carry a surprisingly heavy load of generosity along with that of their poverty. They have frequently been imposed upon by the outside world, and have developed a naive armor of suspiciousness that enrages the politicians and rural confidence men who try to prey upon them. Here is a song in which they unwittingly reveal a large part of their soul:

> Oh, I saw a Napoleon,
> Oh, I saw a Napoleon,
> That was being taken as a prisoner,
> But as I don't know anything about it,
> But as I don't know anything about it,
> I won't continue the versification.

There is the desire to appear in imagination as witnessing vague, important, and sad events, a certain laziness in not troubling to think up any more than the one flash scene, combined with a shrewd determination not to be compromised.

Religion plays a minor role in the Porto Rican scene. We don't fear hell, and heaven bores us. Atheism in Porto Rico, as elsewhere, seems to be a natural complement of Catholicism among the more sophisticated classes. Most of us will admit a vague allegiance to the church of Rome. But you will very seldom catch us at mass, you will almost never find us in the confessional, and you will but infrequently meet us when we are not on our way to or from the infringement of some of the commandments.

Perhaps the sharpest difference between Porto Rican development and that of the rest of Latin America lies in the fact that there has never been a serious movement for Porto Rican independence. Such political expression of a feeling for independence as we have had came—some say strangely, and some say naturally—under the American regime. In 1904, for the first time in our history, an enthusiast slipped an independence clause into the platform of a ruling party, and its leaders felt compelled regretfully to leave it there. From that time until 1922, when the clause went overboard, that party's most earnest efforts were devoted to placing independence in as innocuous a position as possible. A dream for the far future, the natural desire of all peoples, the last refuge of our dignity, were some of the formulas used. Indeed if it was kept alive so long the phenomenon must be ascribed to the persistence of José de Diego, a man too strong to override, who wished to hold in that solution before the Porto Rican people. But the sentiment for independence is real enough among young fellows and the common people, and it only waits to be organized by a politician with some poetry in his make-up.

I do not believe that American overlordship is Americanizing us to an important degree. We are proud of tall buildings, commercial activity, and prosperity more than of worthier things; but all Latin Americans tend to abandon their contempt for material prosperity whenever the possibility of achieving it becomes clear to them. We hastily adopted the California code, which, among other equally appropriate things, required us to place stoves in jury rooms; but we have managed to avoid cooking our jurors. Congress acquired by the Treaty of Paris the right to call us names, and proceeded to exercise it by calling us Porto Rico, which means nothing, instead of Puerto Rico, which means, however misleadingly, Rich Port; but none of us uses the legal name in Spanish, and I am using it here as a concession to the editor. Our first native commissioner of education considers Edgar Guest the best American poet and imitates his doggerel; but it was probably on account of the very exceptional qualifications indicated by that preference that the Bureau of Insular Affairs suggested that Harding appoint him. Women are freeing themselves through the influence of the United States; but then Latin-American women generally are throwing off their shackles at a great rate and largely because of "North American" influence. Shakespeare has replaced Cervantes as the greatest poet in the world, but Cervantes continues to be the better seller. Washington has been appointed the hero of a people who can cut down a forest of cherry trees and remain serenely silent about it. Lincoln is presented as the destroyer of slavery to the grandsons and grand-daughters of the slave-owners who requested Spain to free their slaves with or without compensation. The American Federation of Labor through my friend Santiago Iglesias is trying hard to Americanize Porto Rico; but what Mr. Iglesias understands by Americanism is a high standard of living, free speech, and free press; we have the last two to a greater extent than you have in the States, and the first is good rather than American.

In spite of this haphazard cultural attack and of the fact that most of us are proud to be officially part of a nation that does big obvious things, we continue subconsciously to class ourselves with Latin Americans. In the conflicts between the United States and Latin America our sympathies are with Latin America. I doubt if a hald dozen decent and intelligent Porto Ricans could be smoothly recruited for an expedition against, say, Mexico. There is relatively as much interest in the effort of the Venezuelan people to get rid of the tyrant Gomez as in that of the American people to change Presidents. Our literature, which in some branches is very copious, follows the general Latin-American currents where it does not show native or original traits. Llorens, our most popular and perhaps our greatest poet, is Porto Rico incarnate; Hostos is accepted by Latin-America as one of its greatest thinkers; De Diego, while acting as Speaker of our lower house, vigorously urged the

formation of an Antillean Republic to consist of Cuba, Santa Domingo, and Porto Rico.

Hile the Government of the United States is very generous toward the Government of Porto Rico--allowing it, among other privileges, that of keeping the customs receipts--the economic

But the evident policy of the War Department here, as in the Philippines, is to discourage and make difficult the execution of measures tending to correct it.

On the basis of these realities, when and if the natural map begins to reassert itself in America, only a scrupulously unselfish policy--inaugurated soon-- on the part of the United States is likely to induce the Porto Rican people, as distinguished from their politicians, to remain loyal at heart to the United States.

ties that now bind the people of the island to the Unites States are not advantageous. That our sugar industry is protected along with that of Louisiana is an unmixed blessing only to those that control it, and they are, chiefly non-resident corporations. On the other hand, this same wall of protection compels our poverty-stricken population to buy its staples in the same market where the American banker and bricklayer buy theirs. The latter evil can not be corrected so long as we remain within the customs system of the United States.

Absentee onwership can be diminished.

Race Problem - 1925.

West Indies.

UNREST IN VIRGIN ISLANDS

The United States is not altogether happy in its new role as an imperialistic power, enforcing its rule upon the unhappy natives of Haiti and other islands of the Caribbean Sea. The latest demonstration of unrest and protest against the rule of the marines and the machine gun comes from St. Thomas, one of the Virgin Islands acquired by purchase from Denmark a few years ago. This protest is given in the form of a news release from the Emancipator, a small news sheet published at St. Thomas, which carries at its masthead the following statement attributed to Arthur Brisbane:

New York Age

> "Not popular with those in office who dislike to be disturbed, but valuable to the people, is the man who tells the truth, remembering that the official is a hired man, not an autocrat."

With such anti-imperialistic sentiments for its guide, it is easy to understand that the editor of the Emancipator was bound to get into trouble with the American authorities. The result is told in the news release under date of January 24:

1-31-25

New York, N.Y.

> An appeal from the decision of the District Court of the Virgin Islands of the United States, sentencing Rothschild Francis, on a charge of criminal libel, tried without jury was filed today.
>
> An interesting feature of the trial was the sitting on the bench, on the left-hand side of Judge Washington Williams, himself a Marylander, (and an obdurate enemy of Rothschild Francis, as witnessed by his writings in "Current History" for February, 1924, and "The Mail Notes," a newspaper published in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, for January 19th, 26th and March 1, 1924) of Mr. Hamilton Owen editor of "The Baltimore Sun". There is a question in the mind of the people as to whether this is a departure from the regular and prescribed court procedure.
>
> The temper of the people has been aroused by this last action of the "powers that be" and concerted action for a New Organic Act is now on foot, with a view to make a change of the present un-American system of government. It is contemplated to send a delegation to Congress for this purpose.

Of course there may have been ample ground for the conviction of Mr. Francis on the charge made against him, but the method and manner of his trial do not invite confidence in the impartiality of the procedure adopted. It is significant of the American imperialists that their efforts in Haiti, as in Nicaragua and now in the Virgin Islands, have always been directed toward the suppression of the independent native press. In Port au Prince, we were told that the officials of the American occupation had a cell four feet square specially constructed for one obstreperous editor, who persisted in his campaign for independence. In Nicaragua the marines demolished the office and plant of one paper, which criticised the conduct of the American invaders. Compensation was later paid by this government but that was only an admission of the lawless acts of the invaders.

In invading the smaller countries to the South and seeking to make them over for their own good and for the greater emolument of American capital, this government has not been altogether happy in its choice of instruments. It is not a task, however, that would appeal to men of high standards in the way that it has been gone about, which is perhaps the reason why it has been done in such a brutal manner. Despite Secretary Hughes' sugar coating of the facts, the story of the American occupation of Haiti and other Latin-American republics is a sorry and sordid tale.

Uncle Sam No World Cop

The Senate last week refused to pass the King Amendment halting appropriation of funds for the continuance of the Haitian occupation.

Apologists for the continued violation of the island's sovereignty included Senator Bruce (D.) Maryland, and Senator Tasker L. Oddie (R.) Nevada. Both argued that Haiti was poorly governed at the time of U. S. intervention, that violations were frequent then and that other nations might have interferred if we had not. Senator Bruce intimated that he preferred Haiti civilized to Haiti freed.

Senator King, (R.) Utah, was more than a match for both of his opponents. He held and rightly that we have no more business in Haiti than we have in Mexico; that Uncle Sam has never been designated a world policeman; and that these same arguments have been given in every case where a stronger nation desired to exploit a weaker one.

This is at least the third congress in which Senator King has introduced his measure to withdraw troops from Haiti. But the moral sense of the Senate seems apparently dead to such matters concerning the rights of black men either at home or abroad.

EDITOR OF HAITIAN PAPER ARRESTED; NO TRIAL GIVEN

Post New York Courier

Oct 26th

New York—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, today announced receipt from Port au Prince, Haiti, of a protest against acts of the American Occupation, published by Haitian laborers, and news that Edouard Pouget, editor of "La Poste" a newspaper of Port au Prince had been arrested on the night of December 26, and, without trial, had been placed in solitary confinement.

1-17-25

Among the signers of the laborers' protest are Perceval Thoby, former attache of the Haitian Ministry in Washington, George J. Petit, Flavius Leon and Audre Zamor.

Norfolk, Va.

The laborers protest against the arbitrary parity of 20 cents for the Haitian *gourde*. They charged that railway ties were recently imported from the United States depriving Haitian lumber workers of opportunity to labor; that English is being substituted for French, the national tongue, by the American administration; that prison and school labor is used to supply resident Americans with cheap commodities; that hard woods are bought by the government at prices arbitrarily fixed to the prejudice of Haitians; and that American industrial companies, under the present administration, are acquiring rights denied them heretofore in Haiti.

Arrest of Pouget

As to Mr. Pouget, it is reported that he was arrested at night placed in solitary confinement without trial and held without legal proceedings, on the status of a common criminal, for having written an editorial displeasing to the administration.

Mr. Pouget has been Haitian Minister to Germany, Secretary of State, of the Treasury, and a Senator.

Virgin Islanders Charge American Official With Persecuting R. Francis

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, U. S. —The trial and conviction of Rothschild Francis, editor of The Emancipator, without being given the privilege of a trial by jury, is characterized by the people of these islands as an unwarrantable piece of prejudicial persecution.

New York Age

The judge of the District Court, George W. Williams, a white native of the State of Maryland, writer of a scurrilous article published in Current History for February, 1924, under the caption, "Misrepresentations Concerning the Virgin Islands, presided at the trial and pronounced the verdict and the sentence, which was thirty days imprisonment for publishing an article in The Emancipator, headed "A Native Bateski!" in which the local police force was severely criticized for mistreatment of a private citizen.

1-24-25

The prosecutnig attorney was Charles H. Gibson, also a native of Maryland, who is in St. Thomas as police judge, government attorney and chairman of the Electoral Board.

New York Herald

Judge Thiele, attorney for Francis, established all the facts alleged in the article which caused the trial, but Williams convicted Francis, and then allowed him five days in which to appeal or begin serving the sentence.

The people look upon the situation with indignation, declaring that racial and personal prejudice form the basis of Williams' attitude, but they realize at the same time that they are impotent.

The lack of a jury is the principal ground for complaint, that action in this case being taken at option of the District Court Judge, who is appointed by the Territorial Governor an officer in the U. S. Navy.

WEST INDIES NEEDS NEGRO, SAYS GAINES

Returned Bishop Says Island Needs Progressive Americans

ENTERTAINED BY RACE TRINIDAD OFFICIALS

Eats Monkey Meat For First Time And Holds Conference

Bishop A. L. Gaines, just arrived from a trip through South America and the West Indies, stated at the A. M. E. Preachers' Meeting Monday that the latter country is awakening and looks toward the American Negro for leadership along the lines of industry and business

Natives Poor

At Kingston, Jamaica, Bishop Gaines delivered an address at Brown's Hall. He described the condition of the city as being one of poverty and the common citizenry, composed for most part of Negroes and East Indians are employed on the indenture plan. They live in hovels with floors of cow manure which is packed down like cement.

It is a poor country and teems with beggars who reap an abundant harvest of indulgent tourists. He related an incident of a lady who asked one of these mendicants why he did not seek employment. He became furiously angry and indignantly said, "Lady, you insult me." To work is thought to be an ignoble profession.

Says Monkey Fine Dish

At Port of Spain, Trinidad, Bishop Gaines received signal honors from the Mayor of the city who is a colored man of excellent attainments. While on his trip Bishop Gaines stated that he was persuaded to taste monkey meat, which is considered quite a delicacy in that part of the world. He reports that the flesh is tender and very palatable.

At Georgetown, British Guiana, Bishop Gaines held the annual conference and for the first time in 50 years conference claims have come from those countries. While there, he held a service for the entire colony, regardless of denominations, and was enthusiastically received as "the colony Bishop."

Government Indifferent

The greater part of the West Indies is under British rule and the government is satisfied with the appalling conditions that obtain. There are no race enterprise, no incentive to better living or industry. The usual working wage is one dollar per week and twenty-five cents more is regarded as high wages. The small sum of 20 cents is paid for ship loading

In reply to a question concerning the resources of the country, Bishop Gaines said that the country is rich in various woods, mahogany rotting in the forests; the soil is fertile and suited for raising of coffee. The country is also rich in minerals and boxite, a kind of mineral used in the making of porcelain, is furnishing a profitable source of wealth to enterprising corporations. According to the Bishop it is a great field for investment, which will return rich profits in future years.

No Race Consciousness

Bishop Gaines also stressed the need of a Bishop there and said that South America and the West Indies needed a missionary, not as Africa or other heathen countries, but they need to be taught Race consciousness. They know about Christ as well as the missionaries themselves. They do not believe good comes from anyone except whites.

CUBA GAINS POPULATION

The population of Cuba on December 31 had reached a total of 3,368,923, of whom 538,721 were residents of the city of Havana. Each of the six provinces showed a gain in inhabitants over the record for 1923. The figures in detail are:

Province	1923.	1924.
Pinar del Rio	273,245	274,086
Havana	782,391	890,609
Matanzas	328,346	330,293
Santa Clara	701,268	707,204
Camaguey	237,468	241,599
Oriente	820,492	839,844
Immigrants	.....	85,288
Totals	3,143,210	3,368,923

Of the persons enumerated 2,294,115, or 68.1 per cent, are classified as white; 830,971, or 24.66 per cent, as colored, and 244,017, or 7.24 per cent, are not enrolled in either category.

Commenting, the New York Sun says:

These figures indicate that Cuba is steadily gaining inhabitants. It will be seen from examination of the table printed above that the new population is well distributed over the island, and while the province of Havana made the most notable increase the other provinces have more than held their own.

Cuba has had her ups and downs financially for two or three years. Speculation and political turmoil slowed up the rapid economic progress of the island republic. Although Cuba had suffered little during the World War, she nevertheless had to pay the price of membership in the family of nations; deflation struck Cuba as it struck America and some other countries. It was a smashing blow, too, for as late as 1920, Cuba's per capita wealth was the highest in the world. Sugar, tobacco and tourist trade were piling up wealth in the little island.

The set-back, however, was temporary; Cuba still has her sugar cane plantations, her tobacco plantations and her winter attractions. Wise governmental administration would make Cuba the garden spot of the world, but wise governmental administration is a difficult ideal for the Cubans to achieve, for while the superior classes in Cuba are cultured and charming people, the rank and file, the masses, are ignorant and backward.

POPULATION OF CUBA SHOWS WHITE MAJORITY

Total Inhabitants 3,368,923, of Which Only 830,791 Are Classed as Colored—Havana Leads, with Oriente Second

From Havana Morning Post

Havana, according to the National Census Bureau, has a population of 538,721, according to figures compiled up to December 31, 1924.

The following figures, compiled by F. V. Preval, chief of the National Census Bureau, up to December 31, 1924, show the increase of population and other intreesting data:

Inhabitants by Provinces in 1923 and 1924:

Province—	1923	1924
Pinar del Rio	273,245	274,086
Habana	782,391	890,609
Matanzas	328,346	330,293
Santa Clara	701,268	707,204
Camaguey	237,468	241,599
Oriente	820,492	839,844
Immigrants	.....	85,288
	3,143,210	3,368,923

Inhabitants by Races, as of December 31, 1924.

Race—	Inhabitants	Pct.
White	2,294,115	68.10
Colored	830,791	24.66
Unclassified	244,017	7.24
	3,368,923	100.00

Detailed Chart.

White	2,294,115
Colored	830,791
Passengers in 1924, unclassified	123,332
Immigrants in 1923, unclassified	117,591
Immigrants in 1924, unclassified	1,960
Unclassified	1,134
Total	3,368,923

ACCUSE UNCLE SAM OF HAYTIEN MASSACRES

Natives Want France to Appeal to League.

BY ALFRED M. MURRAY.

(Copyright Cable to The Commercial Appeal-New York World).

PARIS, March 30.—Massacre of 3,500 Haytians is one of the charges brought against the United States by former Minister Henry Lemery, now senator representing the West Indian colony, Martinique, in the French Parliament.

Since the American occupation, he declares, "Haytians have endured a period of great suffering," and the United States has posed by force of arms "a political, economic and financial treaty which is nothing but a treaty of annexation of the island."

Lemery asserts "liberty of speech and press have been reduced to the smallest expression" and the American officials—paid four times as much as natives—are doing all they can to eradicate the French language, in the schools and implant Anglo-Saxon culture.

Then come his charges of violence: "One day 240 peasants were massacred for daring to protest against the mediaeval servitude which the United States has re-established. Recently Americans stopped a local riot by means of bombs dropped from aeroplanes. Men, women, children—none was spared."

Lemery concludes his slashing attack by warning the French that the Antilles are threatened by the United States.

Gabriel Perreux, the French writer who cites the above accusations, adds that Haytian emigrants are coming here in crowds, bitterly complaining about the present situation. They implore France, which they consider their spiritual mother, to intervene or at least to bring their case before the League of Nations, he says.

Porto Rica Has Solved The Color Question Says Native

New York—The nearest approach to social equality in the United States exists in Porto Rica according to Luis Munoz Marin, whose article, "Porto Rica, the American Colony," is published in the Nation today. Senor Marin says in part:

"From the middle class down, the union of white women to brown or black men is not unusual enough to astonish or enrage anybody, and the union of black or brown women to white men is of course more frequent. Discreet instances of both varieties of intermarriage may be found in the highest social pinnacles, where the prejudice against people of Negro extraction finds expression in drawing-room whispers of What are we coming to?

"Lynching and the humiliation of Negroes by statute are unthinkable. There are no segregated districts though the general division of labor brought about by climatic conditions has assigned the mountains to the white man and the coast to the white and the black. Jim Crow cars would seem as freakish as a man with two thumbs on one hand and eight fingers on the other. A white Porto Rican Senator once traveled through Virginia with two Negro friends in the black man's car and justified his presence there to the conductor by claiming Negro blood. After close scrutiny the conductor decided to throw a curtain around the group anyway.

"A good proportion of the schoolteachers are of Negro and mixed extraction and they give their services to black brown, and white indiscriminately. White, Negro and mulatto lawyers, physicians, journalists, poets, politicians, philosophers lead a common professional and spiritual life. One of the ablest and most respected leaders of the Republican Party (the party that stands for Americanism and usually for statehood) was Dr. Barbosa, a Negro physician. A nwespaper in Ponce employed Carrion Maduro, a well-known Negro writer, as editor with a white staff under him. Our most expressive composer was Campos, a light mulatto

Man of both races get along quite well with one another in all social strata. It is the women of the upper classes who offer the most stubborn ressitance to a complete acceptance of the tolerant spirit that dominates our racial relationships. This acts as a strong determinant of the tendency of whites to marry whites and of blacks to bring lighter blood into the family. The American authorities, in so far as they may act without fear of raising a hullabaloo, introduce segregation, as in the National Guard.

HONOR DOMINICAN HERO.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18.—(AP)—The national hero of the Dominican republic, Juan Pablo Duarte, takes his place on the hall of patriots of the Pan-American Union today with the presentation by Minister Arisa of a marble bust of Duarte in the name of his government. A brilliant company of Latin-American diplomats was invited to hear addresses by Dr. Leo S. Rowe, director general of the Pan-American Union; Dr. Arisa, and Secretary Kellogg, the State Department head, accepting the bust as chairman of the governing board of the union.

Race Problem - 1925.
West Indies.

Haiti.

What The Best of Them Think

HAITI AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The French government, irritated by the pressure of American bankers, demands that the American occupation of Haiti be referred to the league of nations.

With the suppression of the native population of Haiti by American marines our readers are familiar. Since 1915 the government of the United States has maintained an armed force on that island and conservative estimates of the number of Haitians slaughtered in the process of bringing them to a realization of the superior character of American democracy place the figure at 3,000

The Haitians are Negroes, French is the language of the people and they have revolutionary traditions dating back to the overthrow of the French forces of occupation, and the establishment of a Negro republic.

In the western hemisphere the American government has never tolerated interference by European powers. It has assumed the right of determining unhampered its attitude toward the other governments and peoples of Mexico, Central and South America and the Caribbean islands. The basis of this attitude is in the Monroe Doctrine, originally drafted to set forth the position of the United States government in these matters, but now a charter under which American imperialism enjoys the privliege of overthrowing and setting up governments at pleasure in the nations to the south.

In addition to the desire to make as little trouble for its creditors the French government has another ax to grind. If the Haitian question comes before the council of the league a president is established for the discussion of other areas of occupation and the appeal of Egypt against British occupation could be heard.

The American finance capitalist have little to fear from this project even though the league acts on it. The French will be made to keep their mouths shut by a gesture of calling the millions of dollars of short term notes held by the House of Morgan, Great Britain will oppose the setting of any such precedent and the Haitians will continue to be murdered by marines.

The incident is of interest showing that the Monroe Doctrine was a guarantee of non-interference by European powers in the territorial arrangements of the western hemisphere only as long as America did not meddle in European politics.

In world affairs American imperialism now holds the centre of the stage. European governments know that American government policy drives toward placing them in the same position as the government of Haiti—under American financial and military control.

—The Chicago Daily Worker

A Haitian Ambassador

Pierre Haudicourt, a lawyer, of Port au Prince, Haiti, was in the city last week as the guest of Bishop John Hurst.

Mr. Haudicourt is a former member of the Hague Peace Tribunal and has represented his country in other distinguished missions. He came to Washington to file memorandum with the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, and with President Coolidge, in which he asked for relief from the American occupation and withdrawal of the pressure which nullifies the Haitian constitution.

Under the law of the land, next year is the time for a presidential election, President Borneo will have completed his term. Unless Uncle Sam loosens his grip, the proper proclamations for an election will not be sent out this October and President Borneo will be continued in office.

Presidet Coolidge and the American government have made half-hearted attempts to justify the occupation of Haiti. Will they also continue to nullify its constitution and its sovereign right of internal self-government?

HAITIAN OCCUPATION ASSAILED

That the military occupation of Haiti still remains an issue was shown by some of the testimony brought out at the hearings of a sub-committee of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs last week. This committee has under consideration a resolution introduced by Senator Ladd, for the purpose of ending this military occupation of Haiti and forbidding the use of the military forces of the United States for the purpose of supervising the financial transactions of its citizens with foreign governments. This would do away with such abuses of governmental agancies, such as now prevail in Haiti and Nicaragua.

Among the witnesses who testified before the committee was Lewis Gannett associate editor of the Nation who told how the State Department supported American financiers in breaking down the sovereignty of the weaker Latin-American countries. James Weldon Johnson, former American consul at Nicaragua, testified as to the occupation of that country by United States marines, and the upholding of an unpopular president in office through their support. Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University and Moorfield Storey of Boston both went on record in support of the Ladd resolution. Ernest H. Gruening of New York told how the Haitian Assembly was dissolved upon order of Gen. Smedley Butler, then in command of the marine corps, because it refused to accept the new constitution. This was probably the instrument written by Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was assistant Secretary of the Navy, under the Wilson administration.

Recent advices from Haiti do not show much improvement in the situation, so far as allowing the Haitians any measure of self-government is concerned. Le Courrier Haitien, the organ of national defense, continues its protest against the arbitrary rule of Brigadier General Russell President Borno and Judge Pierre-Philippe, as shown in the case of one Pierre Paul who threatened to die of a hunger strike while confined in jail. This paper also recorded a meeting of the Patriotic Union, which it pronounced a great success. It asserts that agitation has given place to action and that the Union is treating with high personages of the American government for the evacuation of Haiti. It also declares its opposition to any presidential election by the Council of State, asserting that it is for "a government of the people, for the people and by the people."

This combination of affairs, both at Washington and at Port-au-Prince, seems to be significant of approaching changes for the betterin the condtion of Haiti.

A Reply to Dr. Carl Kelsey on American Military Occupation in Haiti

Haitians Enslaved

I ALSO held that as a result of American Military Occupation the Haitians had been reduced to a condition of slavery. Mr. Gruening in the same pamphlet points out that forced labor had been instituted. Of course, the discerning can readily see that forced labor is nothing more than a euphemistic term for slavery. The road building is done by the Haitians under what is known as Corvee. Testimony varies as to the extent of the abuses under the Corvee, but it seems to be clearly proved, says Gruening, that Haitians were (a) seized wherever they could be found; (b) transported to other parts of the island; (c) subjected to physical violence if they resisted; (d) compelled to work under guard at night to prevent their escape; (f) shot if they attempted to escape. The Navy Department admits that at least a hundred were thus killed. Haitian figures are much higher.

In consequence of these repressive measures, a widespread revolt broke out against the American military forces, headed by Charlemagne Peralte, formerly a wealthy landowner of the town of Hinche and a former chief d'arrondisement. He was arrested charged with revolutionary activities and sentenced by court martial to a long term of imprisonment.

Do Haitians Want American Occupation?

This question is very pertinent in view of the fact that Dr. Kelsey says that most of the Haitians with whom he talked said that they were glad the Americans were there. If the Haitians do want the overlordship of America, is it not quite strange that they revolt against it whenever they can? People don't generally revolt against that which they want. The annual report of the Secretary of the Navy gives the Haitians killed during the American occupation as follows: 1915, 212; 1916, 50; 1917, 2; 1918, 35; 1919, 1,861; 1920, 90. During the same period one Marine officer and twelve enlisted men were killed in action.

Dr. Kelsey Afraid to Tell the Truth About Haiti

It is not at all surprising that Dr. Kelsey seeks to whitewash the American Military Occupation of Haiti. As a professor in Pennsylvania University, richly endowed and maintained by big business interests, if he dared to tell the truth about Haiti, he would be fired out of his job. He is no better or any more valuable than Prof. Scott Nearing, who lost his berth in the University of Pennsylvania because of his criticism of the Philadelphia Traction Interests. **University professors have been known to lose their jobs for lesser crimes than telling the truth about Haiti.**

Big Business Interests in Haiti

On Dec. 13, 1914, without warning to the Haitian Government, American Marines landed in the Haitian capital from the U. S. Machias. They went to the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti and carried away $500,000 in gold, the property of the Haitian National Government, on deposit in the bank for the redemption of paper money. This procedure had been arranged between the Secretary of State and the American Director of the National Bank of Haiti, who had been in charge since the control was secured by the National City Bank of New York in 1911. The reason assigned for the removal of the gold was that the bank feared revolutionary activities. The Haitian Government protested to Washington against this violation of its sovereignty but no explanation was ever given.

The large influence of the National City Bank in Haitian affairs is a matter of common knowledge to unbiased sociologists who study Haiti's plight. Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who also visited Haiti, wrote a series of articles entitled "Government of, by and for the National City Bank," so patent was the power of the National City Bank over the Haitian Government under American control.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Kelsey says that there is no money to be made in Haiti. Strange that the National City Bank is down there. And banks deal in money.

Dr. Kelsey also said that the "Haitians have no patriotism but against the outsider." Well, as a sociologist, he ought to know that that is true of every people. Says he, "they have no philosophy of work, but only an ambition among the upper classes to hold office." They are certainly not unlike the American people. One of the outstanding crimes in American history is the flagrant and shameless trafficking in public offices, so deep and widespread is there an appetite for office-holding.

The great injustice which Dr. Kelsey does Haiti consists in his predicating of the Haitian people a shortcoming as characteristic of them, and to their detriment, that which, upon examination, will be found to be common to all people, such as laziness, ignorance, pride of the upper class, conflict between political factions, assassination of officials at certain times.

Criticizing Government Officials

Dr. Kelsey indicated as the reason for his explosion my criticism of government officials. He says that my charges are unsupported. Granting that that is true, freedom of speech consists in the right to be wrong as well as the right to be right. For who is to say when one is right or wrong? A calm, dispassionate, sober reference to fact and reason should constitute the sole arbiter. Bandying names clarifies nothing. One pedagogue once said that "if you have a good case you don't need to lose your head, and if you have a bad case you can't afford to lose your head." The very best way to halt our political and social progress is to establish a censorship of criticism of public officials, such as Dr. Kelsey apparently would have. Any public official whose acts will not bear examination and criticism deserves to be relegated to political oblivion. Dr. Kelsey surely must have heard of Theodore Roosevelt's severe castigation of public officials, his creation of an Ananias Club for public men. But even if no one had ever criticized public officials, that would be no good reason why no one should criticize them. Dr. Kelsey said that the men in office he met at Washington were wise and honorable. My answer to that is that he must have met a very few.

Finally, Is United States an Empire?

I attempted to show that the miserable and tragic plight of the little Black Republic was the result of American imperialism. That the march of imperialism began with the conquest of Hawaii and proceeded with the taking over of Cuba, Porta Rica, Philippines, Guam, Panama, Haiti and Santo Domingo. That capitalists were behind these political and economic aggressions upon the domain of weaker peoples. This Dr. Kelsey resented. Undoubtedly he is misled by the name Republic. The fact that America fulfills the conditions of an empire is quite sufficient. What are they? First, the existence of a subject people; second, the existence of a ruling class; third, the existence of conquered territory; fourth, the exploitation of the subject class by the ruling class. I think that upon an examination of the situation in Haiti, it will be found that the natives are a subject people; that the country is conquered territory; that the American investment bankers are the ruling class, and that they are ruthlessly exploiting the country, led by the National City Bank of New York. Haiti, in very truth, is a mere American colony. She is the black national slave of the American empire. Her pride and honor, the achievement of over a century of freedom won from the mighty Napoleon, is humbled in the dust by the insolence and arrogance of ignorant, stupid, irresponsible Southern Marine officers.

The Remedy

Contrary to the opinion of Dr. Kelsey, I don't believe the Haitians want the American Marines running their country. Their revolts and protests don't warrant such a conclusion.

It seems to me that the proper and rational method to employ in order to determine the policy America ought to adopt toward Haiti is to organize and send a commission of four Negroes and three whites down there to study the entire situation and to report their findings and recommendations. Nor would I object to Dr. Kelsey being on that commission.

Debate Haiti

If Dr. Kelsey is still convinced of the soundness of his position, I shall be glad to debate the question of "American Occupation of Haiti: a Benefit or a Detriment," with him at any time, anywhere. The solution of the Haitian problem as well as all social, economic, political, national, international, racial, religious problems depends upon the spread of more light and less heat. Public discussion is a splendid and effective means for the dissemination of light on the subject. If Dr. Kelsey's position on Haiti is right it ought to be accepted. If it is wrong it ought to be rejected. This attitude should be assumed toward the position of anybody else on Haiti or any other public question. The way to determine whether it is sound or unsound is to thresh it out in public discussion.

Race Problem—1925.

West Indies.

Haiti.

POPULATION OF HAITI

(Columbian Press Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The most recent estimate, by the gendarmerie of Haiti of the population of the principal commercial centers of Haiti is as follows: Port au Prince, 115,500; Cape Haitien, 12,000; Aux Cayes, 11,875; Gonaives, 10,500; Jeremie, 9,750; St. Marc, 8,400; Jacmel, 7,875; Port de Paix, 6,650; Petit Goave, 5,250; Miragoane, 3,675; Aquin, 3,675. From the standpoint of analysis of commercial importance these figures are slightly misleading, as these towns, all open ports, have a certain tributary population.

HAITI QUIET SAYS U. S. COMMISSIONER

Only Military Force Needed Is One Brigade And Minesweeper

FRANCE GETS COFFEE

Major Portion Of $14,000,000 Spent By Haiti Comes To U. S.

Washington, D. C.—The state of Haitian affairs is excellent, according to the third annual report of John H. Russell, American High Commissioner at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to the Secretary of State, which has just been made public.

"The commerce of Haiti during the year has been particularly satisfactory," General Russel said in his report. "As usual, the bulk of the coffee, which is Haiti's most important product and which, in the period now reported, amounted to about 66 per cent of the total exports of the country, was shipped to France. On the other hand, about 80 per cent of the total imports came from the United States, with cotton goods and wheat flour predominating."

Marines

"The United States forces stationed in Haiti during the year have consisted of the First Brigade, United States Marines, and a mine sweeper of 950 tons displacement. The Marines have been concentrated at Port-au-Prince and Cape Haitian with training camp at Pont Beudet in the Cul-de-Sac Plain.

"Martial law has been exercised only upon rare occasions and then only in the trials of a few Haitians for the theft of United States Government property and, in one instance, for assault of a sentinel. All of those tried were from the lower class.

"Upon their arrival in Haiti all of the enlisted men are carefully instructed to exercise the greatest tact in maintaining friendly relations with the Haitians. As a result an extremely small number of conflicts was recorded during the year."

Imports and Exports

During the past fiscal year, the report stated, imports and exports reached the sums of $14,696,128 and $14,176,322, respectively, which "indicate a decided improvement."

During the fiscal year, 1923-1924, the public debt of Haiti was decreased by $351,400, and the report said that "during the coming year it is expected that a larger sum can be devoted to debt reduction." On September 30, 1924, the public debt amounted to $24,209,700.24.

Customs and internal revenue receipts have been increasing steadily, according to the report, amounting during the last fiscal year to $5,990,180 and $559,174, respectively. A cash surplus of approximately $1,400,000 existed at the end of the last fiscal year, which, the report states, "indicates the sound financial condition that Haitian finances are gradually assuming under the American Intervention."

COOLIDGE ASKED TO TAKE TROOPS OUT OF HAITI

Pierre Hudicourt, of Haiti, Also Submits Documents to Secretary of State.

Pierre Hudicourt, former member of the Hague Peace Tribunal and now a member of the American Institute of International Law, who is representing the Haitian Patriotic Union in the United States, has sent a memorandum to President Coolidge and the Secretary of State, asking the withdrawal of armed forces of this country from Haiti.

The memorandum charges that in violation of the Haitian Constitution, the country has been governed without regularly elected representatives of the people, by a council of state nominated and dismissed by the President. Mr. Hudicourt charges that President Louis Borno, of Haiti, on March 18 of this year dismissed seven members of the council and appointed seven new members more favorably disposed toward himself, in order to make his continuance in office more certain.

Despite the fiction of a Haitian government, Mr. Hudicourt charges that General Russell, the American High Commissioner in Haiti, "concentrates into his sole hands all the powers of the country. The de facto President Borno depends upon him for all and everything."

Urging restoration of representative government in Haiti, Mr. Hudicourt says:

"The United States Government has always given the assurance that it does not intend to confiscate or to attempt to confiscate the sovereignty of a weak neighbor. Recently ex-Secretary Hughes said: 'We recognize the equality of the American republics, their equal rights under the laws of nations.'

"There is no reason not to believe such official declarations. However, the Haitian people believe that after almost 10 years time has come for this Government to prove the efficiency of these various promises and declarations."

The Patriotic Union of Haiti, in whose behalf Mr. Hudicourt drew up and presented the memorandum, is a non-partisan organization with more than 20,000 members throughout Haiti.

MARINE CAPTAIN TO TRAIN HAITIANS

WASHINGTON, April 13.—Captain John H. Craige, of the United States Marine Corps, will take up soon his duties as commander of a division or district of the Haitian gendarmerie. He will leave for his new post early in August. Captain Craige goes to Haiti, which has been under American Marine control for a long time, to instruct the natives in military science, the Haitian gendarmerie being officered throughout by Americans. He will not take the rank of General. The head of the Haitian gendarmerie is the only officer of that rating connected with the establishment. As the commander of a district or division, Captain Craige will have the rank of Major or Colonel. He is now one of the aids of General John A. Lejeune, commandant of the Marine Corps.

Captain Craige's service in Haiti does not necessitate retirement from the Marine Corps. He will retain his commission in the corps and is subject to recall at any time.

FRANCE IS HANDS OFF ON THE HAITIAN ISSUE

Will Not Bring Matter Before the League.

(By The Associated Press.)

PARIS, March 24.—Efforts by the League of the Rights of Man to get Premier Herriot to refer the matter of the American occupation of Haiti to the League of Nations will come to naught, it was said at the Foreign Office today. The league has presented a long memorandum on the subject to the premier, reviewing the history of the occupation and alleging that it was unjustified and is being continued without reason.

Haiti, being a member of the League of Nations, can bring the matter before the League Council herself if she sees fit, it is stated at the Quai d'Orsay, and there is no reason for France to interest herself in the question.

France Has Her Own Problems.

The French chapter of the League for the Rights of Man, the European organization which seems to be fostered by the Socialists over there, has appealed to Premier Herriot to bring the question of American occupation of Haiti before the council of the League of Nations for settlement. The purpose of the appellant obviously is to put the league council on record as being opposed to the course of the United States even though no action of a more drastic nature should be contemplated. The organization would place our country in the attitude of being an unjust aggressor against the negro republic with designs of conquest of Haitian territory.

Nothing could be further from the truth than any intimation that the American government is holding a big military force in Haiti with the purpose of annexing the country or making it permanently subject to the United States. In the first place any suggestion that the United States is maintaining a big army in Haiti is the purest bosh. As compared with the army of occupation France has in Germany the American force of marines on the Dominican island of the West Indies amounts to nothing more nor less than a handful. And they are there not for the purpose of taking over the island, but solely to rehabilitate it financially and put it back on its feet as a solvent independent state.

Our occupation of Haiti and our collection of customs there amount to nothing more than our fulfilment of the obligations we must assume under the rights we claim in our insistence upon the sanctity of the Monroe Doctrine. Under the fiat of President Monroe we forbid any foreign power to invade any part of the American continent or commit any act of aggression against any of the small states of that continent.

Haiti is an island off the continent but is a part of it. She got into trouble with some of the larger powers through her inability to pay her debts. Had the United States not assumed the role of receiver for the republic, to the end of paying off her debts, some of the creditors might have attempted that very thing and the United States would have been up against the question of enforcing the Monroe Dostrine. The alternative to that was the very thing our country did.

There ought to be no fear in France or anywhere else about the purposes of the United States with respect to Haiti. The American people do not want the island and would not have it as a free gift. The sole aim of our government in the collection of Haitien revenue is to make that revenue pay the debts and expenses of Haiti and thus re-establish her as a solvent and independent state. We have neither desire nor purpose either to annex Haiti or make her subject to our government. We are merely doing a duty incumbent on us under the rights we claim as a part of established American policy.

Besides it must seem as if France has a large enough problem of her own in handling the very practical issue of German reparations and occu-

pation of German territory. That matter is of such practical and vital concern to the future security and well being of France that the leaders there should not have any time to take up the quarrel of idle visionaries who know not of what they speak. Premier Herriot has so much knitting of his own to do in France that he can not dissipate his energies by seeking to attend to all of the needle work on the American continent.

THE FRENCH WANT TO CHASE US OU'T OF HAITI.

The French League of the Rights of Man has sent to Premier Herriot a resolution demanding that the French government bring up before the league of nations the American military occupation of Haiti. The League of the Rights of Man is described as one of the most powerful organizations in France. Its membership comprises 75 per cent of the French chamber of deputies and of the senate. The prime minister is a member. The executive committee adopted the resolution and sent it to Herriot.

American marines were sent to Haiti after the assassination of President Guillaume Sam in 1915. The French marines had already landed. They got out when the Americans came in. Haiti had gone back to its native barbarism. The American marines stopped the massacres and protected life and property. The Haitian president has a marine guard. If he loses it he'll need an undertaker, but under the marines the country has had peace and it is getting prosperity.

The French resolution may open some American eyes. Others have been open from the time the covenant of the league was laid before the United States senate. The league in essence is the Holy Alliance against which the Monroe doctrine of "hands off the Americas" was directed over a hundred years ago. The leopard of Europe has not changed its spots although it has changed its name to league.

Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers had to warn the continent of Europe that it could not undertake the reconquest of Latin America and the reëstablishment of its imperialism in this hemisphere. Our fathers found France reëstablishing an empire in Mexico in spite of this doctrine when the war for the preservation of the American Union was being fought. The French troops were withdrawn when the United States again had its hands free.

The United States has not regarded French colonial imperialism as any of its business so long as that is confined to Asia and Africa. But it is as concerned now as ever that European interference shall not penetrate further in North and South America than it already has.

If the United States had joined the league of nations it would have been subjected to just such interference as is now proposed in the French resolution. It is said that even if the French government raised the question of Haiti the British would stop it before a similar question was raised regarding Egypt. Possibly so, but we do not rely on that.

President Coolidge has favored the world court. This French incident might well cause him to reconsider. Our conviction grows that the United States cannot wisely or safely make any agreement with Europe which could give any color of right to a demand that any American policy or interest be dragged before a European council or tribunal.

A policy of noninterference in Europe and of noninterference by Europe in America has all the validity of experience, and any departure from it will be to our cost and sorrow.

FRENCH BLOW AT U. S. AID TO HAITI WORRIES LEAGUE

Geneva Officials Await Herriot's Action.

BY HENRY WALES.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]
Copyright: 1925: By The Chicago Tribune.]

PARIS, March 23.—The league of nations, according to a dispatch from Geneva, today received a copy of the document transmitted to Premier Herriot by the league for the rights of man, demanding that the French government urge action on the United States' military occupation of Haiti by the next meeting of the council of the league of nations at Geneva in June.

The league officials are declared to be extremely worried by the receipt of the document, foreseeing endless trouble if the league is forced to take up the matter. However, the officials have decided to await the action of the French government on M. Herriot's copy of the document before issuing any comment or taking action in the matter.

Text of Protest.

The protest, which emanated from the leaders of the Haiti branch, was adopted by the central committee and sent to Quai d'Orsay on March 17. THE TRIBUNE obtained a copy of the resolution, which is as follows:

"On the 28th of July, 1914, United States troops commanded by Admiral Caperton disembarked on Haitian soil for a pacific occupation.

"The measure was not solicited by the Haitian government and was not provoked by any motives which could justify or explain intervention in the state affairs of another state. No American citizen was persecuted in person or property and no contractual debt weighted the Antilles republic to the American federation. The United States arbitrarily assumed the mandate of protective power against a nation whose juridic equality and sovereignty never before was contested.

Martial Law Decreed.

"On the 3d of September the Caperton proclamation assumed control of the government, decreeing martial law and then imposed the convention that the Haitian parliament was forced to accept by the American forces. The customs were seized, banks occupied, military courts substituted for the national jurisdiction, and the native corps placed under the authority of the American army.

"The war, claiming the attention of the world, did not give the foreign chancelleries time to interfere in the particular situation created in Port Au Prince, despite the protestations of the Haitian government; the press gave only timid revelations, and the event passed unperceived by Europe.

"The situation persisted after the war, and at the Paris peace conference the Haitian delegate submitted the matter to Woodrow Wilson and Robert Lansing, but the former said he was too busy settling the peace of the world, the latter declared himself merely a delegate at Paris and secretary of state only at Washington.

Cites McCormick Protest.

"The United States senate heard some protests, notably by Senator McCormick, who declared on the 28th of March, 1924:

"'The continuation of martial law in Haiti and the subjection of the Haitian citizens to United States courts-martial is an anti-democratic and anti-republican act and contrary to the American ideals.'

"The state of siege continued, journalists were imprisoned, and the foreign occupation became brutal, and it is estimated that 3,500 Haitian peasants were killed during the period.

"We ask you, then, to submit to the council of the league of nations this important affair, which must without delay be solved.

"We request you to make known the decision of the French government to take these grave circumstances.

HAITI DEPARTMENT MAKES SATISFACTORY PROGRESS

More Of Foreign Indebtedness Than Required Is Retired.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Satisfactory progress in the department of Haiti during the last calendar year were reported to the state department today by John H. Russell, American high commissioner.

The report showed that the Haitian government retired more of their foreign indebtedness than they were obliged to under their contract, increased imports and exports, and maintained excellent health conditons.

AMERICAN RULE OF HAITIANS IS UNDER FIRE

State Department and French Government Approached

Associated Negro Press—

New York, N. Y.—Two significant moves were made this week that bring to the fore again the question of Haiti and the American occupation of the island.

One was taken in France and the other concerned itself with the dispatching of a letter to the new secretary of state, Frank Kellogg, by Joseph Mirault, correspondent of the **Haitian Courier.**

The League of Rights of Man, one of the most powerful organizations in France, its membership comprising 75 per cent of the French Senators and deputies, including the leaders, demanded that the French government bring up the American military occupation of Haiti before the league of nations.

Arbitrarily Seized

The resolution says that the United States arbitrarily seized the mandate of Haiti, a nation whose sovereignty never before was questioned, that the military occupation by America has become brutal and abusive and that Haiti is unable to make its protest heard. This resolution was signed by many members of the powerful association and submitted to the executive committee session, which adopted it and sent the motion to the cabinet of Edouard Herriot, urging immediate action.

The letter of Mr. Mirault to the American secretary of state sets forth that "during the last ten years that there has been an American occupation of the island, countless crimes have been committed in the name of the American people; that the poor people in the country are sometimes forced to disguise themselves as cannibals and to suffer themselves thus to be photographed; that 25 high schools have been closed, and the press gagged to such an extent that a journalist who dares to raise a voice to denounce misappropriation of public funds or exactions of any kind will be thrown into jail where he will be subjected to all kinds of suffering and humiliation."

Race Problem—1925
West Indies.

Haiti.

Super Government in Haiti and Nicaragua Controlled by Capitalists

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2.—James Weldon Johnson appeared Wednesday before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and declared that United States armed intervention and military control of the Republics of Nicaragua and Haiti had been brought about in the interest of powerful financial groups in the United States.

"The statement made for public consumption that the United States," declared Mr. Johnson, "that we undertook such intervention for the good of the people of those Caribbean countries is sheer hypocrisy.

"In Nicaragua, where I was United States Consul from 1909 to 1923, that is from the time of the overthrow of Gener Zelaya to the time of the taking of control of the country by American military forces, that revolution was fomented and financed from the United States. The chief reason for Zelaya's overthrow was not his being a dictator, but because he was not sufficiently submissive to the Amarican bankers. A government representing a minority of Nigaraguans, but favorable to the American interests, was installed, and since 1912 has been sustained in power by American armed forces.

"The State Department alleged as our justification for intervening in Haiti, that we had to go in (1) to prevent foreign European powers from doing so to collect foreign debts from Haiti and (2) to restore order in a country fallen into anarchy. Neither of these reasons is true.

"We intervened in Haiti in 1915 when the European powers were too occupied with the World War to think about Haiti. No American, before the occupation of Haiti, had ever lost his life there. We were negotiating diplomatically for control of Haiti when the killing of President Guillaume gave us an excuse to land armed forces, which we did the same day. Since 1915 we have entirely abolished the Haiti legislative body, we have absolutely controlled the nominal president and we have collected and administered the country's finances. Furthermore, there is not one major achievement to which we can point of real value to the Haitians.

"What we actually did in Haiti was to intervene for the benefit of the National City Bank of New York and affiliated financia groups."

The hearings at which the N. A A. C. P. secretary testified were or the resolution introduced by Sena tor Ladd of North Dakota, whicl would forbid the U. S. Govern ment to use its armed forces to compel any government to pay debts due to private American citi zens.

Others who testified at the hear ings were Lewis S. Gannett, asso ciate editor of The Nation, who in troduced a vast amount of docu mentary evidence, and Ernest Gruening, former managing editor of The Nation, and now a lecturer and writer on Mexico and Central American affairs.

President Borno depends upon him for all and everything."

Urging restoration of representative government in Haiti, Mr. Hudicourt says:

"The U. S. Government has always given the assurance that it does not intend to confiscate or to to attempt to confiscate the sovereignty of a weak neighbor. Recently Secretary Hughes said: 'We recognize the equality of the American republics, their equal rights under the law of nations.'

"There is no reason not to believe such official declarations. However, the Haitian people believe that after almost ten years, time has come for this government to prove the efficiency of those various promises and declarations."

The Patriotic Union of Haiti, in whose behalf Mr. Hudicourt drew up and presented the memorandum is a nonpartisan organization with more than 20,000 members throughout Haiti.

ASK COOLIDGE FOR REMOVAL OF TROOPS FROM HAITIAN SOIL

New York, June 5.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., has announced that Pierre Hudicourt, former member of the Haiti Peace Tribunal and now a member of the American Institute of International Law, who is representing the Haitian Patriotic Union in the United States, has sent a memorandum to President Coolidge and the secretary of state asking the withdrawal of armed forces of this country from Haiti.

The memorandum charges that in violation of the Haitian constitution the country has been governed without regularly elected representatives of the people, by a council of state nominated and dismissed by the president. Mr. Hudicourt charges that President Louis Borno of Haiti on March 18 of this year dismissed seven members of the council and appointed seven new members more favorably disposed toward himself, in order to make his continuance in office more certain.

Despite the fiction of a Haitian government, Mr. Hudicourt charges that General Russell, the American high commissioner in Haiti, "concentrates into his solo hands all the powers of the country. The de facto

West Indian Negroes in Cuba

THE British Government has recently made public the official notes in its controversy with the Cuban Government over the ill treatment of British West Indian laborers in Cuba. During the last year the situation reached the point of a threat from His Majesty's Government to prohibit emigration to that island.

Unless this threat is carried out, as was the first one of making public the correspondence, Negroes from the packed little island of Jamaica will again this year migrate to Cuba to do the essential work in the vast sugar industry. Each year some 65,000 go over for a short period. The planters are faced with a demand for strong arms and a will to work which the drony native peons show small capacity to fill. On the other hand, the migration is a necessary blood letting for a country constantly under the burden of unemployment. Both the government and the planters admit that upon these laborers the sugar crop depends, and upon the sugar crop the prosperity of the island, indeed its life, depends.

The problem at bottom economic, has developed into a most ridiculous racial problem. The peons dislike the Jamaicans because they are preferred by the planters. The peons have friends in the Rural Guards whose duty it is to keep order. A long series of unwarranted assaults, murders and exploitation has resulted, and strangely enough, the government, despite its admitted need of these Negroes, has failed to do anything effective about tracing down the culprits in its service, and the planters, taking advantage of the sentiment have covertly and when they could, joined in the exploitation.

The British note calls attention persistently to "the wanton use of fire-arms by Cuban guards who have no hesitation in firing upon unarmed West Indians on the slightest provocation," to the laborers contracted for work and paid by the planters in worthless "vouchers"; to the systematic defrauding of each of the immigrants of deposit moneys demanded upon entry; to the unspeakable conditions in the quarantine station at Santiago de Cuba where they are forced to remain without beds, sanitary accommodations or water, sleeping on cement floors without distinction of sexes.

To the charges the Cuban government has answered weakly. The Monroe Doctrine introduces a quite serious angle into the muddle, offering a certain tacit protection for Cuba. The Negro laborers both need the work and are needed for it. The Cuban Government is the last to look favorably upon restriction of the immigration. The greatest animosity exists between the Negroes and the peons, who have a right to labor. Yet, if some satisfactory terms are not reached, the only effective protest which the British Government can register is a restriction on the emigration of West Indian Negroes, which adds another notch to the pressure applied when the United States Immigration Act was felt there. If this is done there will be more suffering for the West Indians, but every householder will feel the advanced cost of sugar.

GENERAL BEN H. FULLER, returning from Haiti on June 17, was incautious enough to say to a reporter for the New York *Times*:

> Contrary to the general impression, the marines are not in Haiti on any general mission of sanitation or civilization. We are simply there to prevent the overthrow of the regularly constituted Government.

That is refreshing honesty. We are in Haiti to maintain in office an unpopular and unconstitutional Government, which could not hold office for a minute without the support of the American marines. American marines dissolved Haiti's legislature in 1916 and have not permitted Haiti to hold an election since. All the blather about uplifting the natives which the Marine Corps publicity man spreads so copiously through the Sunday papers is, as General Fuller admits, sheer whitewash. We are there, in fact, to make Haiti safe for the $30,000,000 loan which we forced on her in 1921. Major General John A. Lejeune, commandant of the Marine Corps, followed General Fuller with another announcement. The withdrawal of the marines was remote, he said, although the original occupation force of 3,000 had been reduced to 1,200, and would be down to 800 by October. Simultaneously, the State Department revealed that the ten-year treaty forced on Haiti in 1915 had been extended in 1917 for another twenty years—which, by a natural coincidence, extends American control of Haitian customs for almost the precise period of the American bankers' loan. The marines are not in Haiti, as General Fuller says, for any altruistic reason. They are there to serve American financial interests.

HAITIANS PROTEST BORUS REELECTION

New York, Aug. 17 (ANP).—A report has been received here of a strong protest having been voiced in Cayes, one of the principal municipalities of the island, against the reelection President Louis Borno, who, most Haitians aver, was handpicked by the Occupation. The complaint says in part:

"More than three years have passed away since an unlucky government, the issue of the combination of new Haitian and interested foreigners, was brought to bear heavily on the destinies of the unfortunate country. We have seen this government betray the dearest interests of the fatherland, compromise by measure that no one could brook too much the very existence of the Nation. We have seen all our institutions which had been bequeathed by provident ancestors and which were our strength, systematically destroyed. These people that the foreign bayonets have imposed on the Haitian people, flinch before nothing to attain their ends. Power must really make a man drunk to such an extent as to make him lose the sense of realities, for Mr. Borno, after all the harm he has done to the country, to believe possible the renewal of his mandate."

Haitian Consul Fined $1,200

Customs Officials Halt Him at Pier With 240 Bottles of Liquor

Eugene Le Bosse, honorary Haitian Consul at Manchester, N. H., was fined $1,200 Thursday by Assistant Solicitor Edward Barnes at the Custom House after Le Bosse had admitted that he had brought 240 bottles of champagne, vermouth, whisky and liqueurs into the country with his baggage o nthe line, Niquerie from Porto Prince, Haiti.

Le Bosse declared that he was under the impression his position in the consular service gave him the right of free entry. He was told that only ambassadors and ministers enjoyed that right.

Customs officials apparently had been informed of Le Bosse's presence on the Niquerie, as they were on the pier at the foot of Montague street, Brooklyn, when the liner docked. Le Bosse had ten cases, eight trunks and eight packages. He produced his papers and asked for the privilege of free entry. Customs officials informed him he was not entitled to it, and asked him if he had any liquor among his baggage.

According to the custom officials Le Bosse then declared he had half a trunk of liquors, brought to entertain friends in New York and New Hampshire. When the customs officials opened the trunk in question they found it filled with liquor and became suspicious and opened several other articles of Le Bosse, finding 240 bottles of liquor in all.

Arraigned before Assistant Solicitor Barnes, Le Bosse said he had brought the liquor for friends in New York and New Hampshire. They were to have reimbursed him for the cost of the liquor, he said. He told Mr. Barnes he did not regard what he had done as a violation of the law, as he was under the impression he was entitled to free entry. He had brought in liquor in his baggage before, he said, and had been given free entry when he asked for it.

Assistant Solicitor Barnes asked Le Bosse to give him a list of the names of the friends for whom he had brought the liquor to the United States, explaining that he would ask the District Attorney to give Le Bosse immunity in return for the list.

Le Bosse declined to furnish the list, saying he would alone be responsible for his actions. He had only $50 in cash with him and was given until Monday to pay the fine of $1,200.

A despatch received last week from Manchester, N. H., says:

"Le Bosse, 'honorary' Haytian consul, is not known here. Police confirm no trace of such a man."

Haitian Diplomat Presents New Memorandum To State Dept.

Pierre Hudicourt Submits Document Asking Withdrawal Of U. S. Armed Forces

New York.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today announced that Pierre Hudicourt, former member of the Hague Peace Tribunal, and now a member of the American Institute of International Law, who is represent- in the Haitian Patriotic Union in the United States, has sent a memorandum to President Coolidge and the Secretary of State, asking the withdrawal of armed forces of this country from Haiti.

Constitution Violated

The memorandum charges that in violation of the Haitian constitutoin the country has been governed without regularly elected representatives of the people, by a council of State nominated and dismissed by the President.

Mr. Hudicourt charges that President Louis Borno of Haiti on March 18th of this year dismissed seven members of the council and appointed seven new members more favorably disposed toward himself, in order make his continuance in office more certain.

Too Much Power

Despite the action of a Haitian government, Mr. Hudicourt charges that General Russell, the American High Commissioner in Haiti, "concentrates into his sole hands all the powers of the country. The de facto President Borno depends upon him for all and everything."

Uuring restoration of representative government in Haiti, Mr. Hudicourt says:

Assurance Goven

"The U. S. Government has always given the assurance that it does not intend to confiscate or to attempt to confiscate the sovereignty of a weak neighbor. Recently Secretary Hughes said: 'We recognize the equality of the American republics, their equal rights under the law of Nations.'

"There is no reason not to believe such official declarations. However, the Haitian people believe that after almost ten years, time has come for this Government to prove the efficiency of those various promises and declarations."

The Patriotic Union of Haiti, in whose behalf Mr. Hudicourt drew up and presented the memorandum, is a non-partisan organization with more than 20,000 members throughout Haiti.

Race Problem - 1925
West Indies.

Haiti.

AMERICAN SUGAR TRUST BACK OF HAITI INVASION

Took Two Dominican Towns by Force

By LAURENCE TODD,
(Federated Press.)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19.—(FP)—In big headlines across the top of its front page, the daily newspaper "La Informacion," published at Santiago, Dominican Republic, reports that American marines were prominent in the "Haitian" invasion of the Dominican towns of Commendador and Carrizal, and that American naval airplanes flew in advance of the invading column.

No motive is given by the Dominicans for the invasion of their territory from the Haitian side of the border. The expedition, moving from the hills, seized the two towns and a large district of cultivated country between them, without warning. Word went out that a border dispute had arisen.

However, since the American seizure of both countries in 1915-1916, they have had a common grievance. American military possession of the Dominican Republic ended some months ago.

Dominicans in Washigton believe that the American sugar companies operating in their country may be back of the invasion. Time after time, when small farmers who owned valuable lands near the big sugar plantations have refused to sell out at a low price, they have been driven off by "bandits," who afterward confessed to having been employed by the sugar company managers to commit the crime.

While American forces held the country, great numbers of these native farmers fled from their homes, which were then burned or pulled down, and their lands seized and planted by the companies. Once the actual owners had fled, under threats or attack, they were forced to become casual laborers. The marines looked upon them as "bandits."

The invasion from Haiti is thot to be a warning that the sugar companies are still able to take what they want.

OPPOSITION IN HAITI ASKS 1926 ELECTION

Editors Tell Kellogg "American Officials and Their Haitian Creatures" Plan Delay.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27 (AP).—The Haitian political pot is boiling again.

On Oct. 10 a call must be issued for legislative elections to be held on Jan. 10, 1926, unless the present constitutional authorities intend to defer that election until Jan. 10, 1928.

Secretary Kellogg has received from publishers or directors of a number of Haitian newspapers opposing the Administration of President Luis Borno a letter virtually demanding that the Washington Government see that the call is issued. This is coupled with the warning that the Haitians have thus far demanded independence "only by pacific and legal means."

State Department officials see no reason to expect serious trouble in Haiti even if President Borno should decide, as he probably will and has constitutional authority to do, to withhold the call until October, 1927. The "transitory" provisions of the Constitution stipulate merely that the legislative elections shall be held on Jan. 10 of an even-numbered year under a call to be issued three months prior to such election, which fixes the Oct. 10 date.

The communication, which bears the signatures of four members of the Opposition press, Ed Poujet, E. G. Chauvet, C. Moravia and J. Jolibois Jr., ignores the lattitude given the Haitian President in deciding on just what even-numbered year the election shall be held.

The legislative body, when created, will elect future Presidents, and the letter of protest assumes that next year "American officials here and their Haitian agents plan to repeat the coup of 1922 and to have the President elected by the Council of State, a body of twenty-one officials named and revoked by the President of the Republic as he may see fit."

Ask Kellogg to Declare Himself.

Mr. Kellogg's attention is drawn to "the systematic opposition with which Haitian requests have always been met by American officials in Haiti and by their Haitian creatures and protégés," and they demand that Mr. Kellogg declare himself at once on the question of holding a legislative election.

"According to the Constitution imposed upon the Haitian people by the American Army," the letter adds, "the Haitian Executive should call the electors together not later than Oct. 10."

There is no disposition in Washington to interfere in the Haitian political turmoil or to bring influence to bear on President Borno to issue the call next month. It is pointed out that the Opposition's assumption that the Council of State will re-elect him next year is debatable despite the power he exercises in selecting or removing its members. Borno's predecessor was defeated for re-election by the Council although he had the same powers.

No Fear of a Revolution.

As to any suggestion the Opposition communication was intended to convey that revolution might follow a failure to hold legislative elections, officials here feel no uneasiness.

There has been steady economic improvement in Haiti which has been widely shared in by the Haitian people in many ways.

It is felt that a Government elected by the legislative body, when it is created, might be faced by the same sore of troubles as now face the ad interim constitutional regime, for the reason that the Washington policy is to keep hands off in connection with President Borno's decision as to when to call for the election of legislative members in the various tribunes.

HAITIANS PROTEST DELEGATION

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

New York, Oct. 21.—During the recent convention of the Interparliamentary Congress, held in Washington, protests were received from the Patriotic Union of Haiti against the so-called Haitian delegation, composed of James Thomas, president of the Haitian council of state, equivalent to our senate, and Dr. Beauvoir. The complaint was made because, as the note read, the men were not accredited representatives of the Haitian people, but hand-picked emissaries of the American occupation, chosen by President Bornec, the American catspaw.

HAITIAN MINISTER VISITS HAMPTON INSTITUTE

(By Associated Negro Press.)

Hampton, Va., August 19.—Hon. Hannibal Price of Washington, D. C., envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Republic of Haiti, recently visited Hampton Institution on the joint invitation of Dr. L. S. Rowe, director-general of the Pan-American Union and Dr. James E. Gregg, principal of Hampton Institute, to study the aims, methods and results of Hampton's work through fifty-seven years.

Minister Price is interested in the plan having Haitian students come to Hampton Institute to study of the work which is being done in eleven trades in the Armstrong-Slater Memorial Trade School. He will report his findings to the Haytian government.

Slave President Decides Against Haiti Elections

Washington, Nov. 5.—American rule in Haiti scored another triumph last week when President Louis Borno, announced that there will be no legislative elections next year.

The Haitian constitution provides that the president may order legislative elections on January 10 in an even numbered year. This year President Borno has discovered that Haiti's population "is almost totally illiterate, ignorant and poor, is still incapable of exercising the right to vote, and would be an easy prey" for unscrupulous (i. e. opposition) politicians. He promised that some day a new electoral law would be put into effect when it might be without danger to the republic."

Military Rule Supreme.

Two years ago President Borno announced that no legislature would be elected in 1924. In the absence of a popularly chosen assembly, the legislative functions have been exercised since 1917 by the Haitian council of state. The council is an executive body of 21 members appointed and recalled at will by the president. This state of affairs has enabled the American military occupation to rule without the trouble of a parliamentary body which afforded expression to native leaders bitterly opposed to American domination.

Borno's refusal to call elections springs from the fact that the legislature, when convoked, will choose Haiti's new president. Since 1917 the president has been elected by the American-controlled council of state. It was this executive body which elected Borno in 1922. His election was followed by mass demonstrations organized by the Union Patriotique d'Haiti (a nationalist organization) and by the Haitian Federation of Labor. As a result the presidents of both organizations were arrested by the American military authorities.

Kellogg Aids Tyranny.

Borno's action last week did not come unexpectedly. Late in September a group of Haitian journalists wrote Secretary of State Kellog requesting that the United States government see to it that legislative elections were called. The request warned Secretary Kellog that "American officials and their Haitian agents plan to repeat the coup of 1922, and to have the president elected by the council of state." The request also called Kellogg's atttention to "the systematic opposition with which Haitian requests have always been met by American officials in Haiti and by their Haitian creatures and proteges."

NO APPOINTMENT TO HAYTI SAYS SECY. KELLOGG

Secretary of State Kellog does not contemplate the appointment of a minister to Haiti so long as the American occupation continues, it was declared at the State Department this week.

Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University and Charles E. Mitchell, of Institute, W.Va., are said to be seeking the post, which is vacant by reason of the recent death of Arthur Bailly-Blanchard.

The State Department would give no indication as to when the American troops would be withdrawn. The Government of the United States desires to effect a withdrawal as soon as conditions permit, but it is thought that the immediate withdrawal of American forces would be the occasion for revolution and bloodshed.

American forces were landed in Haiti on July 28, 1915. In 1922, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell was sent there as American High Commissioner. It is believed that he can perform all the duties of a minister until the withdrawal of the marines.

The United States does not seek to acquire or control Haiti, it was explained at the State Department, and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations.

TEACHING HAITIAN HISTORY.

In a recently published volume by Dr. Georgiana R. Simpson of Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., the story of Toussaint L'Ouverture is retold in French as stimulating reading matter for classes in that language. The work is intended at the same time to increase the student's knowledge of history and should prove a valuable aid to those interested in studying that phase of Western civilization involved in the Negro experiment of self-government in Haiti, after overthrowing French rule a century ago.

This volume is composed of extracts from the work by Gragnon-LaCoste, a member of the Academy of Sciences, Belle Lettres and Arts of Bordeaux and of the French Commission on Historical Monuments. He is the author of several works on San Domingo. Dr. Simpson has edited the work and supplied a brief historical review of the island with notes on the text, exercises for conversation in French and in English for French composition. There is also a vocabulary to aid the diligent students.

The story of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the First of the Blacks," is a stirring episode of history that lends itself readily to the writer of romance. Nearly half a century ago the old established publishing concern of Harper Brothers printed a life story of L'Ouverture under the title of "The Hero of St. Domingo," in the guise of a historical romance written by Harriet Martineau, an English author. Wendell Phillips' oration on the same subject won rank as a classic of American oratory. The history of San Domingo or Haiti has been written in varied terms by many writers, French, English, American and Haitian, including Abbe Gregoire, Sir Spencer St. John, the Rev. C. W. Mossell, Roche-Grellier and ex-Minister Leger.

Only a few months ago, an article appeared in a monthly magazine called Travel, written by an officer of the United States Marine Corps, describing "The Jungle Palace of the Black Napoleon," indicating thereby Christophe who succeeded L'Ouverture as ruler and assumed the title of King Henry I. Concerning Christophe this article said:

> Not only did he at one time hold the commission of a Brigadier General under the French, but that when Count D'Estaing recruited men in the French colonies of the West Indies in 1779 and sailed for Savannah to join the American army in its attack on the British at that place, that among the eight hundred blacks and mulattos mustered from the island of Haiti, was Christophe.

As a return for this aid given the American colonists in throwing off the British yoke, we find over a century later the American government invading Haiti, and subverting its government by the force of marines and machine guns. A new constitution written by an assistant Secretary of the Navy was imposed upon the Haitian people, but even the terms of that American made document have not been respected by the American High Commissioner, who now runs Haitian affairs.

Haitian history has passed through its romantic stages and now presents a record of sordid exploitation and ruthless tyranny at the hands of American capitalists and the complaisant officials who do their bidding. Testimony to this effect has been taken by a committee of the United States Senate but Haiti remains crushed and helpless under American rule.

NO MINISTER TO HAITI SAYS SEC. KELLOG

AFRO Bureau—

Washington, D. C.—Secretary of State Kellogg does not contemplate the appointment of a minister to Haiti so long as the American occupation continues, it was declared at the State Department today.

Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University, and Charles E. Mitchell, of Institute, W. Va., are said to be seeking the post, which is vacant by reason of the recent death of Arthur Bailly-Blanchard, white.

The State Department would give no indication as to when the American troops would be withdrawn. The Government of the United States desires to effect the withdrawal as soon as conditions permit, but it is thought that the immediate withdrawal of American forces would be the occasion for revolution and bloodshed.

American forces were landed in Haiti on July 28, 1915. In 1922 Brig. Gen. John Russell was sent there as American High Commissioner. It is believed he can perform all the duties of a minister until the withdrawal of the marines.

The United States does not seek to acquire or control Haiti, it was explained at the State Department, and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations.

HAITI DISGRACE PLACED BEFORE U. S. SENATE

Senator King Sponsors Resolution for U. S. Meddling with Haiti to Cease—Hits at Wall Street Rule—General Russell's Actions to Be Investigated

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Senator William N. King, Democrat, of Utah, introduced two resolutions pertaining to Haiti in the Senate last week

One declares the intervention by the United States in Haitian political affairs has been accomplished and continues:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that the President should withdraw the naval forces of the United States now in Haiti and should arrange an abrogation of any treaty, protocol, or other instrument providing for the control of the revenues of Haiti by the United States, or providing for the intervention of the United States in the political affairs of said country, and that it is the sense of the Senate that Haiti should be free from any internal interference with its domestic policies or internal administration."

The resolution requests the Secretary of State to inform the Senate concerning the activities of Brigadier General John H. Russell in Haiti and it is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Secretary is requested to advise the Senate as to what powers and functions Brigadier General John H. Russell is exercising in Haiti or in relation to the Haitian Government, under or by authority of the Secretary of State, including the number of troops under the command of General Russell in Haiti and the military powers exercised by him for or on behalf or under the direction of the Secretary;

"That the Secretary transmit to the Senate the text of all instructions issued by him to General Russell and the text of all correspondence between the Haitian Government and General Russell and between the Haitian Government and any other officer or agent of the State Department respecting loans to the Haitian Government by American banks;

"And that the Secretary further transmit to the Senate any and all correspondence between the Secretary and General Russell and between General Russell and any officials of the Haitian Government respecting the holding of the election of the Legislature and government of Haiti which is fixed by the Constitution of Haiti to be held in January next, and to advise the Senate whether or not General Russell has been intrusted to take steps or to use his influence to prevent the holding of such election or to postpone the same or to retain the present president of Haiti in power in default of the election of a successor upon the date fixed."

King Asks Withdrawal Of U. S. Troops From Haiti

Washington, D. C.—Senator William N. King, Democrat, of Utah, introduced two resolutions pertaining to Haiti in the Senate last week.

One declares the intervention by the United States in Haitian political affairs has been accomplished and continues:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that the President should withdraw the naval forces of the United States now in Haiti and should arrange an abrogation of any treaty, protocol, or other instrument providing for the control of the revenues of Haiti by the United States, or providing for the intervention of the United States in the political affairs of said country, and that it is the sense of the Senate that Haiti should be free from any internal interference with its domestic policies or internal administration."

The resolution requests the Secretary of State to inform the Senate concerning the activities of Brigadier General John H. Russell in Haiti and it is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Secretary is requested to advise the Senate as to what powers and functions Brigadier General John H. Russell is exercising in Haiti or in relation to the Haitian government, under or by authority of the Secretary of State, including the number of troops under the command of General Russell in Haiti and the military powers exercised by him for or on behalf or under the direction of the Secretary;

"That the Secretary transmit to the Senate the text of all instructions issued by him to General Russell and the text of all correspondence between the Haitian Government and General Russell and between the Haitian Government and any other officer or agent of the State Department respecting loans to the Haitian Government by American banks;

TEACHING HAITIAN HISTORY.

In a recently published volume by Dr. Georgiana R. Simpson of Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., the story of Toussaint L'Ouverture is retold in French as stimulating reading matter for classes in that language. The work is intended at the same time to increase the student's knowledge of history and should prove a valuable aid to those interested in studying that phase of Western civilization involved in the Negro experiment of self-government in Haiti, after overthrowing French rule a century ago.

This volume is composed of extracts from the work by Gragnon-LaCoste, a member of the Academy of Sciences, Belle Lettres and Arts of Bordeaux and of the French Commission on Historical Monuments. He is the author of several works on San Domingo. Dr. Simpson has edited the work and supplied a brief historical review of the island with notes on the text, exercises for conversation in French and in English for French composition. There is also a vocabulary to aid the diligent students.

The story of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the First of the Blacks," is a stirring episode of history that lends itself readily to the writer of romance. Nearly half a century ago the old established publishing concern of Harper Brothers printed a life story of L'Ouverture under the title of "The Hero of St. Domingo," in the guise of a historical romance written by Harriet Martineau, an English author. Wendell Phillips' oration on the same subject won rank as a classic of American oratory. The history of San Domingo or Haiti has been written in varied terms by many writers, French, English, American and Haitian, including Abbe Gregoire, Sir Spencer St. John, the Rev. C. W. Mossell, Roche-Grellier and ex-Minister Leger.

Only a few months ago, an article appeared in a monthly magazine called Travel, written by an officer of the United States Marine Corps, describing "The Jungle Palace of the Black Napoleon," indicating thereby Christophe who succeeded L'Ouverture as ruler and assumed the title of King Henry I. Concerning Christophe this article said:

> Not only did he at one time hold the commission of a Brigadier General under the French, but that when Count D'Estaing recruited men in the French colonies of the West Indies in 1779 and sailed for Savannah to join the American army in its attack on the British at that place, that among the eight hundred blacks and mulattos mustered from the island of Haiti, was Christophe.

As a return for this aid given the American colonists in throwing off the British yoke, we find over a century later the American government invading Haiti, and subverting its government by the force of marines and machine guns. A new constitution written by an assistant Secretary of the Navy was imposed upon the Haitian people, but even the terms of that American made document have not been respected by the American High Commissioner, who now runs Haitian affairs.

Haitian history has passed through its romantic stages and now presents a record of sordid exploitation and ruthless tyranny at the hands of American capitalists and the complaisant officials who do their bidding Testimony to this effect has been taken by a committee of the United States Senate but Haiti remains crushed and helpless under American rule.

NO MINISTER TO HAITI SAYS SEC. KELLOG

AFRO Bureau—

Washington, D. C.—Secretary of State Kellogg does not contemplate the appointment of a minister to Haiti so long as the American occupation continues, it was declared at the State Department today.

Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University, and Charles E. Mitchell, of Institute, W. Va., are said to be seeking the post, which is vacant by reason of the recent death of Arthur Bailly-Blanchard, white.

The State Department would give no indication as to when the American troops would be withdrawn. The Government of the United States desires to effect the withdrawal as soon as conditions permit, but it is thought that the immediate withdrawal of American forces would be the occasion for revolution and bloodshed.

American forces were landed in Haiti on July 28, 1915. In 1922 Brig. Gen. John Russell was sent there as American High Commissioner. It is believed he can perform all the duties of a minister until the withdrawal of the marines.

The United States does not seek to acquire or control Haiti, it was explained at the State Department, and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations.

HAITI DISGRACE PLACED BEFORE U. S. SENATE

Senator King Sponsors Resolution for U. S. Meddling with Haiti to Cease—Hits at Wall Street Rule—General Russell's Actions to Be Investigated

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Senator William N. King, Democrat, of Utah, introduced two resolutions pertaining to Haiti in the Senate last week

One declares the intervention by the United States in Haitian political affairs has been accomplished and continues:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that the President should withdraw the naval forces of the United States now in Haiti and should arrange an abrogation of any treaty. protocol, or other instrument providing for the control of the revenues of Haiti by the United States, or providing for the intervention of the United States in the political affairs of said country, and that it is the sense of the Senate that Haiti should be free from any internal interference with its domestic policies or internal administration."

The resolution requests the Secretary of State to inform the Senate concerning the activities of Brigadier General John H. Russell in Haiti and it is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Secretary is requested to advise the Senate as to what powers and functions Brigadier General John H. Russell is exercising in Haiti or in relation to the Haitian Government, under or by authority of the Secretary of State, including the number of troops under the command of General Russell in Haiti and the military powers exercised by him for or on behalf or under the direction of the Secretary;

"That the Secretary transmit to the Senate the text of all instructions issued by him to General Russell and the text of all correspondence between the Haitian Government and General Russell and between the Haitian Government and any other officer or agent of the State Department respecting loans to the Haitian Government by American banks;

"And that the Secretary further transmit to the Senate any and all correspondence between the Secretary and General Russell and between General Russell and any officials of the Haitian Government respecting the holding of the election of the Legislature and government of Haiti which is fixed by the Constitution of Haiti to be held in January next, and to advise the Senate whether or not General Russell has been intrusted to take steps or to use his influence to prevent the holding of such election or to postpone the same or to retain the present president of Haiti in power in default of the election of a successor upon the date fixed."

King Asks Withdrawal Of U. S. Troops From Haiti

Washington, D. C.—Senator William N. King, Democrat, of Utah, introduced two resolutions pertaining to Haiti in the Senate last week.

One declares the intervention by the United States in Haitian political affairs has been accomplished and continues:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that the President should withdraw the naval forces now in Haiti and should arrange an abrogation of any treaty, protocol, or other instrument providing for the control of the revenues of Haiti by the United States, or providing for the intervention of the United States in the political affairs of said country, and that it is the sense of the Senate that Haiti should be free from any internal interference with its domestic policies or internal administration."

The resolution requests the Secretary of State to inform the Senate concerning the activities of Brigadier General John H. Russell in Haiti and it is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Secretary is requested to advise the Senate as to what powers and functions Brigadier General John H. Russell is exercising in Haiti or in relation to the Haitian government, under or by authority of the Secretary of State, including the number of troops under the command of General Russell in Haiti and the military powers exercised by him for or on behalf or under the direction of the Secretary;

"That the Secretary transmit to the Senate the text of all instructions issued by him to General Russell and the text of all correspondence between the Haitian Government and General Russell and between the Haitian Government and any other officer or agent of the State Department respecting loans to the Haitian Government by American banks;